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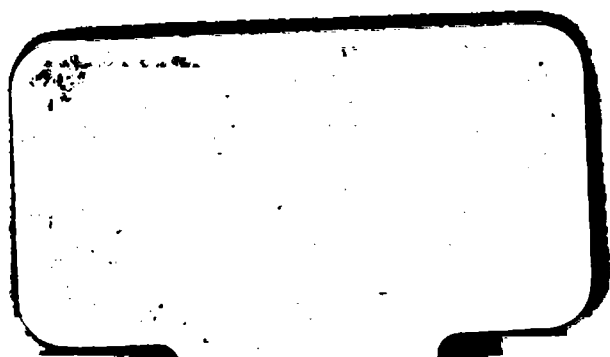
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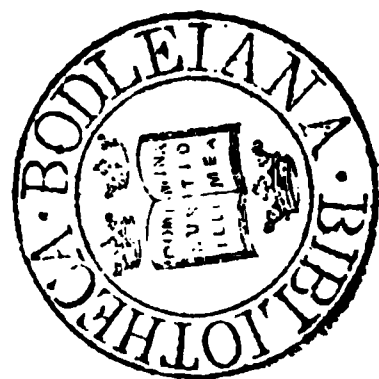
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THE REPRODUCTION OF BIBLICAL LIFE IN ITS BEARING
ON BIBLICAL EXPOSITION.^a

It has always been a rule of biblical interpretation, that the commentator should endeavour to forget himself, and, as much as possible, place his own subjectivity in subordination to his author. This proceeds on the obvious fact that every man has his own prejudices and peculiar modes of thinking, which, unless placed in abeyance, must necessarily mould and fashion his views of the mental productions of others. It has been observed as a matter of history, that if two men of diverse sentiments come to consider a document at all bearing upon their opinions, they make its statements bend to their own advantage; a fact clearly proving that the subject colours the object as much, at least, as the object affects the subject. Truth cannot be gained in this manner, and therefore there arises the necessity of a "self-denying ordinance," to exclude preconceptions, and let the object tell its own tale.

If there is a general truth in the observation now made, it

^a 1. *The Life and Epistles of St. Paul.* By the Rev. W. J. Conybeare, M.A., late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge; and the Rev. J. S. Howson, M.A., Principal of the Collegiate Institution, Liverpool. In Two Volumes. Second Edition, carefully revised and corrected. London: Longmans. 1856.

2. *Sinai and Palestine, in connexion with their history.* By Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, M.A., Canon of Canterbury. London: Murray. 1856.

becomes more specific and clearly defined in the field of biblical subjects, since here the passions of men are more excited, and their prepossessions more strong. If twelve commentators could be found, entertaining twelve distinct views of the doctrines and ethics of Christianity, we might be sure beforehand that they could elaborate twelve systems of divinity, each of which should be thought by its framer the only true one. The state of mind of such persons is exactly described by the same number of men looking at external nature through differently coloured glasses, while yet unconscious of the intervening medium. Each would feel sure of the truth of his own impressions of the world without, and aver what he saw to be green or blue, according to the colour of his spectacles. Men set out with a conviction which they do not doubt the truth of, and thus throw their own views over the gospels, epistles, and other sacred writings. The result is that, except in the case of propositions too explicit to be misunderstood, doctrines and theories are evolved from the same sentences, as diverse as black from white, or blue from orange, and the religious world presents to the indifferent spectator a congeries of contradictions at once puzzling to faith, and encouraging to infidelity.

One remedy against this, as we have said, is for the candid enquirer to forget himself, and endeavour to view the characters and statements of Holy Writ as they appeared to those contemporaneous with them; or, a still higher attainment, to transport himself from the present to the past, and enter into the feelings and position of the actor or writer. To do this is evidently no easy task, and thus while all acknowledge its importance, but few succeed to the satisfaction of others, in reducing the rule to practice. Subjectivity, or our own convictions, follow us to the plains of Mamre, the court of Uzziah, or the streets of Jerusalem, and while we think we actually view the complete forms of Abraham, Isaiah, or Paul, it is but, in some measure, the phantom of our own creation which passes before us. It is hard, if not impossible, to abstract the understanding, as an instrument of forming a judgment, from the subject in which it resides and of which it is but a property, and the utmost sincerity of purpose can scarcely secure the indifferentism desired. Are we then to give up this task as hopeless, and to concede that the scenes, and characters, and sentiments of sacred life cannot be truly reproduced? Or is there a measure of success which may be expected to follow a sincere attempt in this department of mental exertion? The questions are highly important ones, and we will endeavour to afford a contribution, at least, towards a reply.

To form an infallible and complete idea of the epistles of St. Paul—an estimate neither more nor less than the truth—it would be necessary that we should view the same things as he did; pass through the same phases of external and mental history; and then work upon the materials with the same powers of reflection and reasoning. Let us take, as an illustration of what we mean, the marvellous conversion of the apostle of the Gentiles, as recorded in several places in the Acts. By comparing the accounts together, we can form some idea of the miraculous change which came over him, its causes and effects; yet who can say that his view is an adequate one, not exhausting the subject, but rather leaving far more in the thickest obscurity than is brought to light? From the falling to the earth and temporary blindness of the persecutor, to the time when we see him preaching the faith he once destroyed, his whole mental history is a blank to us, with some few exceptions. We know, for instance, that he was instructed by Ananias, and that he saw the Lord, and received a commission from his lips even more distinct and special than had been given to the other apostles,—and this knowledge is sufficient for practical purposes: but how little is this compared with what actually passed in the mind of Saul of Tarsus, and resulted in the production of his eminently holy and devoted character! By what reasonings his prejudices fell one by one, or whether miraculous intervention supplied the place of ratiocination; by what processes the rock melted and the tears of penitence poured forth; by what steps the Gospel, complete and full as he always preached it, gained the credence of his understanding, the homage of his will, and the affection of his heart;—who can tell us these and a thousand more things belonging to the apostle's mental history? Yet, unless we know all this, we cannot understand St. Paul *thoroughly*, but must more or less mistake his standpoint and perplex his reasonings. As therefore nothing but a miracle, giving us identity with the apostle, could secure this perfect knowledge of his mind and character, this high instrument of biblical exegesis is beyond our reach, and the apostle never can be fully known.

Leaving the search after the impossible for the paths of certainty, we come to the realms of probability; of that moral conviction which is all that is granted to man even in the matters of highest moment to his present and everlasting happiness. We cannot reproduce the whole of the life of any sacred writer; how much can we accomplish—to what extent may we hope to be able to live the past over again, and thus to acquire some completeness of conception as to what the writers of Scripture felt and intended in their inspired productions? For the con-

venience of prosecuting this enquiry, as well as from the necessity of the case, we must divide the subject into two parts—the external circumstances and the moral and religious peculiarities of the writers whom we wish to comprehend.

The relations of the external world to prophets, apostles, and evangelists is a wide subject, and one which has been by no means neglected in the past. It is the consideration of it which has accumulated the immense amount of materials of biblical exposition as afforded by the study of nature, of history, and of mankind. In the earliest commentators, among the fathers of the Church, we continually meet with illustrations of Holy Scripture derived from external things, as when we trace an explanation of the rivers of Eden, of the hyssop on the wall, or of some recondite Hebrew word. In more modern times these material facts are collected and arranged by such writers as Calmet, Harmer, or Kitto; so that little remains to be done in the mere accumulating of such helps to the interpretation of the Bible. By some more advanced minds these materials are taken from their use in explaining single texts, and made to throw light on the whole compositions of the sacred writers, as is the case with Messrs. Conybeare and Howson in their labours upon St. Paul, and with Canon Stanley in his recent work on *Sinai and Palestine*. Still, all these writers, the highest and the lowest, recognize one and the same principle, namely, that the penmen of Holy Scripture made allusions to external things, an acquaintance with which must facilitate our perception of their meaning.

But most frequently all external phenomena mentioned or alluded to by the sacred writers are treated solely in an objective manner, as bearing more upon the doctrines they proclaimed than upon themselves. What we now wish to bring before our readers is the degree of influence the external circumstances of their position, of a material kind, may have exerted upon the “holy men of old, who spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost.” This consideration is essential if we would really reproduce the life they led, and, by placing ourselves in their stead, view things from their standpoint. For example, the Hebrew writers alluded much to the sea, because they lived near it; and in all ages since, the phenomena of the ocean have been brought forward by expositors as illustrating their figures and emblems. But a deeper kind of investigation will enquire how this sea-coast position moulded the men themselves, as bearing both on their physical and moral nature. A few hints are all we can give on this topic, but, imperfect as they are, they may set our readers thinking, and following out the track suggested for themselves.

Climate is known to mould the character,—and the region of Palestine was too remarkable in its grand features not to exert a marked influence upon its inhabitants. The peoples driven out by the Israelites were, with all their heinous crimes, a bold, brave, and indomitable race, able to keep hold on their possessions in spite of the Hebrews, if God had not miraculously appeared against them. On their departure from Egypt, it is plain that the iron of slavery had entered into the souls of the chosen tribes, and that their long sojourn in that land had done no good to their characters for resolution and bravery. But when we see them some centuries afterwards, in the days of Saul, David, and Solomon, we discern national features of a higher kind; a growth in the great qualities which made them a terror to their neighbours, and secured peace and happiness to themselves. It is evident that the country in which Jehovah had placed them contributed much to make them what they were, and that the features thus stamped upon them continued to follow them, with more or less distinctness, through all their vicissitudes. Isaiah and Malachi, St. Peter and St. Paul, had qualities in common derived from their place among the nations of the earth; from their being sons of the soil which had the characteristics thus described by Moses:—"The land whither thou goest in to possess it, is not as the land of Egypt, from whence ye came out, where thou sowedst thy seed and wateredst it with thy foot as a garden of herbs; but the land whither ye go to possess it is a land of hills and valleys, and drinketh water of the rain of heaven: a land which the Lord thy God careth for: the eyes of the Lord thy God are always upon it, from the beginning of the year, even unto the end of the year" (Deut. xi. 10—12). As then in estimating Hindoos, Russians, or Britons, we always take into account the influence of climate upon their characters, we must do the same with the Hebrews, and allow for their position among the nations in attempting to comprehend their writings. This subject is so forcibly exhibited by Mr. Stanley in his *Sinai and Palestine*, that we cannot refrain from quoting a few sentences before we proceed:—

"If the valley of the Nile, or the Arabian desert, had witnessed the whole of the sacred history, it is impossible not to feel how widely it would have been separated from the ordinary European mind; how small a portion of our feelings and our imaginations would have been represented by it. The truths might have been the same, but the forms in which they were clothed would have affected only a few here and there, leaving the great mass untouched. But as it is, we have the life of a Bedouin tribe, of an agricultural people, of seafaring cities; the extremes of barbarism and of civilization; the aspects of plain and mountain; of

a tropical, of an eastern, and almost of a northern climate. In Egypt there is a continual contact of desert and of cultivated land; in Greece there is a constant intermixture of the views of sea and land; in the ascent and descent of the great mountains of South America there is an interchange of the torrid and arctic zones; in England there is an alternation of wild hills and valleys with rich fields and plains. But in Palestine all these are combined."

Government and laws fashion the minds of a people perhaps more than mere physical peculiarities. How geographically near are France and England, yet as far as the poles asunder in their notions of constitutional legislation. And as are the laws of the respective nations, so are the individuals which compose them. There is of course a reflex influence in all such cases; peculiar national idiosyncrasies producing certain forms of government, and then the government still further moulding the people. To understand the works of French writers we must transport ourselves from our institutions to theirs, or we shall mistake their reasonings, motives, and aims. So with the Hebrew people, as exhibited both by the Old and New Testaments: they possessed institutions of a most remarkable character, divinely framed with special objects in view, and such as must necessarily have exerted great influence upon all who were subjected to them. Combined with an entire fealty to Jehovah as the head of the theocracy, there was an amount of personal freedom in social relations as great as the most republican theorist could desire, and the result was, an impatience of foreign control which was undiminished even after years of forced subjection to it. Who can expect to enter into the mind of the Jewish prophets without an appreciation of this liberty, so dearly cherished by them? Or how can the writers of the New Testament be properly understood, unless their acute perception of the hatefulness of a foreign yoke be taken into account? When St. Paul says, "Let every soul be subject to the higher powers, for the powers that be are ordained of God;" we feel that he was wise in giving the exhortation, apart from any close research into his own national character. But we see more than wisdom when we remember that he had been educated in a fierce hatred of national oppression and wrong, as inflicted by the Roman empire upon his country, and that the blood of the Maccabees flowed in his veins; it is a heart subdued by the gentle influences of divine grace which there attracts our notice, leading him to act upon the inspired rule that "the wrath of man worketh not the righteousness of God."

A biblical expositor will be rendered more fit for his allotted task in proportion as he thus makes himself acquainted with all

the external circumstances which can be supposed to have made the sacred writers what they were, apart from the divine aid and qualifications which were superadded to their natural acquirements and powers. We must forget we are Englishmen, and place ourselves in the position of the Hebrews, inhabiting a country, speaking a language, and living under institutions, for the most part strangely contrasted with our own. It would be a curious task to examine into the errors of interpretation which have arisen from the neglect of this method; when the Bible has been subjected to precisely the same style of comment as would be given to the writings of Cranmer, Jeremy Taylor, or John Locke. But we cannot now pursue the subject further, and must hasten on to consider the moral and religious peculiarities of the sacred writers.

This part of the subject is far more difficult than the other. By the moral and religious idiosyncrasies of the prophets, apostles and evangelists, we do not mean their peculiar holy characteristics, as their minds were informed and enriched by the special grace of God, but those which they shared with their nation at large, and which were stamped upon them by the causes brought to bear upon them by Divine Providence. What Isaiah was, religiously, by ordinary education, before his lips were touched with a live coal from the altar; what Matthew was when sitting at the receipt of custom; and what Paul was when trained at the feet of Gamaliel;—these are the particulars which it is important to understand, if we would comprehend fully the writings which these holy men left behind them. Now if it is clear that when God called his servants to convey his will to others, he left to each writer his own style, and tastes, and temper; it is no less true that their religious training in childhood, youth, and manhood influenced and coloured their prophecies, histories, and epistles. We must, indeed, look upon the whole moral history of God's agents, previously to their being specially called by him, not as matters of chance, but as a part of his plan, an integral portion of his wise government, and fitting them for their future allotted tasks. Were not this the case, heathens would have been as qualified to preach the Gospel to the world as the Hebrews, and Pilate would have made as good an apostle as Paul. But as the previous history of the Israelites made them fit to be the depositaries of God's discoveries by the Messiah, so the previous training of the apostles and evangelists qualified them for the high task afterwards allotted to them. It becomes, therefore, as important to study the moral and religious characteristics of the sacred writers, as it

is to be acquainted with all God's dealings with the Hebrews, as a nation, before the promulgation of the Gospel.

We can only point out two peculiarities by which Hebrew religious character was strongly marked; and we do this more to suggest the mode of inquiry than fully to discuss the subject. Every writer, whose works form part of the Canon of Holy Scripture, was familiar with *the idea of the supernatural or the miraculous*, and firmly believed that nothing was impossible with God. Contrast Hebrews with Romans on this subject, and how diametrically opposed do their characters appear! When Paul was speaking before Agrippa, he touched finely on this national feature of the Jews, when he said to him, "Why should it be thought a thing incredible with you that God should raise the dead?" Unbelief did indeed mark individuals, and even the nation at large, in various periods of their history, but this was more a special than a generic feeling, referring rather to an indisposition to submit to some prescribed duty than to a questioning of God's power. The Jews refused to give credence to the prophets on the plea that God had not sent them; not because they doubted the possibility of such a mission and message. Every page of their history was full of the marvellous; not in the form of myths and fables, but as well-accredited history, thoroughly believed in by the whole people. While therefore a Greek or a Roman would have been able to preach the Gospel, as they afterwards did, it must not be forgotten that the Hebrew mind was, *per se*, more disposed to yield itself implicitly to the idea of a divine revelation. No doubt this inwrought faith in the supernatural tinged everything the sacred writers have handed down to us; giving to their writings that absence of speculation, and that unhesitating firmness of tone in regard to divine influences and operations. Thus, when the Gospel was extended among the heathen, and errors sprung up, we find those errors to be the fruit of a scepticism more allied to the Greek and Roman than to the Jewish mind, especially the former. Judaizing notions were propagated by the Jews, but, while injurious, they were far less so than the vagaries of Gnosticism. The former had a conservative tendency, while the latter exerted a weakening and depreciating influence upon an objective revelation. What we have now said will not be confounded with the heresy which makes the Gospel merely the reflex of a peculiar state of subjectivity. We regard the moral training of the apostles and evangelists as part of a system developing itself, by the grace of God, from the earliest periods of man's abode upon the earth.

The other peculiarity we would mention is the *expiatory character* of the moral and religious system of the Jews, which entered minutely into all their feelings, and coloured their convictions. It is true, that the doctrine of expiation was known to the heathen, and more or less regulated their ethical systems. But with the Jews, the whole framework and superstructure of religion rested on the fact, that "without shedding of blood there was no remission." In the most corrupt times of the Hebrew nationality, this great fact was kept before the mind of the people; indeed, it was impossible to ignore it, without entirely altering and corrupting the national polity. The books of Moses, the temple services and sacrifices, the laws of impurity, all kept before the Hebrews the doctrine of propitiation or atonement; and it is only when this is fully understood and admitted, that the writings of the New Testament can be understood. A change of the proper standpoint on this vital subject has led to more errors in doctrine than anything besides. It has been felt by men that there are things which conflict with reason in the innocent dying for the guilty, and they have therefore endeavoured to explain away the plainest statements of the New Testament. But if it is conceded that such a doctrine—that of atonement or propitiation—was part and parcel of the training of the New Testament writers, we can only then evade the conclusion that they teach the doctrine, by questioning their divine mission, and looking upon them as deluded enthusiasts.

Apply these two observations to our present purpose, and how do they bear on Biblical exegesis? The existence of Miracles, and an Atonement for Sin, are literally taught in the New Testament, and the only way to evade belief in these things, is by attributing them to a figurative mode of expression, and to national prejudices. But, in order to elucidate the matter, we endeavour to place ourselves in the position of the writers, and to discover what *they* must have understood by their own utterances. We find they must have been believers in miracles and in expiation from their infancy, and therefore conclude that their statements on those topics must be taken in their plain grammatical sense. But these are only illustrations selected from many, of what we are now affirming, that we must endeavour to reproduce Biblical life, in order to arrive correctly at Biblical exposition.

We must, however, guard against what would be an abuse of this doctrine, the idea, namely, that the Bible, as we have it, cannot be intended for common minds, since it demands for its comprehension so many and such nice mental powers. This may

be met by the obvious fact, that men can understand the works of the ancient heathens sufficiently, for all practical purposes, in the barest translations, while yet they admit of having a host of beauties developed, and of being made much plainer by the expositor and the critic. The Bible is only placed in the position in which everything stands which is subjected to the minds of men; it takes, and must take, much of its sense and beauty from the character of the percipient mind. Most Englishmen know something of the Norman Conquest—enough, perhaps, for forming a general idea of its bearing on their present history; yet what a fulness of matter, and what a gorgeous and varied colouring, does that event exhibit when subjected to the mind of a Thierry? Yet what is the talisman which gives such superiority to the ideas of the latter, but his resuscitation of Norman and English life at the period specified? He throws himself back for eight centuries, and by the aid of all available materials, describes our forefathers and their conquerors *as they really were*. Just this is to be done by the accomplished Biblical interpreter.

The objection may be met in another way. The Bible is given by inspiration of God, and is thus to be considered as especially fitted for the production of its objects. Nothing can be more evident than that God intended by his servants to instruct all ages, and all classes of men, by the Gospel of his Son; and we may therefore conclude that the documents in which the faith resides should, in all essential points, speak a universal language. This *à priori* conclusion is abundantly borne out by facts, in all ages during which the Gospel has been proclaimed. There have been grotesque and false expositions of single texts, and misapprehension of the finer shades of thought and meaning of the holy writers; yet, on the whole, the purpose of the Bible has been accomplished in the fulfillment of the character given of it: "All Scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness." Yet, while this has been the case, and while the humblest minds have profited by it, its best stores and most polished beauties are reserved for the fit student; *fit*, we mean, by his using all the appliances which, in the nature of things, and in the Providence of God, can bring the retired excellencies of the Bible into high relief.

Both the works named at the head of this paper successfully carry out, to some extent, the idea of an exposition, as we have laid it down. We think, in each case, there is a tendency to excess in the application of the rule,—a danger perhaps inevitable by man. The new edition of the *Life and Epistles of St. Paul* is a proof that this style of comment is popular, since the

first edition was an expensive one, and yet there is a call for a second. But perhaps the leading idea of Messrs. Conybeare and Howson, that St. Paul's *life* was to be restored, as nearly as possible as it once really existed, is scarcely grasped by the many readers of their interesting volumes; ordinary minds being principally attracted by the obvious applications and illustrations of the principle of exposition, rather than by the rule itself. We shall do good service to our readers if we can direct their attention to a careful reading of the work, with this object in view;—the ascertaining how far and how correctly the writers have succeeded in reproducing St. Paul's life, and, by means of it, illustrating his writings. We know no task more highly interesting in itself, and it will become comparatively easy under such able guides.

This revised edition of Messrs. Conybeare and Howson's well-known work needs only to be introduced to our readers. A passage, however, in the Introduction so well corroborates what we have said in this short paper, that we must be allowed to give it a place in our pages.

“But in order to present anything like a living picture of St. Paul's career, much more is necessary than a mere transcript of the scriptural narrative, even where it is fullest. Every step of his course brings us into contact with some new phase of ancient life, unfamiliar to our modern experience, and upon which we must throw life from other sources, if we wish to form a distinct image in the mind. For example, to comprehend the influences under which he grew to manhood, we must realize the position of a Jewish family at Tarsus; we must understand the kind of education which the son of such a family would receive as a boy in his Hebrew home, or in the schools of his native city, and in his riper youth, ‘at the feet of Gamaliel’ in Jerusalem; we must be acquainted with the profession for which he was to be prepared by this training, and appreciate the station and duties of an expounder of the Law. And that we may be fully qualified to do all this, we should have a clear view of the state of the Roman Empire at the time, and especially of its system in the provinces; we should also understand the political position of the Jews of the ‘dispersion;’ we should be (so to speak) hearers in their synagogues; we should be students of their rabbinical theology. And in like manner, as we follow the apostle in the different stages of his varied and adventurous career, we must strive continually to bring out in their true brightness the half-effaced forms and colouring of the scene in which he acts; and while he ‘becomes all things to all men, that he might by all means save some,’ we must form to ourselves a living likeness of the *things* and of the *men* among which he moved, if we would rightly estimate his work. Thus we must study Christianity rising in the midst of Judaism; we must realize the position of its early churches with their mixed society, to which Jews, proselytes, and heathens had each contributed a charac-

teristic element ; we must qualify ourselves to be umpires (if we may so speak) in their violent internal divisions ; we must listen to the strife of their schismatic parties, when one said, 'I am of Paul, and another I am of Apollos ;' we must study the true character of those early heresies which even denied the resurrection, and advocated impurity and lawlessness, claiming the right to 'sin that grace might abound,' 'defiling the mind and conscience' of their followers, and making them 'abominable and disobedient, and to every good work reprobate ;' we must trace the extent to which Greek philosophy, Judaizing formalism, and eastern superstition blended their tainting influence with the pure fermentation of that new leaven which was at last to leaven the whole mass of civilized society.

"Again, to understand St. Paul's personal history as a missionary to the heathen, we must know the state of the different populations which he visited ; the character of Greek and Roman civilization at the epoch ; the points of intersection between the political history of the world and the scriptural narrative ; the social organization and gradation of ranks, for which he enjoins respect ; the position of women, to which he specially refers in many of his letters ; the relations between parents and children, slaves and masters, which he not vainly sought to imbue with the living spirit of the Gospel ; the quality and influence, under the early empire, of the Greek and Roman religions, whose effete corruptness he denounces with such indignant scorn ; the public amusements of the people, whence he draws topics of warning or illustration ; the operation of the Roman law, under which he was so frequently arraigned ; the courts in which he was tried, and the magistrates by whose sentence he suffered ; the legionary soldiers who acted as his guards ; the roads by which he travelled, whether through the mountains of Lycaonia or the marshes of Latium ; the course of commerce by which his journies were so often regulated ; and the character of that imperfect navigation by which his life was so many times endangered. . . . But after all this is done—after we have endeavoured, with every help we can command, to reproduce the picture of St. Paul's deeds and times—how small would our knowledge of himself remain, if we had no other record of him left us but the story of his adventures. If his letters had never come down to us, we should have known indeed what he did and suffered, but we should have had very little idea of what he was. Even if we could perfectly succeed in restoring the image of the scenes and circumstances in which he lived,—even if we could, as in a magic mirror, behold him speaking in the school of Tyrannus, with his Ephesian hearers in their national costume around him,—we should still see very little of Paul of Tarsus. We must listen to his words, if we would learn to know him. If fancy did her utmost, she could give us only his outward, not his inward life. 'His bodily presence' (so his enemies declared) 'was weak and contemptible ;' but 'his letters' (even they allowed) 'were weighty and powerful.' Moreover an effort of imagination and memory is needed to recall the past, but in his epistles St. Paul is present with us. 'His words are not dead words, they are living creatures with hands and feet,' touching in a thousand hearts at this very hour the same chord of feeling which vibrated to their first utterance.

We, the Christians of the nineteenth century, can bear witness now, as fully as could a Byzantine audience fourteen hundred years ago, to the saying of Chrysostom, that ‘Paul by his letters still lives in the mouths of men throughout the whole world; by them not only his own converts, but all the faithful even unto this day, yea, and all the saints who are yet to be born, until Christ’s coming again, both have been and shall be blessed.’ His epistles are to his inward life, what the mountains and rivers of Asia and Greece and Italy are to his outward life—the imperishable part which still remains to us, when all that time can ruin has passed away.”

We are not informed in the preface to what extent the present edition has been revised, nor whether any important alterations have been made in it; nor have we the original work by us to enable us to answer these questions for ourselves. We see Mr. Jowett is quoted, and therefore we conclude that all that has been done in this department of scriptural comment up to the present time has been considered by the authors. The observations made by them on the expectation of the coming of the Lord in the Thessalonian Church, and the apostle’s prediction of the apostasy, are plain and sensible, without any investigation of the special terms employed by him. They say:—

“Not many months of this period had elapsed, when St. Paul found it necessary to write again to the Thessalonians. The excitement which he had endeavoured to allay by his first Epistle had increased, and the fanatical portion of the Church had availed themselves of the impression produced by St. Paul’s personal teaching to increase it. It will be remembered that a subject on which he had especially dwelt while he was at Thessalonica, and to which he had also alluded in his first Epistle, was the second advent of our Lord. We know that our Saviour Himself had warned His disciples that ‘of that day, and that hour, knoweth no man; no, not the angels of heaven, but the Father only;’ and we find these words remarkably fulfilled by the fact that the early Church, and even the apostles themselves, expected their Lord to come again in that very generation. St. Paul himself shared in that expectation, but being under the guidance of the Spirit of Truth, he did not deduce therefrom any erroneous practical conclusions. Some of his disciples, on the other hand, inferred that if indeed the present world were so soon to come to an end, it was needless to pursue their common earthly employments any longer. They forsook their work, and gave themselves up to dreamy expectations of the future; so that the whole framework of society in the Thessalonian Church was in danger of dissolution. Those who encouraged this delusion, supported it by imaginary revelations of the Spirit; and they even had recourse to forgery, and circulated a letter purporting to be written by St. Paul, in confirmation of their views. To check this evil St. Paul wrote his second Epistle. In this he endeavours to remove their present erroneous expectations of Christ’s immediate coming, by

reminding them of certain signs which must precede the second advent. He had already told them of these signs when he was with them, and this explains the extreme obscurity of his description of them in the present Epistle; for he was not giving new information, but alluding to facts which he had already explained to them at an earlier period. It would have been well if this had been remembered by those who have extracted such numerous and discordant prophecies and anathemas from certain passages in the following epistle."

This passage well illustrates what can be done in explaining a passage by placing ourselves in the circumstances of the writer, and of those whom he addresses. Especially should it be remembered that what is advanced in this epistle respecting "the man of sin, the son of perdition," is only supplementary to what had been given in oral communications, and that therefore it is doubtful to what extent the description here given *ever can* be comprehended by the Church at large. Those who forget the circumstances in which St. Paul wrote, and look on the apostolic epistles as *primarily* intended for all time, waste their energies on hypotheses on a subject to which the key is wanting, namely, the apostle's prior communications. That every proposition and statement of St. Paul, in this celebrated passage, either has had, or will have a fulfilment, we entertain no manner of doubt; but, in the absence of that key, it is hard to say whether we, in this age, are competent to unlock the mystery. Perhaps time will develope events which will make plain what is now enigmatical, and sensible expositors are content to wait till it arrives.

The descriptions of cities, and the engravings of coins and other objects, with which this work abounds, and which probably form one of its most potent attractions to the larger class of readers; can only be considered as illustrating the epistles of St. Paul in a very inferior degree. We would not discourage this kind of *incidental* light thrown on the Bible, but we yet think it is much abused, and presumed to have a far higher value than we can attach to it. From the maps of the Holy Land in our schools, up to the artistic and expensive drawings of oriental scenery and antiquities intended to familiarize us with local scenes and events, the instruction conveyed by such means does not relate to the *substance* of divine truth, and does little to elucidate its meaning. An exaggerated importance is attached in the present day to these illustrations of Scripture, as they are called. Thus plans have been devised for upturning the soil of Palestine, in order to bring to light Hebrew monuments, and even to expose to day the remains of patriarchs and kings. As matters of archæology such things are interesting,

and that is about all that can be said in their behalf. We need no additional proof of the truth of the Bible history ; for those who now doubt it, would still be sceptical whatever stores of evidences research might disclose. What we really want is, a deeper and more complete realization of what the sacred writers *thought* when they wrote in old time for our learning ; and an explication of an obscure sentiment in Isaiah would be, we think, of far more value than the resuscitation of the mummy of Jacob, or the foundations of the first temple. Writers on prophecy are especially liable to the mania for mere material substances as expounding ancient predictions, and whole volumes have been written on the supposition that the wrath of God was poured out on stones and the features of natural scenery, rather than on the sinning nations of men against whom the burden of the Lord was directed.

We are rather surprised to find no reference is made, under the head of the death of St. Paul, to an ingenious exposition of the verse, 2 Tim. iv. 13, where the apostle says, "The cloak that I left at Troas with Carpus, when thou comest bring with thee ; and the books, but especially the parchments." As tradition informs us that St. Paul was beheaded, because he was a Roman citizen, and not crucified, as St. Peter is said to have been, it has been suggested that the things he urged Timothy to bring were the documentary evidences of the freedom he inherited. The subject has been well alluded to by the Rev. E. Miller, of Bognor, in a volume of sermons printed some years ago ; and still further illustrated in the remarkable work called, *The Chronicles of Cartaphilus, the Wandering Jew*, by the late David Hoffman. In his account of the death of St. Paul occurs the following passage relating to this subject. It suggests an idea which is worthy of examination, but which we do not find anywhere alluded to except by Mr. Miller and Mr. Hoffman, and, as stated by the latter, by the author of the *Pursuits of Literature*.

"This portion of the 'Chronicles' affords an interesting explanation of a verse (2 Tim. iv. 13) in which, after he knew his fate was soon to die, he still manifests solicitude in regard to matters seemingly of so little moment as obtaining his *cloak, parchments, and books*. After a solemn exhortation to Timothy as to his care and diligence in the faith, and after some touching allusions to his own approaching death and preparedness, his then loneliness, the perfidy of Demas, and that no one was with him save Luke, he says : 'The cloak that I left at Troas with Carpus bring with thee, and the books, but especially the parchments.' Now this anxiety respecting the three things asked for has been somewhat carped at by the sciolous, and especially the infidels, as being

unsuited to the decorum of his then condition—or by the pious, probably wholly misapprehended as to the true motive.

“That St. Paul pleaded his privilege as a Roman citizen, and was successful in that plea, in that he was *beheaded*, whilst St. Peter (at another time, *when* and *where* we know not of a certainty) was *crucified*, can in nowise be questioned; and that Paul should be solicitous to appear on his trial not only in his natural dress, but with his proofs of citizenship, and, if need were, with his books to establish his exemption from crucifixion, are matters extremely probable and natural—and hence he requests the cloak, parchments, and books to be sent. The mantle or cloak had by this time superseded the Roman *toga*, which perhaps had been little if at all worn since the reign of Augustus. It may be here remarked that none of the Biblical commentators have given this explanation of Paul’s request to Timothy; but the desire of having the named articles is considered by them as being merely for his comfort during his remaining imprisonment, and that the *parchments* he so especially needed were only his commonplace books! We presume that this verse has nowhere received the illustration which the above passage of Cartaphilus sustains, except in the two instances, first of the enlightened author of the *Pursuits of Literature*, who, though so emphatically a *layman*, has the merit of originating this view of the matter; which, secondly, has been entirely approved by the eloquent and learned Edward Miller, of Bognor, Sussex (see his *Sermons*, 1848, p. 107).”^b

^b *Chronicles of Cartaphilus*, vol. i., p. 219.

THREE MONTHS IN THE HOLY LAND.

(Continued from No. V., p. 114.)

CHAP. XVIII.—*Arrival at Jerusalem—Visit to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre—to Gethsemane—to the Mount of Olives, to Mount Zion—and preparations for my departure to Engedi.*

WHATEVER my anticipations had been, they were now entirely forgotten, in the actual reality. The Turkish guard at the gate had asked for my pass, had said his “pek eyu”—very well—with a nod, without looking at the paper, and I found myself within the walls of the “City of the Great King”—holy Jerusalem.

That was in itself a sufficient reward for toil, if toil could be such, with a prospect of this kind in view. It was the end of my pilgrimage; for had I not reached Jerusalem, my journey would have been in vain. It was, for once in this world, hope realized, and the dreams, even of manhood, actually taking place. Still it took me some time to believe that what I saw was not an illusion. Only by degrees did I grow familiar with the fact that this, and no other city, was indeed El-Quds, the Holy; and I thanked God for his favour, in having led and brought me thither, to the threshold of His kingdom; for it is the “joy of the whole earth.” It is, however fallen it be, the type of the city of habitation” we all look for, “built without hands and eternal”—the Jerusalem of heaven.

Abou Keshlān, who had before been at Jerusalem, and was therefore a “Muqdasee,” led at once the way to the house of an American missionary, to whom I had a letter of introduction from Dr. Smith at Beyroot. For in justice it must be said, that of all missionaries in the East, the Americans are the most kind and hospitable. We may regret, and justly so, that the ideas of a western church, should be first imported by such pioneers among the old churches of the East. But this does not alter the fact that, of all the missionaries I have had opportunity of knowing during my travels in the East, the Americans are the first for energy, enterprise, and hospitality. This case is one in point; for, had it not been for this hospitable treatment on the part of men widely differing from me in many respects, I must have been left to seek lodgings in some dirty retreat, among other pilgrims, who, at that very time, were thronging the Holy City for the Easter festival.

Along one street, and down another on the left, and

presently we alighted at the door of our host. We knocked, and while waiting some time for a reply, I could not but think of the servant Rhoda, who, hearing Peter knock at the outer door, for joy ran back into the house, to tell the inmates of his approach. For in Jerusalem the street door of houses is, even at the present day, at the end of a passage of some length, which terminates in a flight of steps leading to the apartments above, inhabited by the family. This accounts for St. Peter continuing to knock, without any one but the servant maid being either aware of his presence at the door, or willing to go to him.

In due time the door was opened by a servant, who shewed the way along the passage, and up the flight of steps, to the garden, and to the apartments around it. I found there my host, suffering from a fit of ague; with his wife and child. I delivered my letter of introduction, and he installed me at once in a comfortable room, which he most kindly placed at my disposal during my stay at Jerusalem. My servants had their quarters allotted to them in the yard below; for eastern servants take no room, sleep anywhere, and eat anything; and while I gave directions to the muleteers about the luggage, my host and hostess, in true patriarchal style, ordered dinner, and helped themselves in getting it ready.

Welcome as it was I felt most anxious to visit the town, and to ramble within its sacred precincts; and I could not but wonder at the effect of habit, and contrast my eagerness to get dinner over, in order to sally forth and wander through the streets from gate to gate, with the comparative indifference of all around me. One had been at Jerusalem for a year or more; it then became a city like any other. Another thought Bethany might be about two miles from the house, but was not quite sure; for he had only been there once during the past twelve months. He knew, however, that good apricots grew there! And when I enquired about Gethsemane, they believed it was somewhere at the foot of the Mount of Olives, but could not for certain tell where.

My first dinner here was very short. I received directions from my host about the way through the town, and I then left the house, in order to ramble, as I was wont to do, free from the trammels of either guide or servant, and ready to derive information from the inhabitants themselves.

I inquired of the first man I met in the street, the direct way to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

"Doughri, Doughri!" with a significant waive of the hand; that is, "straight on."

Straight on I went, through a bazaar and up a few steps, and

I found myself looking down into the court of the church, from the paved way on which I stood.

The sun was already low in the sky, and the shadows were broad and lengthening. The court itself lay in the shade, and a gleam of sun-light fell on the fretted and time-worn architecture of the sacred pile before me. I had seen so many drawings of it, that I felt as if I recognized an old friend. But it far surpasses its multifarious images scattered abroad into all lands. There is an indescribable spell about that church. It is not the belief of it being actually over the sepulchre where OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST lay; for this is both a very doubtful and a very disputed fact. It is not on account of its beauties of form; for it is a quaint edifice, built at various periods, and therefore wanting in outline and in general harmony. But I felt rivetted to the spot, in which pilgrims from all Christendom were flocking fast. And there in the court, which might be called "of the Gentiles," I could hear, as of old after the Pentecost in the same city, "Parthians, and Medes, and Elamites, and the dwellers in Mesopotamia, and in Judæa and Cappadocia, in Pontus, and Asia, Phrygia and Pamphylia, in Egypt, and in the parts of Libya about Cyrene, and strangers of Rome, Jews and Proselytes, Cretes and Arabians, speak in their own tongues the wonderful works of God." There I felt as I had not done before—that "of a truth God is no respecter of persons; but in every nation he that feareth Him, and worketh righteousness, is accepted with Him." There is no room for national or individual prejudices amid a crowd of Christians gathered from every part of the earth. On the contrary, it is the right place to learn two things,—first, how small one is; and, secondly, the lasting truth, that "there is one Lord, one faith, one baptism;" and that God and Father of all is above all, through all, and in us all.

The site of Jerusalem of old is now so much altered—gardens turned into thronged streets, and citadels into waste ground—that the objects to which individually real interest can attach are comparatively few. For instance, we should in vain look for Mount Calvary, still less for Mount Moriah; that is, we should in vain assume that such or such a spot is, beyond doubt, the one that of old had that name. It is well for antiquarians to exert their ingenuity in tracing out the old sites, dear to us all; but, after all, there is no certainty in believing in any one of them. The chief interest, then, in Jerusalem, is not so much individual buildings as the site of it as a whole, surrounded by its deep valleys and neighbouring hills, and the relative position and features of these. With the utmost stretch of imagination, for instance, I could not picture to myself in the slightest degree

what Golgotha must have been,— and perhaps it is better such names should lie in our thoughts deeper than ideas drawn from eyesight,—but I afterwards dwelt with intense interest on “the city” from the Mount of Olives, looking down upon it from—it must have been somewhere near—the spot where OUR SAVIOUR sat over against it, and wept over its impending doom. There can be little or no mistake in such a broad subject; for the outline of hills cannot have altered materially since the days when they re-echoed the voices of Him and of His disciples. The Mount of Olives is there, and still the same, with its principal knolls and marked features of arid scenery; and the ascent to it, with the foot-worn path leading to Bethany, are still general and broad features upon which we can look with deep attachment, and which we may tread and follow with devout interest.

It was, at least, with such feelings that I visited the Holy Land, and that I went to Jerusalem. Unlike most pilgrims, therefore, I neither went at once into the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, nor did I wish to remain over until the next Sunday, which was Easter Day, although that was to be a very “high day;” for the gathering of pilgrims was computed at not less than thirty thousand. I did not wish to witness the desecration of that holy building, by the uproar and the bloodshed which invariably follow upon the monkish imposture of the “holy fire” at the Holy Sepulchre. I also feared, and not without reason, the plague which often breaks out among the pilgrims at this time of the year; and, as this would have hindered me much in my journey, I decided on leaving Jerusalem the next day for a tour of ten days or a fortnight in the surrounding country, and not to return until the pilgrims had left, and I could be free to move in the Holy City, without crowd, and without fear of infection. I therefore made up my mind to take only a very rapid survey of Jerusalem before I left, that I might carry with me a distinct idea of the relative aspect and position of the principal features of interest in the place and neighbourhood, and to leave, if possible, on the morrow for Bethlehem, and the distant shores of the Dead Sea.

I did not, therefore, tarry long among the crowd in the court of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre; but I at once went up the flight of steps that lead from the court, to call upon the late Anglican Bishop Alexander, who had been established at Jerusalem for a year or more. I found him comfortably settled in his house, and surrounded by his family; in this respect, in strange contrast with the rest of the venerable heads of the eastern and western churches in the Holy City. I remained with him some little time, until, as the evening drew on, I left his house

for my home. Being "a stranger at Jerusalem," I retraced my steps in the dark through the same streets and lanes of the city by the which I had come, and safely reached the hospitable roof of my host.

It was arranged that, according to the directions kindly furnished me by Dr. Smith, I should send for a sheikh he knew near Bethlehem, Muhammed el-Khatîb, of the tribe of Taâmera, who, with his men, would escort me on my tour; for it was not deemed prudent or advisable for me to travel alone in those parts.

A messenger was accordingly to be despatched to him at his encampment near Bethlehem early on the following day. Meanwhile I slept but little that night, eagerly longing for the dawn, in order to wander across the brook Kedron, and over the Mount of Olives, to the village of Bethany.

The day did dawn at last, and I was soon up and ready. After a short breakfast I took my sketch book and my Syriac Gospels, and wound my way through dark and narrow streets to the gate, outside which, we are told,

"The holy Stephen knelt,
With stedfast gaze, as when the sky
Flew open to his fainting eye,
Which, like a fading lamp flash'd high,
Seeing what death conceals.

From thence a steep descent brought me to the bottom of the so-called valley of Jehoshaphat, and to the brook Kedron. I should rather say to the bed of the brook; for there was not a drop of water in its arid track, long since forsaken by the stream.

The sun was just peering over the summit of the Mount of Olives, and pouring forth its bright early beams of orient light among the time-honoured olives that grow on the slope of the hill, when I reached the spot said to have been Gethsemane, at the foot of the mount. Of course, it is only "said" to be; but the hallowed site cannot be far off, where thrice He said, when pleading for His church: "Father, not my will, but thine be done!" when He willingly made a sacrifice of Himself in sorrow unutterable, that only ended on the cross. Here, what pilgrim would not in silence—

"Among the olives kneel
The chill night-blast to feel,
And watch the moon that saw his Master's agony!"

There are still eight olive-trees that bear signs of the greatest age, standing together in a small plot of ground, surrounded by a wall-fence. They look as if, after having been cut down, they

had sprouted up again from the root. And although one cannot dwell upon the thought that they shared the fate of all the trees around Jerusalem which were cut down by order of Titus, yet they look old enough to allow the mind to rest without deciding the point.

While I was taking a sketch, or rather drawing a portrait of those aged olives, an English traveller came up to me and said he was going on the morrow. He had "done" Jerusalem in three days; and thought it was enough. I could only stare at him in answer, and wonder at what he meant.

From this sacred spot I walked up the ascent that leads to the top of the Mount of Olives, by the Church of the Ascension. The view from thence is beautiful and interesting in the extreme. The whole city lay spread before me. The dingy-looking dome of the Mosque of Omar frowning on the site once of the temple—"the abomination of desolation standing in the holy place"—the numerous minarets of other mosques, and the square towers of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and of other buildings, within the battled walls of the city, in fanciful and ill-assorted groups, and resting as it were on a hill abrupt on all sides but the north-west, with the extreme end of the valley of Jehoshaphat on the right,—and the hill and village of Siloam down below on the left,—and not far beyond, the opening of the valley of Hinnom, at the foot of Mount Sion, which is now no longer the "city of David;" but according to the word of the prophet, is "plowed like a field"—and beyond that again, the "hill of evil counsel," upon which Solomon is said to have reared a temple to Chemosh the god of Moab—over which rise in the far west the distant hills of Tekoah on the other side of Bethlehem—all that and more opened at once before me as I stood over against the city, on the summit of Mount Olivet.

How many thoughts crowd at once in the pilgrim's heart, as he looks upon so many scenes of sacred interest. To see the city where He was once—even crucified for us—and where He shall one day reign as King! And to rise in hope from this Jerusalem to that which eye hath not yet seen, and which is the mother of us all above! Alas, that such holy ground should be trodden down by feet unworthy of even the dust that clings to them! For here, indeed, the servant of Christ may well sit and think and sorrow; and then rise and hope, and go forth on his way, knowing from eye-witness that as the Word of God is true for the past, so also it shall come true for the time that is yet to come; when every eye shall see Him. Lord! may we see Thee as Thou art, and be found worthy of a look from thee, at Thy coming in Thy kingdom!

Passing over the brow of the hill, by the Church of the Ascension, I went by the lonely path that leads to Bethany, until I reached a retired knoll standing by itself, a little to the right of the path, and commanding a solemn view of Bethany, which lies below it in the distance, embosomed in groves of olives, of pomegranates, and of other eastern fruit-trees. Here most likely "he led them out as far as to Bethany, and he lifted up his hands and blessed them." It is not likely that He should have chosen the highest summit of Mount Olivet that faces Jerusalem, and upon which tradition has reared a church, in order to rise from this world of sorrow which He had come to save, and to go to His Father, there to prepare a place for His Church. Besides that site is not "as far as to Bethany;" words applicable, however, to the retired, solemn, and sacred spot upon which I was now standing. No room here for maudlin sentiment, or for individual pretensions to the kingdom of heaven, not grounded upon a sure and stedfast hope of acceptance through CHRIST. For here, the pilgrim, looking round upon the wide prospect of sacred scenery spread before him, and the same now as in the days when He was daily familiar with it, may well ask himself, not in a general, but in a heart-searching inquiry—did He go up to heaven to prepare a place for me, that He may take me unto Himself, when He cometh on the clouds of heaven to gather His saints unto Himself? And a pilgrimage to such places is not for good, unless it produce in us the fruit of holiness, through a closer and more habitual walk in thought with Him, who walked here on earth with us, "in great humility."

I dwelt awhile with intense interest on the surrounding scene; bounded on the east and south by the blue mountains of Moab, and glimpses of the Dead Sea, which reflected the sky above, like patches of azure among the desert hills. But as the sun was already high, and I had preparations to make to-day for my journey on the morrow, I descended among groves of olives and of carub-trees, into Bethany. I did not however stop in the village; leaving a more intimate acquaintance with it until my return to Jerusalem. I only looked upon that peaceful retreat from the rising ground above it: and then turning round I followed the road that leads from Jerusalem to Jericho through Bethany; and after a few minutes' walk, I found myself again in presence of the holy city, where the road winds round the Mount of Olives on the right, and the height of Siloam on the left.

From hence there is a nearer and better view of the former site of the temple and of Mount Sion, than from the top of the Mount of Olives. It is the favourite spot for artists, who, how-

ever, in general always exaggerate the proportions of the hills and of the depths below. I heard not a noise, but that of a few birds among the branches of old olives by the wayside. The whole city spread before me, from which not a human voice rose—looked as if mourning over her former glory, which has departed from her for a time. It is generally supposed that OUR SAVIOUR wept over the city from this spot; although another one is also mentioned, as I have already said. But the spot itself cannot, of course, be told. It must have been from somewhere near. And on looking from this high ground upon the city and beyond it, over the neighbouring hills, one may fairly say to oneself that those same features of nature, were once and often also beheld by Him who then said weeping over Jerusalem, and now, perhaps, says to some of us individually: “Hadst thou known on this thy day the things which belong unto thy peace! But now they are hid from thine eyes.”

I went straight down, among modern Jewish grave-stones, into the valley below. The chief object of interest at this particular spot, is the narrow span of the valley itself, which is little else than the bed of the brook Kedron; the steep and rocky site of the temple, and the tombs so-called of Absalom, of Zachariah and of others. Those buildings are interesting for their own sake, and for the sake of their situation, so near the holy city, and in a place, at present at least, very lonely and retired. But it is of course impossible to dwell with any degree of certainty upon the special object and purpose of those tombs. For the name given them by tradition is of little historical importance; since there is no inscription on any one of them to tell to whose memory they were reared.

Leaving these relics of ancient days in the hope of examining them more in detail another day, I followed a rugged and dusty path up the southern slope of Mount Sion to the “city of David.” There is at present a wely, or Moslem edifice, over what is said to be the tomb of David. It is a white square building with a dome or cupola; and stands a prominent object on the summit of Mount Sion, near the Armenian burial ground; and not far from the gate of Sion.

I entered the city at this gate, thronged on either side by lepers—the most piteous objects of humanity. I had not till then ever beheld human beings under such repulsive and loathsome appearance. In some of them the disease had eaten up their extremities, and none but the stumps of either their feet or their hands were left. Others had lost their eyes, their nose; or they were attacked in other portions of their wasted frame. I shall never forget the feeling of genuine compassion with which

I gave alms to one of those poor wretched beings, who raised the palms of his hands without fingers to heaven, and muttered—for he was unable to articulate—a blessing upon me for it.

As I came unawares upon these poor creatures, my nerves were not sufficiently braced by previous preparation, to enable me to tarry long among them. But I saw enough to learn a lesson—a lesson never to be forgotten. I now understood how leprosy, for which there is no cure—could be healed only by the touch of the High Priest; that is—how our moral taint is healed only by the touch of our own High Priest—“who is touched with the feeling of our infirmities,”—and who made Himself one of us in order to heal them.

From hence I proceeded to the Armenian convent and Church of St. James. My knowledge of Armenian brought me into the presence of the venerable Archbishop of that Church, resident at Jerusalem. I could not but be won at once by his affable manner and genuine eastern courtesy; as well as by the majestic appearance of his hoary head and fine white beard, and of his flowing pontifical robes. He bade me sit by him, as if I had been his equal; while I felt unwilling to take so great a liberty; but he pressed me to do so; and talked and treated me, a stranger to him, so kindly, that it would have been an ill return for his courtesy and fatherly bearing, not to yield. I then took my seat by him, and we began talking of common subjects of interest in the Church of Christ—to which he and I belong—notwithstanding some probable differences inseparable from our human estate. And as a proof of his good will, he gave me his blessing, and a broad-sheet, containing the form of baptism in Armenian, which himself had had printed at Jerusalem for the use of his own church. I really could not help contrasting the majesty of his dress and the genuine Christian kindness of his manner, with the dress and manner of some high dignitaries in the Western Church. In presence of the Armenian Archbishop, surrounded by his bishops, I forgot everything but his being a “father.” In the west, however, we are too often reminded of everything but of that endearing title, when in presence of our “fathers in Christ.”

He requested one of his attendants to shew me over the church, and then took leave of me. I kissed his hand and left him, much pleased with his kind reception. From the church which is very richly ornamented, and like most other Armenian churches, I went by the court of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, which at that time was very much crowded, back to my home. Here I found that the messenger had returned from Bethlehem, and that Muhammed el-Khatīb, the sheikh sent for, would come in the afternoon.

He was true to his appointment ; and accordingly came with some of his men to make arrangements with me for my journey. I soon settled with him ; and it was agreed that he and another friend of his, with half a dozen men on horseback should be at the door ready to start on the morrow at an early hour. The route I intended following was clearly made out to him ; and after having smoked his pipe, and wished us all good bye, he returned to his encampment, on the other side of Bethlehem.

Meanwhile, I prepared provisions, and filled my saddle-bags with such articles of wearing apparel as I should require, not omitting my sketch book, and Syriac Gospels ; and then waited for the morrow.

CHAP. XIX.—*Departure from Jerusalem—Bethlehem—Tekoah—Cave of Adullam—Engedi—the Dead Sea—Desert of Ziph and Hebron.*

THE morrow dawned, and after an early breakfast, my servants having made all things ready, came to tell me Muhammed el-Khatīb was at the door and ready to start. I took leave of my kind host and hostess and mounted my horse. Muhammed and his men led the way through the streets of the city, which we left by the Bāb el-Khalīl, or “Gate of Hebron,” that leads to Bethlehem.

Our way took us first down a declivity into what was once the Valley of Gihon, and by the ruins of the pool of that name, which we passed on the left, up the gentle ascent girt with fig-trees that opens into the plain of the Rephaim, that stretches in a southerly and westerly direction until we came to Mar Elias, a convent of that name, situate about half way between Jerusalem and Bethlehem, on the brow of the hill from which you look upon the town and the hill-country beyond. After Mar Elias, we passed the so-called “tomb of Rachel,” a Moslem wely erected to her memory, and then soon reached the gate of Bethlehem.

As I was to visit the place again, I did not tarry within its walls. But entering in at the gate, on the slope of the hill upon which the town is built, Muhammed called at the house of the friend who was to accompany us—a necessary escort said he, but more as a job for him, than a safeguard to myself—and we proceeded at once to Muhammed’s encampment.

On our way thither, and while descending on the southern side of the hill of Bethlehem, we passed by several vineyards, every one of which had a fence round it, and a stone tower in the midst of it. On that tower watchmen stand day and night

to guard the vintage ; and in the lower part of it lies the wine-fat or wine-press. Here was our Saviour's parable clearly made out. Here were the fence, the vineyard, the tower, and husbandmen at work. And the purpose of the tower became also plain to me, for on it sit the watchmen of the Lord's vineyard, whose office is to guard and not to plunder it.

A rugged ascent on the left by a lane up a hill brought us to an open kind of table-land, on which appeared at no great distance the "beit sha'ar" or "hair-houses," or tents of Muhammed's tribe. The tents made of goat's hair, either black or rather very dark brown, were pitched one by the other in a circular form, so as to leave an open space in the centre, on which the horses are tethered, and the small cattle rest at night. Each tent or 'house' as it is called, consists of a very long and wide strip of coarse goats'-hair cloth, woven by the women of the establishment. This strip of cloth, sometimes fifty yards or more long, and ten or twenty wide, is divided into three equal parts in its length. At each of the two divisions, two high and strong poles are fixed into the ground, and support the tent-cloth. Each of the two ends slope down to the ground, to which they are made fast, and drawn tight by means of tent-pins. The sides of the tent from the two poles of one division to the ends furthest from it, are hung perpendicularly with strips of the same cloth, which inclose the inner space into a kind of room. This is the portion of the tent occupied by the wife or wives, and daughters and young children of the father of the family. All the Arab tents that I ever saw were of this description ; some larger and some smaller ; but in every one of them, the enclosed space is appropriated to the female portion of the establishment ; and in the open space of the tent the host receives his guests, and sits with his family when alone. A tent of this kind affords excellent protection from the heat of the sun ; as well as the most healthy kind of dwelling, with plenty of fresh air, and a free circulation of it. For the door of the tent, properly so-called, is only one of the sides not fastened to the ground, and thus easily raised in order to go out or to come in ; as well as by the desert wind, when it blows.

These tents illustrate many passages of Scripture ; as for instance, when the bride, in the Song of Songs (chap. i. 5), says : "I am black but comely, O ye daughters of Jerusalem, as the tents of Kedar, as the curtains of Solomon." We also read often of a "shepherd's tent," pitched and struck in a moment, to which our life is compared ; and frequent mention is made of these tents in the sacred accounts we have of patriarchal life. An incident of that life was enacted before me here, in the tent of my host, Muhammed.

For no sooner had we come to his camp, than he led me to his tent, and bidding me sit down on a carpet spread on the ground, he went into the inner part of the tent behind me, and I heard him tell his wife to make haste and bake some bread for a guest whom he brought to his tent. The fire was lighted and the meal was also quickly kneaded and made into "loaves," or rather more correctly into cakes baked upon the hearth. And then he took some butter of sheep's milk, and some goat's milk, and brought it to me with the cakes his wife had just baked, and set them before me : while he stood by me under the tent and I did eat.

I then asked him where was his wife? And he said, "Behold in the tent."

All this, so simple and so genuine, brought home to me in a very clear manner the account we read of the reception given by Abraham to the three men who came to him in the plains of Mamre, "as he sat in the tent door in the heat of the day." Thus it is that, by travelling in the Holy Land, with sufficient knowledge of the language, to be free from interpreters, one learns to understand the very letter of Holy Scripture in a manner, and with a point, that no description can accurately convey.

After a halt of a couple of hours under Muhammed's hospitable tent, we made ready to start. He and his friend, the Bethlehem sheikh rode on horseback, as well as myself. They each carried a spear; as did also their attendants, who followed them on foot. Thus equipped, we bid farewell to the Arabs of el-Ta'amrā; and my guide Muhammed led the van down one of the deep dells that intersect the undulating ground stretching from Bethlehem to the Dead Sea. As we stood on the brow of the hill, he pointed to the country in the immediate neighbourhood; and said, "Ada ardi"—"That is my earth, or territory;" words which explain correctly the frequently different acceptation of "ard," "earth" in Hebrew, in the Old Testament.

The sun was fast sinking towards the horizon when we came to the heights of Tekûah, or Tekoah, the native place of the shepherd and prophet Amos. There is here nothing of interest but the very name of the spot, handed down to many centuries, and still the same as when Amos fed his sheep among the pastures of these hills. I gathered a few specimens of a pretty little dark purple scabious that grows here in abundance; not so much however for its rarity, as for the interest that attaches even to such details of sacred scenes. For doubtless the sheep of Amos, the shepherd of Tekoah, fed, as those of the wandering Arab do now, on the same kind of herbage.

From Tekûah we continued our route down Wady el-Awādj,

among the hills of the desert, covered with a pale-coloured kind of thrift, that seems to thrive on the barren slopes of these desert-downs. The sun soon sat for us, as we sank lower and lower among these desert valleys; until as the moon rose bright over the hills of Moab, we came to a large cavern, where we stopped for the night.

I wish I could have believed with certainty that it was the cave of Adullam in which David hid himself; inasmuch as there is nothing to render it impossible. We were in the Desert of Engedi, and on the borders of that of Ziph; in the very midst of David's favourite haunts, while he fled from before Saul. This cavern which is both spacious and deep, is not difficult of access, although it lies a little above the plain below. It held both ourselves and our horses, among which we all slept.

Muhammed's favourite mare stretched herself on the ground inside the cave, and lay motionless while he made himself comfortable between her legs, resting himself against her for the night. I laid myself down close to him, that is within a few inches of the mare's hoofs. Yet that sensible creature never moved the whole night; but continued perfectly quiet, as if she knew that by moving she would either disturb or injure us.

I cannot boast of having slept either long or very sound in the situation in which I found myself. For it was new to me, and it would require more than one short night to get accustomed to it. And long before the dawn, when the moon was low, and the shadows of the hills were still deep and dark, we left the cavern for Engedi on the shores of the Dead Sea. But for the occasional low voice of my Arab attendants, the solemn and silent look of wild nature around, in the dead of the night, did not for a time lead to much enjoyable contemplation. Whether in pretence or not, my escort always feigned great caution in proceeding along the track they followed; for fear, they said, of some marauding Arabs, their enemies. We did not see any, of course, so that I rather think it was a feint on their part, in order to enhance their services. They were continually straining their eyes to try and discover some of those dreaded neighbours lurking in the dim shadows of the hills, but without success. And at sunrise we reached in safety the highest pass on our way, "Naqb A'in-jidi," that overhangs the precipices, and the celebrated gardens of Engedi.

My pen must fail to describe the prospect which now lay spread before me. It was both grand and picturesque, solemn and yet cheerful in the bright morning light of day. For as we came to the summit of this pass, the sun peered from behind the hills of Moab, on the other side of the Dead Sea, which lay deep

in the chasm below, a lifeless mass of water. The morning breeze, blowing from the eastern shore over against us, gathered in long ridges a thick and whitish foam that moved almost imperceptibly on the surface of the sea; and which, so unlike the short and quick motion of waves on every other water, gave this lake, at this time when the rays of the morning sun shed a lurid light over it, the appearance of death. Its surface looked dead; and with the exception of the green trees around the spring of Engedi, the whole prospect was arid and barren in the extreme. My eye spanned the length and breadth of the sea, from near the mouths of the Jordan to the southern extremity, where the tints of the water mingled with that of the surrounding hills and gradually disappeared in the distance, but nowhere could I discover a sign of life or of cultivation. The whole of nature looked as if it lay still under a curse, because of the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah that once flourished in this plain, ere the fire from heaven fell upon them, and the foul waters of this sea covered every certain trace of their existence.

I was struck not only with the appearance of the sea itself, but also with the depth of its basin. It had the effect of making the summit of the rocks upon which I was standing, as on the eyrie of an eagle, to appear much higher than they really are above the level of the Mediterranean. I was well aware of the lower level of the Dead Sea; but the recent discoveries of its actual depression had not yet taken place when I visited it; so that I was not altogether prepared for what struck me when I first saw it—the deep basin of Bahr el-Lût, “the Sea of Lot” as the Arabs call it; or the Dead Sea as we are wont to call it in the West.

We began our descent towards the green spot called “Ain-jedi,” “the Fountain of the Kid,” or Engedi as it is spelt in the English Version of the Bible. It looked quite like a small oasis, in the midst of this barren wilderness of rock, sand, and sea; and a most refreshing sight in such a scene of awful desolation and death. The stony mountain path led us in short zig-zags against the steep—almost perpendicular face of the rock; and we reached Engedi soon after six o’clock. We lost no time in unloading our steeds, and in spreading our carpet under a large dôm, or jujub-tree that grows hard by the spring; and there I laid down, glad of rest, for I had slept little during the night; and the oppressive atmosphere of the shores of the sea began to be sensibly felt, and to prove extremely unpleasant. I felt at first as if I could not breathe freely; it also gave me a head-ache; and much as I wished to explore the neighbourhood, I had only strength to lie down, and patiently to wait until I

had partly recovered from the sudden change of climate and atmosphere which I experienced.

After an hour's rest I began to revive; and I felt able to sketch and to examine the site of Engedi. I looked in vain for "a cluster of camphire in the vineyards of Engedi" (Song of Solomon, i. 14). I found instead of it abundance of the apples of Sodom, that grow profusely in these parts. The spring which is abundant, of a somewhat brackish taste and warm, waters plentifully the ground, clad in rich and luxuriant verdure. There are remains of ancient buildings of no great antiquity; among which sauntered a covey of red-legged partridges, so tame as almost to allow of my catching them with the hand. Here also I caught several specimens of a pretty kind of satyrus of a bright yellow colour; the first and also the last time I ever saw that butterfly.

While we were eating our breakfast, a wild looking Bedouin Arab made his appearance, and rather took us by surprise; for I at least, did not expect to find any one but ourselves in this wild and forlorn spot. He brought us cucumbers, reared a little below near the shore, in ground watered by the spring of Engedi. He was the wildest-looking man I ever saw, whom I would rather have met, as I did then, well escorted, than alone in his company; especially in this place. He only wanted however to sell his vegetables, and also to know if "he was Russian or English;" that is, if the country belonged to either of these powers. I told him it belonged to the Sultan only; to which he replied with a significant gesture, "Very good, then it is mine too, as heretofore."

As the sun rose higher in the sky, the heat, reflected by the surrounding rocks, as well as by the brazen surface of the sea, became intense, and warned us to rise and be gone. We saddled our horses and then began the ascent, back to the spot from whence we had come, Nuqb Aīn-jedi. I could not but admire the sure foot of our Arab steeds. They clambered the rocks for tufts of stunted grass growing among them as if they had been goats. Their fearless tread in such places was the more remarkable, as the Arab way of shoeing horses, with a flat piece of iron, would seem to render the animal's foot less secure. No harm happened, however, although Muhammed's mare left the path, to graze in a situation to which her master would not follow her. He stood for a long time on the edge of the precipice, with a lock of grass in his hand, calling to her to come back. She took no notice of it, nevertheless; but continued to graze until she had had enough, and then returned to her owner.

No sooner had we reached the top of the pass than my Arabs

began again to be on the look out. We had not gone far, when a trifling but interesting incident, in this spot in particular, brought to mind another episode in the life of David, when he was a fugitive in this very desert. My hawk-eyed Arab attendant spied, long before I could see it, sitting among the stones and rocks, a small bustard, as it appeared to me, though I think it more likely to have been a thick-kneed plover, or *Ædicnemus*. He began to chase it on foot, and well nigh caught the bird in a race, until the bird, unable to run longer, spread its wings, and thus escaped its pursuer. Was it not a living instance of what David said to Saul, when pursued by him "among the strongholds of Engedi," "upon the rocks of the wild goats, in the desert of Ziph" we were now entering: "Wherefore doth my lord thus pursue after his servant? For the king of Israel is come out as when one doth hunt a partridge in the mountains."

We followed our track along the dry bed of a mountain torrent—Wādi Ghār, going alternately over hill and dale, in this wilderness; where, to tell the truth, none but an Arab could find his way. The scenery was sometimes enlivened by clumps of tamarisk, by a remarkable kind of delphinium (*D. strictum*), and by a no less conspicuous plant, a convolvulus (*C. erectus*), which does not trail on the ground, or climb like the rest of its kindred, but grows like a shrub, two or three feet high, covered with the most showy rose-coloured blossoms. This was a discovery new to me, for I had never seen it before; although it is known in Europe: and I cannot express the pleasure it caused me; for in some places it quite covered the ground. It is to the stunted vegetation of these desert hills, what the oleander is to the fields of the plain; where it blossoms, profusely covered with its cheerful and delicate flowers, along every stream, rill, or water course in the land.

Hungry, thirsty, and weary, I bade my men halt awhile; an order they gladly obeyed; for Arabs are always ready to smoke and to sleep, and, if they can, to drink coffee. I treated them all to some of it, and after that I laid myself down under a tamarisk—the very tree or shrub mentioned in the desert life of Hagar and perhaps also of Elijah—and I soon fell sound asleep. Not for long, however, for we had to reach Hebron that same day; so Muhammed awoke me to start.

We were now in the heart of the desert of Ziph. By desert is understood, not a sandy plain, for this undulating country is made up only of hill and dale, and of winding valleys and dry water courses. But this desert is a tract of country, which is not regularly inhabited, without towns and villages, and which affords a scanty pasture to wandering flocks only during the

early part of the year. We gradually came to more fertile ground, and to marks of cultivation, in the neighbourhood of Beit-haim, a village on the brow of the highest ground of the desert; from whence we had a fine view of the hills of Moab glowing in the rays of the setting sun. Here tradition places the site of the dispute between the shepherds of Abraham and those of Lot, who chose the "cities of the plain," which must have presented an inviting appearance to the patriarch, as he viewed them from this elevated ground.

Sheikh Yusuf, Muhammed's friend, found acquaintances of his in this village. They pressed him to stay, and he, by way of escorting me, remained behind with them. The truth is, that, if a traveller can speak Arabic, and behaves well to the people, he requires an escort, not for safety, but only for company sake.

The sun was fast sinking behind the hills to the west of Hebron, not many miles distant, when we took leave of the inhabitants of Beit-haim. We followed the path in a westerly direction, across fields of barley and of other crops, and among hills clad in fresh and green herbage, among which anemones and other flowers of the brightest hues were growing abundantly. The country round looked rich and picturesque: here and there the hills were capped with woods of oak, and girt with groves of olive-trees. The air was soft, and fragrant of the smell of the gum-cistus that covers the slopes of these hills; and the breeze of evening waved the crops, getting ready for the sickle. Thus beguiled, after a long day's journey we soon neared Hebron, which lay against the hill, prettily situated at the confluence of two valleys, clad in woods and thick herbage. We passed by the tank outside the town, and, having selected a retired and sheltered spot for my tent, we pitched it there, over against the town, where Abraham dwelt of old.

It was too late to enter the town that day; but while Sāleh was getting my supper ready, I walked to the top of the hill of Beth-arbaim, at the foot of which we were encamped. It is interesting, as reminding one of the ancient name of Hebron—Kirjath-Arbah. I did not, however, walk far, as the evening was fast closing in. And yet I had opportunity to witness another illustration of our Saviour's words, ere I returned to the tent.

A shepherd was bringing home his flock; but before he folded it for the night he went through the flock, consisting of sheep and of goats, and "divided the sheep from the goats,"—as it happened,—putting "the sheep on his right hand, and the goats on his left." It is a common incident of Eastern life, and yet I only had one more opportunity of seeing it done after that.

This shews how much we may lose by a want of observation at all times.

I felt very tired, and soon retired to rest; but I suffered much from the cold that night. The change in the temperature was both sudden and very great. During the day I longed for the lightest clothing, and at night every cloak and covering I had was put into requisition. I got up, however, the next morning none the worse for it, and much refreshed with sleep. For such life of constant and wholesome exercise is the secret for sleep and health. Few wants, few cares, few troubles, and moving among scenes of such absorbing interest, tend very materially to keep mind and body in good terms with each other.

Sunday, May 1st.—After breakfast I read the service to myself, and then heard both my servants read in the Gospel in Arabic. I felt it a day of rest, and enjoyed it as such; no travelling to-day; no hurry, no toil, none of the week-day bustle of life. I could and did rest, and read in peace of Abraham's sojourn in these parts, at Mamre,—of Sarah's resting-place in the cavern of Macpelah, if such was its name. It may rather mean that it was a cave, like others, hewn out of the solid rock, and divided into two parts—such as only belonged to the rich. Then of David, of Solomon, and of other incidents of Scripture history that took place at Hebron. I could, without any effort, identify myself with the sacred narrative; not through any particular spot or building, but with far more certainty, and, therefore, with far greater pleasure, through the unchangeable features of the hills and valleys around.

In the course of the afternoon I went out walking by myself. First through the town, which offers nothing remarkable but the mosque that contains the tombs of Abraham and Sarah, as I was told. Of course I did not believe it, and I went on, and passing through the bazaars, and one or two very narrow streets, thinly populated, I came out at another gate, and followed a path leading to a hill opposite the town, to which I went. There I sat for a considerable time reading, and studying the features of the scenery before me; it was a lovely prospect. At my feet and on my left, a wood of fine olive-trees stretched uninterruptedly for a mile or more: the sun was about to set, and was shedding his golden rays down the hill of Beth-arbaim, upon the white houses of the town, which contrasted admirably with the wooded hills beyond. But as it was growing late, I returned reluctantly to my tent, where I found Muhammed anxious about me. He and his men had gone about the town and the neighbourhood seeking me; and they made out, most dutifully, that they had had fears for my safety! But I had none myself. And my

subsequent experience taught me that I was right in feeling safe.

In the course of the evening I was visited by some of the inhabitants. One of them drew me on a piece of paper a plan of the relative position of the tombs of Abraham, Sarah, and Isaac inside the mosque, to which no Christian can have access. His description was not particularly clear, nor his sketch distinct: so that I cannot impart to my readers any information on the subject. They may, however, rest assured it is no loss to them; for the interest of travel in the Holy Land does not consist in such things. I do not mean that tradition is to be scorned, as it is by some men; for where circumstances of place and time tend to render it probable, it adds a great charm to travel, especially in a land that is sacred. But there is no room for indulging in any thought of the kind in this case. I would gladly have sat in the cave of Macpelah, if I could have singled it out from among the many excavations in the neighbouring hill. But as it was, I took greater pleasure in beholding the site of one of the most ancient cities in the world; and the unchanged and unchangeable features of a scenery among which Abraham and Isaac, and also Jacob must have lived.

After a solitary ramble on the top of the hill of Beth-arbaim, among ancient tomb-stones, to see the sun set in his Eastern glory; I returned to my tent, and soon retired to rest for the night.

S. C. M.

THE DIVINE LAW ON CAPITAL PUNISHMENT AND WAR.^a

IF we were asked the question, what could fully illustrate the truth of the remark made by one of Shakspeare's characters, that—"The web of our life is of a mingled yarn, good and ill together?" we would mention war: some individuals, however, would answer, peace, as they think that war is so great an evil, as to subdue every good and virtuous motive which can influence mankind. Believing that war is sometimes a blessing as well as a great evil, we cannot but consider such an opinion to be most unphilosophical and fallacious, for it is contrary to human ex-

^a *The Law of Nature and Nations, as affected by Divine Law.* By Leone Levi, Lecturer on Commercial Law at King's College. London: Cash. 1855.

Report of the Committee of the House of Lords on Capital Punishment. 1856.
The Herald of Peace. London: Cash. 1856.

perience, and cannot be supported by historical facts. As those who maintain this opinion are exceedingly dogmatic in their assertions, it is our intention to examine their arguments, as stated and defended by the Peace Society, and by one of the most talented of their number, who asserts that the opinion is not contrary to human experience, and that it can be supported by historical facts. In this article we shall consider both his arguments, which are very strongly expressed, and his facts, which are "few and far between," as they are stated by him in his recently published work.

In the preface it is asserted that the late war was "as fierce and cruel as at any former period;" facts prove that it was the very reverse of this: for instance, letters of marque were refused. Sir James Mackintosh considered the beneficial improvements which took place towards the end of the eighteenth century, as sufficient to make the art of war a part of the law of nations; in his *Discourse on the Law of Nature and Nations*, he affirms that—"In the present century, a slow and silent, but very substantial, mitigation has taken place in the practice of war; and in proportion as that mitigated practice has received the sanction of time, it is raised from the rank of mere usage, and becomes part of the law of nations." But if Mr. Levi's assertion is considered to be correct and accurate, then the practice of war is not in the least mitigated, and, consequently, is not entitled to be considered a portion of the law of nations; as he, however, draws no conclusion from his assertion, nor states a single fact to prove it, we are inclined to consider, making, of course, due allowance for the degree of civilization which the nations engaged have arrived at, the late war as one of the least cruel of any European war, and that it has assisted greatly in propagating the blessings of civilization; *e. g.*, the late firman of the Sultan, which gives to the Christians in Turkey greater privileges than they could possibly have obtained had there been no war. Late events, therefore, instead of invalidating Mackintosh's statement, prove its correctness, and that the practice of war is still entitled to be considered a part of the law of nations. Mr. Levi, it is true, does not deny that the practice of war is a part of the law of nations, but the very fact of his maintaining that it is *now* not less fierce than formerly, is just tantamount to saying that it is not a part of the law of nations, as it is the mitigation that makes it so, and that, too, independent of the divine law, although the practice of war in a mitigated form has its sanction also. Mr. Levi admits that there are cases in which the law of nature allows the shedding of blood (p. 33), but his entire work is written to prove that the divine law does not

sanction the shedding of blood in any form whatsoever, and we find no fault with his statement of the argument, as given in the preface:—"If divine law sanctions our killing a person who commits or attempts to commit murder at home, it will necessarily follow that we may kill a foreigner, or many such, who make or attempt to make an aggression upon our country. If, on the contrary, divine law forbids it, then both capital punishment and war are prohibited."

As both capital punishment and war are permitted and sanctioned by the law of nature and the law of nations, he endeavours to shew that governments and civil magistrates have no authority, "human or divine," to justify them in allowing such laws to be obeyed; or in other words, that the law of nature and the law of nations are at variance with the divine law. It is generally, and, we think, rightly, understood, that the divine law is just a republication of the law of nature, and if the law of nations is founded on the law of nature, it must also be founded on the divine law,—a more perfect development of the other, or in the words of Bishop Butler, "An authoritative promulgation of it, with new light, and other circumstances of peculiar advantage adapted to the wants of mankind." This opinion must be erroneous, if Mr. Levi's arguments are correct, because if capital punishment and war are forbidden by the divine law, then, instead of being a development, it is a repudiation of the law of nature. That he has, however, singularly failed in every one of his arguments, we will proceed to demonstrate; we say demonstrate, for sometimes the reasoning in favour of capital punishment, and the lawfulness of war, is almost mathematical in its nature.

The law of self-defence is first considered, and we think rightly so, for self-defence is the law which, more or less, guides and regulates our conduct in awarding punishment and declaring war. Although it is not denied that this law is innate, part of our very nature ("nothing seems more implanted in our nature than the law of self-defence" p. 28), yet it would appear that the chief motive which causes this law to act, is not sufficient to constitute its legality:—"Whenever we are actually attacked, and run a certain risk of losing life, a prompt defence is an unlimited exercise of self-defence, allowed to persons beyond the protection of, or not subjected to the duties consequent upon, a state of civil society;" such cases Mr. Levi does not consider as coming under the class of "extreme circumstances—admitted in a court of justice." In our opinion such an act does come under this class, and is allowed to individuals who enjoy the protection of a just government, otherwise they have more secu-

rity against wrong in a state of universal anarchy; the act would certainly be highly censurable, if not criminal, if the state of society in Britain was such as Mr. Levi maintains it is:—"Although iron bars, patent locks, and iron safes, are yet eagerly sought, slight observation will convince that such means of precaution are no longer deemed the best or only method for the security of property. Civilization has so far advanced, that mutual confidence is not exceptional, but general, and property is almost safely entrusted to the security and safeguard of the public eye" (p. 38). A reference to any of the books belonging to the police establishments in Great Britain, will convince any one of the absurdity of such a description, and should future historians consider this work of Mr. Levi's as an authority, they will certainly be justified in describing Great Britain, in the nineteenth century, as a land whose inhabitants were the most peaceable of any nation that ever existed, for locks and other safeguards were to them useless, and only bought for ornament; such a circumstance, the historian may add, never was known to have happened before in the history of the human race. Mr. Levi hopes "*that the use of the foil and the art of fencing may be for ever prohibited in all seminaries*" (p. 31), as, in his opinion, the very desire to be able to defend ourselves ought to be subdued, and the rising generation hindered from learning the noble art of self-defence, if we would obey the precepts and commands of the divine law. In the chapter entitled, "Divine Law on Self-defence," he maintains that in the phrase "resist not evil" (Matt. v. 38, 39), there is a plain warning against resisting personal injury, or evils committed by human beings on human beings, and that—

"The maxim is directed against the use of physical or material force to destroy or impair the life, intellect, moral sentiment, or absolute welfare of those who may have committed evil against us. Under the difficult position of either killing the aggressor, or consenting to our own destruction. . . . Our duty is not to consider our own welfare, or what might seem to us the most reasonable course to pursue, but what is the express will of God—what he enjoins, or what he prohibits" (p. 36).

But is it the express will of God that we should not resist evil? There is nothing to justify us in giving an affirmative answer to this question, in the sermon on the mount. "Ye have heard that it hath been said, An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth; but I say unto you, that ye resist not evil, but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also." The design of the discourse of which these words form a part, was to shew how the Pharisees misunderstood

the moral law, not that the moral law in itself was bad, for the law never intended that mere private revenge, returning evil for evil, should receive its authority. To resist evil we do not require to return evil, for we can, even in resisting, prevent evil; and, in consequence of not making a distinction between resistance and retaliation, Mr. Levi gives his sanction to the absurd dogma, that the weak must submit to the strong, or, in other words, that evil ought never to be resisted. That such a doctrine, so adverse to the well-being of society, receives any countenance from our Saviour or his disciples, we cannot, we will not, believe; rather than do so, we would maintain the sermon on the mount, nay, every sentence, every word, in the New Testament, to be the sentences and words of impostors and demagogues, lawless leaders of lawless mobs. But that a disposition to resist wrong rather than to return evil for evil, must be the correct meaning of the words referred to, is proved by Christ himself. In the eighteenth chapter of John's Gospel, it is recorded that when defending himself before Caiaphas, one of the officers struck him with the palm of his hand; Jesus immediately said to him:—"If I have spoken evil, bear witness of the evil, but if well, why smitest thou me?" Now if Christ intended the precepts mentioned in the sermon on the mount to be understood literally, and not as proverbial expressions, he would certainly have turned his other cheek for a second stroke instead of resisting the injury. It is, therefore, evident that it is not the express will of God that we should consent to our own destruction if it can be prevented; and if we can defend ourselves when attacked we can also defend our property, or what belongs to us, even although our doing so should deprive an aggressor of life. Yet does Mr. Levi assert that "we must rather sacrifice what is taken from us than commit homicide," and will not allow that the extreme case of either killing or starving is an exception; "an exception has been made to this, when the property embezzled constitutes our entire resources, but there is nothing to justify our resorting, even in such cases, to acts of violence!" (p. 38). The divine law allowed homicide in such cases, for if a thief was found at night attempting to steal property, he could be killed, but should he be killed when making the attempt in the day time, then blood was to be shed for him; if he could not make full restitution, he was to be sold. Mr. Levi also thinks it is questionable to give assistance, when we know that in so doing we must commit homicide:—"It is a question of serious importance whether we should afford help at the expense of our committing homicide, when, possibly, the person attacked might prefer to die himself rather than to kill

the aggressor." It is to be regretted that this assertion has been made without any proof as to its correctness from divine law, but it would, indeed, be strange, if such proof could be given, for to question the right and justice of giving undesired assistance, is to make despotism supreme lord of the human race, as we could not, without committing homicide, resist his iron yoke. Grant the truth of Mr. Levi's assertion, and we must, to be consistent also, grant that Bishop Sanderson was right in maintaining that a people cannot take up arms against a despot, "not for the maintenance of the lives or liberties either of ourselves or others; nor for the defence of religion; nor for the preservation of a church or state; no, nor yet, if it could be imagined possible, for the salvation of a soul; no, not for the redemption of the whole world!" Two events are narrated in the Old Testament, which prove that Moses and Abraham, who were chosen by the Almighty to be lawgivers, did not think they were breaking the divine law in giving assistance.

In the fourteenth chapter of Genesis it is stated, that after the four kings had defeated the five kings in the vale of Siddim, "they took Lot, Abram's brother's son, who dwelt in Sodom, and his goods, and departed." A prisoner, who had escaped, soon arrived at "the plain of Mamre," and Abram, being there, was informed by him of this event. Abram at once armed 318 men, who were "born in his own house," and marching quickly overtook the four kings near the springs of the Jordan, and there, during the night, he and his men "smote them," and pursued until near Damascus. "He brought back all the goods and also brought again his brother Lot, and his goods, and the women also, and the people." Resorting to violence in defence of property, etc., is either contrary to the will of God, or it is not; if contrary, then Abram was not justified in destroying the armies of the four kings in order to obtain Lot's property; if, however, resorting to violence is not contrary to the will of God, then Abram was justified in so doing, as it is not recorded that his conduct was disapproved of. It is far more probable that this transaction was in accordance with the divine will than otherwise, and being so, it must become a precedent which legislators ought to follow.

When Moses was 40 years old he left Pharaoh's palace, and visited his brethren. During this visit, "he spied an Egyptian smiting an Hebrew, one of his brethren, and he looked this way and that way, and when he saw that there was no man, he slew the Egyptian, and hid him in the sand." The transaction which caused the "beloved of God and men" to do this noble deed, must have been one of great oppression, yet the next day he was

made aware of the fact that his brethren did not desire to be released from their slavery, for when he reproved one of two Hebrews who "strove together," he received the reply:—"Who made thee a prince and a judge over us? intendest thou to kill me as thou killest the Egyptian?" This transaction, like the one narrated in Genesis of Abram, proves the correctness of the assertion, that those who communicated with the divine law-giver himself, and received his blessings, must have firmly believed in the divine authority for taking away life. Such authority, however, Mr. Levi maintains, the patriarchs had not, and mentions Abel's death, and the command in the ninth chapter of Genesis, as proving the correctness of his opinion.

It is true that capital punishment was not inflicted on Cain, but this fact does not surely prove that the taking away of life is contrary to divine authority. The sentence pronounced upon Cain was a terrible sentence, and so considered by the murderer himself: "And Cain said unto the Lord, My punishment is greater than I can bear." He gave four reasons to prove that this was the case. The sentence before it was altered was a sentence of death; "a fugitive and a vagabond shalt thou be in the earth." That such an individual could be put to death, is proved by Cain's own words: "Every one that findeth me shall slay me." The sentence when altered, at Cain's own request, was far more severe, as it took away the means by which his misery, if it did prove unbearable, could be for ever ended, at least in this world. The authorized translation of Gen. ix. 5, 6, is considered erroneous, and another translation substituted, and of course maintained to be nearer to the original, which, in our opinion, has not been considered by Mr. Levi to be "framed at first our oracle to inquire;" he must, therefore, be classed as one of those who "rack even Scripture to confess their cause," which process is rightly considered by the poet Dryden not to be confined to any particular period of the world's history:—

"But that's no news to the poor injured page,
It has been used as ill in every age;
And is constrained with patience all to take,
For what defence can Greek and Hebrew make?"

The new translation is stated and defended in the following terms:—

^b The remarks of Bishop Hall on the conduct of Cain (in his Fourth Contemplation) are in favour of the opinion maintained in the text: "God saw that it was too much favour for him to die, he therefore wills that which Cain wills. Cain would live; it is yielded him, but for a curse. God rejects him; the earth repines at him; men abhor him: himself now wishes that death which he feared, and no man dare pleasure him with a murder."

“ ‘ Whoso sheds man’s blood among men, his blood shall be shed ; for in the image of God made he man ;’ where is here the presumed authority to avenge by blood the shedding of blood ? In the English translation the preposition בְּ is translated *by*, instead of *in*, or *among*, or *with*, as its proper meaning, and the sentence is divided before, instead of after וְהָיָה .^c But to whom was the authority given ? Magistrates there were none, inasmuch as the government then, and long after, continued to be patriarchal. . . . The text therefore cannot be interpreted as an energetic declaration that murder ought invariably to be punished by death, and that God will require it of those who suffer the murderer to escape ; but, on the contrary, that God will require the blood shed under any circumstances whatever ; warnings with which the Scripture is replete, such as Psalm xxxvii. 9, or 20 ; lv. 23. Thus it is that the text may be considered not a command, but a warning or a prediction, and consequently this great so-called divine warrant for capital punishment—the great charter of all civil magistrates—is nothing more than a denunciation against the taking away human life.”

That בְּ must in this verse be translated *by*, is evident, because the preposition is here used to denote the agent or means, and our translators in maintaining this opinion do not differ from other learned men : *e.g.*, Junius and Tremellius have in their version *per*, and the pointing before it ;^d Luther has *durch* (by), and the same pointing. There is nothing in the verses to support the idea that they are to be understood as conveying a mere warning ; the passages in the Psalms, mentioned as being similar in their nature, have nothing to do with the subject we are considering ; they prove, if they prove anything, that murderers and evil doers only must, happen what may, perish, and are not commands, but mere assertions of the Psalmist, which are proved to be correct in every-day life. The question, “ To whom was the authority given ? ” is one easily answered. The authority was given to the individuals to whom God gave the command ; but it is maintained that this could not be, because “ the government then and long after continued to be patriarchal ! ” To say that any government ever existed without magistrates, is to deny the very existence of government itself, as no government, patriarchal or any other, can exist without magistrates ; deny the existence of magistrates, and you must deny the existence of government. Those who assume or receive

^c Mr. Levi gives in a note the verses as they are translated in seven versions ; they do not differ from the authorized translation, and give no sanction to his ; *dans*, as בְּ is translated in the French, does not mean *among*, and can only here mean *according to*, which is stronger than the English *by*.

^d Qui effundit sanguinem hominis, per hominem sanguis illius effunditor, etc. The Vulgate and LXX. do not translate בְּ .

authority are the magistrates. The patriarchs both assumed and received authority, therefore they were magistrates, and in that capacity obeyed the commands of the Almighty. We are therefore still of opinion that the patriarchs had divine authority for taking away life. To do so, however, Mr. Levi maintains the authority ought to be human as well as divine, and having denied the latter he also calls in question the former: "Whatever may be the excess of the crime, nothing will justify the state in taking away life, but a clear demonstrable authority, both human and divine. Such authority cannot be human, as no one can surrender what does not belong to him. No individual has a right over his own life, or over the lives of his fellow-creatures." Good government has been defined security against wrong;^e this security is not obtained by surrendering what does not belong to us. Our lives belong to us so long as we are in existence; no one but the Almighty can *without giving a reason*, be it a valid one or not, take this existence from us; the civil magistrates (who are, according to Mr. Levi, "sanctioned by divine authority"), however, may justly conclude that if we persist in doing what will prevent society from obtaining security against wrong, our existence must be taken from us, and in giving this reason they prove that the state has a right to take away life. The question, Has one a right over his own life? is certainly not the same as the question, Have others this right? The former having no connexion with the subject of the present article, we must leave unanswered; the latter we answer in the affirmative, and we think we have both divine and human authority for so doing.

The original law against murder was again enunciated as one of the ten commandments; this fact has been noticed by Dr. Ogden in his excellent sermon on the sixth commandment:—

"Immediately after the flood the law against murder was delivered expressly, with the penalty of death annexed to it; and the sixth of the ten commandments is but a repetition, or rather an epitome, of that original law, which was given to Noah and his sons, and in them to all the world."^f

Mr. Levi devotes a considerable portion of his work to the consideration of this command; and in doing so he uses lan-

^e By Sir J. Mackintosh in his *Discourse on the Study of the law of Nature and Nations*. The following passage from this admirable discourse is well worthy of the reader's attention:—"Men cannot subsist without society and mutual aid; they can neither maintain social intercourse nor receive aid from each other without the protection of government; and they cannot enjoy that protection without submitting to the restraints which a just government imposes."

^f Works by Hughes.

guage which would not be printed, we are convinced, in the columns of any respectable publication. That such language should occupy the greater portion of a work, the avowed production of a learned professor in a metropolitan university, cannot but be regretted by every candid inquirer after truth. He first considers Exod. xx. 13, and again gives a new translation of the text, which is of course considered preferable to that contained in the Authorized Version, as it does not in his opinion convey the true meaning of the original Hebrew :—

“Happy who can this talking trumpet seize ;
They make it speak whatever sense they please.”

The following sentence contains the new translation :—“The command does not mean properly, ‘Thou shalt not kill,’ which might be applied also against the destruction of animals, nor, ‘Thou shalt do no murder,’ as given in the old English version, and implying an act of malice, but, ‘*Thou shalt not commit homicide.*’” That the words cannot mean this must be evident to those who understand Hebrew. “Shall not murder,” is the command; the part. רָצַח , which means manslayer or homicide, is not in the text, and if homicide was only meant, that word must certainly have been used, and another added to complete the sense; this is done by Mr. Levi, consequently his translation is incorrect. To substitute one word for another, and to add words not in the original, is never allowed in translating, and those who do so must expect to be considered as either advocates for a favourite hypothesis, or pedants who are totally unqualified for the task. The verb רָצַח means *to murder*, as well as *to kill*, and must be here understood in the former, and not in the latter, sense; consequently the old English version is certainly the best translation, otherwise, to be consistent, the destruction of animals as well as men is forbidden. The LXX. ($\phi\omicron\nu\nu\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\epsilon\iota\varsigma$), the Vulgate (*occides*), and Luther (*tödten*), render it as meaning murder. The command as rendered in the new translation is maintained to be—

“A precept as broad as it is clear, neither does it admit of any limitation of its import, either in the animus, the occasion, or the instrument. It allows no justifiable homicide either, under command of the law, for the advancement of public justice, nor for the prevention of crimes in themselves capital. It countenances no distinction between justifiable, excusable, or felonious homicide. Such distinctions are valuable in extenuating the circumstances of guilt, yet they do not justify a departure from the plain injunction against a meditated shedding of human blood; manslaughter being distinguishable from them all in this, that the malice, either expressed or implied, which is the very essence of murder, is there presumed to be totally wanting.”

The new translation contains a command that, in our opinion, does admit of limitation; the very definition of homicide, given in the sentence just quoted, proves this, ("a meditated shedding of human blood,") for there can be no *meditated* shedding of human blood without *malice*; and of the three kinds of homicide only one has malice, viz., felonious: consequently to it only does the command, as understood by Mr. Levi, apply. How did the Jews themselves understand this command? Did they do anything to countenance the idea that in consequence of it, magistrates had no right to inflict capital punishment? or, in other words, did the command, in their opinion, allow justifiable or excusable homicide? That they understood it to mean the forbidding only of felonious homicide or murder is proved on evidence the most convincing, which no reasoning, however plausible, can enable any one to deny. They never considered it to be murder if an individual killed another in just and lawful defence; they never maintained the legal execution of justice to be murder (Deut. xix. 11; Exod. xxi. 14), because it did not bring on them, but on the contrary, put away the guilt of innocent blood: "The elders of his city shall deliver him into the hand of the avenger; and thou shalt put away the guilt of innocent blood from Israel, that it may go well with thee" (Deut. xix. 12, 13; xxi. 9).^g The penalty of death was inflicted for other crimes than that of murder; and if justifiable homicide was not allowed, the Jews must have continually broken the command; but as they were commanded by God to act as they did, "shall not murder" must be the correct and only meaning of the command.

It is, therefore, evident that there is nothing in the Jewish code to justify the following illustration given by Mr. Levi to prove that the command was not limited:—

"What difference can we perceive, for example, in the moral turpitude of a malefactor, an executioner, and a soldier? Each of these act intentionally, and with premeditation, and the only difference is, that the *executioner* and the *soldier* (!) stain their own hands in the blood of their fellow-creatures upon command of the magistrates or of the general. A striking comparison has been made of the circumstances which attend the moral guilt of *an assassin* and a *soldier* (!)."

Here follows a long extract from a work entitled, *Thou shalt not Kill*, by one William Stokes, in which a soldier is proved, to

^g "The cruelty in this case," says Dr. Ogden, "were to spare, and mercy were a second murder. Some other offences also, though they be less heinous than this, it may be necessary, for the public good, to punish in the same manner; and there are examples of the like salutary severity among the laws that came from God."

the writer's satisfaction, to be worse than an assassin ! " He perpetrates the same deed without even the low plea of revenge or a palliation." If Mr. Levi had stated that he objected to some of the opinions expressed in the extract, we would not have quoted from one of the most uncharitable, unchristian, attacks against a most honourable profession ; but as he does not object to them, and even thinks the arguments unanswerable, we will in a few words shew the fallacy of the comparison. No one is justified in maintaining that an individual in consequence of being a soldier is morally guilty ; consequently, it is a mere assumption to assert that the soldier is morally guilty as well as the assassin. If we put the argument in a logical form, the fallacy will be apparent ; the profession of arms is criminal ; soldiers belong to the profession of arms, therefore they are criminals, and must be classed with malefactors and assassins. This conclusion would be correct if one of the premises did not happen to be false, and not in the least supported by facts ; when, however, facts are given which prove the profession of arms to be criminal, then, but not till then, will we admit that a soldier can be compared with an assassin. But no comparison can be made when the objects compared have distinct and separate qualities common to neither of them ; that the assassin and soldier have qualities common to neither of them, is proved by the fact that the soldier *protects*, and does not *molest*, like the assassin, the inhabitants or government who employs him.

In the appendix on *The Judicial or Civil Laws of Moses*, Mr. Levi states that the command, "Thou shalt not kill," together with the Levitical law of capital punishment, "can scarcely be made to explain each other." For *scarcely* substitute *cannot*. The translation, "Thou shalt not murder," must, therefore, be understood as the true meaning of the command, otherwise the Jews were governed by lawgivers who must have wanted that wisdom which is generally considered to belong to their class. We are astonished that an individual of Mr. Levi's abilities should imagine that such fallacious reasoning as the following could convince any one capable of thinking for himself:—

"Whilst the ten commandments were *universal* in their nature, the Levitical law was essentially of a *local* character. 'Thou shalt not kill,' is a great moral command : the punishment for the crime of so doing is a civil institution. The former is of perpetual and universal obligation. Can it be so said of the latter?"

Why separate what must be considered a part of the Levitical law ? If the part be universally binding, so must the whole ; the ten commandments are a portion, and the chief

portion, of the Levitical law, therefore the Levitical law as a whole is binding, and "of perpetual and universal obligation." But in what manner is it binding? Who is to determine the degree of the restraint it makes on the human will? Such questions can be answered, as we are not left without positive commands and instructions from him who came not to destroy but to fulfil the law. He maintained that the ten commandments were binding; and as to the rest of the Levitical law, he shewed in his answers to the Jews that they did not, on account of their pride and conceit, understand it; *e.g.*, "Thou shalt not do any work on the sabbath," he explained and proved that the degree of restraint was one which admitted of considerable latitude; for instance, works of mercy, etc., were not forbidden. To do work on the sabbath-day was by Moses punished by death (this was done to the man guilty of picking up sticks), with the sanction of the Almighty, and in so doing proved the lawfulness of making capital punishment extend to cases where murder was not the crime committed; and that such punishment could be abolished when no longer required, is evident from the construction put on the command by our Saviour himself. The Rev. J. F. Denham (*Kitto's Cyclopædia*, art. *Punishment*) maintains that "if capital punishment in Christian nations be defended from the Mosaic law, it ought in fairness to be extended to all the cases sanctioned by that law, and among the rest, as Paley argues, to the doing of any work on the sabbath-day." Now we do not defend capital punishment from the Mosaic law, but merely assert that this law, being divine, proves that capital punishment is not contrary to the divine will; and "all the cases sanctioned by that law" (*e.g.*, punishment of death for sabbath labour) are cases not contrary to the divine will, but not commands always to be obeyed; they merely give authority to the magistrates or government, who can enforce the punishment, if circumstances demand it, seeing the authority for so doing is divine; otherwise, if only human, they could not make any crime capital. Once admit that the Levitical law is abrogated, and you for ever do away with the divine authority for any kind of government.^a

The last argument against capital punishment that we can notice, is contained in the sixteenth section, and is put in the form of a question: "Is the penalty of death the highest of

^a The rest of the appendix consists of a long extract from a work on *The Laws of the Ancient Hebrews*, by one Wines; the reasoning is most absurd, and concludes with the following sentence:—"If God were now, by special revelation, to enact a code of civil laws for every nation on the globe, it is not likely that any two of them would agree in every particular!"

punishments for the highest of crimes?" The following arguments are considered sufficient to justify a negative answer to this question. 1. It is not so corrective as "a lingering and indefinite punishment, which will at all times have a more corrective influence than the most certain punishment of death" (p. 58). This assertion is founded on the supposition that if the criminal be at liberty to make a desperate choice between immediate death or hard punishment for life, "he will unhesitatingly prefer death to a continuation of misery." In our opinion, if the criminal had the choice, he would take the continuation, and why? because he would have a chance of escaping and of gratifying his revenge, the strongest of human passions, not on one individual but on society at large; whereas by being put to death, society is a gainer. It will not do to say, the criminal *may* reform during his punishment, for an individual who has been proved guilty of one or more of the ten crimes now punished by death cannot reform when hatred and revenge have the mastery of his reason, and to allow reason to act you must cease the "lingering punishment;" and if you do so, then the criminal is no longer different from those who have committed trifling offences. Independent of its insufficiency, a lingering punishment would be nothing else than legalized torture. Is Mr. Levi prepared to maintain that legalized torture is a punishment that should be found in the criminal code of a Christian nation? We think not, although it is the result that must follow if his theory should ever be put in practice. Several political writers, it is true, have maintained that for crimes instigated by avarice only, slavery for life and hard work would be a more adequate punishment than death. "I would subscribe," says Lord Kames in his *Sketches* (vol. i., p. 301), "to that opinion but for the following consideration, that the having such criminals perpetually in view, would harden our hearts, and eradicate pity—a capital moral passion." As long as such an objection exists, so long ought we to refuse, with this eminent lawyer, to sanction any such cruel mode of procedure. 2. Death as a punishment has not "a salutary influence on society." A long extract from the *Eclectic Review* is given by Mr. Levi to prove this, and the argument as there stated is considered by him to be unanswerable. It is salutary to prevent crime by law, because society cannot exist unless the criminal is prevented from encouraging others to repeat his crime: law-

i "It appears indeed," says the same writer, "that such a punishment would be more effectual than death to repress theft; but can any one doubt that society would suffer more by eradicating pity and humanity, than it would gain by punishing capitally every one guilty of theft?" See also Paley's *Moral Philosophy*, chap. ix.

givers say that this cannot be done in many cases without making the punishment death, consequently the punishment of death has from its very nature a salutary influence on society. Executions are public not for the sake of example only, but because society must, and will, know if the law has been carried into effect or not; hence the reason why executions are never now, at least in this country, made private. As to the bad effects arising from such public exhibitions, we admit they are revolting; but seeing that executions generally take place early in the morning, it is for parents and others to use their influence to hinder those they have control over from going to see them; and as education becomes more general, so will individuals see the advantage of absenting themselves from exhibitions which from the nature of the thing must happen, unless executions are made private, and we hope that the time is not far distant when they will be so. Both the present Bishop of Oxford and Lord Campbell are in favour of this system, and have in Parliament advocated its adoption in this country; and the Report just published of the Committee appointed by the House of Lords to consider the present mode of carrying into effect capital punishments, is in favour of private executions. In this excellent but brief Report, we find it stated that the witnesses examined were those "who, from their official position, possessed peculiar opportunities of drawing their conclusions." In Prussia and in many of the states of Germany, executions have been always carried into effect within the prison walls for the last ten or twelve years, and it is the same in many of the North American states and in the colony of British Guiana. The Report concludes with four propositions, which strongly recommend that executions "should in future be carried into effect within the precincts of the prison, or in some place securing similar comparative privacy."

The fact that some who were innocent of the crime imputed to them have been executed, is no argument against capital punishment, because such things must happen; it applies to all kinds of punishment, and can only cease occurring when the State allows of no punishment whatsoever. Man is fallible, and all he can do is to try to be as near perfection as possible; more he cannot possibly do so long as he exists: the laws which he makes are consequently anything but perfect, and the innocent must sometimes suffer; when this is considered, the wonder is, not that any innocent individuals suffer, but that so few do suffer, seeing that man at the very best is a fallible creature. We do not deny that the crimes of murder and attempts to murder "are only 0·00015 per cent. of the population of England

and Wales, or 1 in 663,807 individuals ;” but this fact will not justify the abolishment of capital punishment ; it only proves that it is the means of deterring individuals from committing such crimes. Thus by Mr. Levi’s own shewing, the punishment of death is effectual in repressing crime and does not promote and encourage it. If Tom is allowed by his parents to go and see a public execution, and if when seeing it he knocks down Dick, who, when he gets up, immediately gives Tom a blow that is the cause of his instant death, we cannot understand how the execution that brought the two boys there, is to blame for this sad event. Who sent or allowed them to go ? their parents ; and they alone, and not the execution, are to blame. Take the case of Quennell executed in 1846. “ His argument was,” says Mr. Levi, “ the man did me wrong, and I killed him for it. *This logic he had learned from the law.*” If this is the kind of logic the students of commercial law at King’s College are taught, we pity them. Did Quennell collect twelve of his companions and call witnesses to prove that the man did him wrong ; and did the twelve in their collective wisdom say he had proved his charge ? No ; how then can Mr. Levi maintain that he learned his logic from the law ? Does the law permit its agents to kill immediately any individual who has done wrong to it ? No, on the contrary, its agents must collect witnesses to prove the wrong ; and if they cannot do so, then it is concluded that no wrong has been done. The law never kills ; it tries and condemns ; a very different thing from depriving a fellow-creature of life simply because you alone imagine he has done you wrong.

Such then are some of the arguments which prove that the law of nature, the law of nations, and the divine law, sanction capital punishment. Do they also sanction war ? is the question we are now to consider.

The following is Mr. Levi’s opinion of war in the abstract : “ Violence and crime, cold and hunger, disease and sufferings are its attendants, . . . and the results of centuries of progress and civilization are all laid prostrate at the altar of this martial divinity.” This is a very common but most imperfect description of war, as the attendants mentioned are also the attendants of peace. That peace and war are both blessings and evils must be admitted by every reader of history, and being so, the latter must be sanctioned by the divine law. The effects produced by war on individuals and states prove it to be, in many instances, a greater blessing than peace. The progress of civilization, instead of being hindered, is often aided and greatly advanced by war. “ The most complete character of all antiquity,” as Bacon

calls Julius Cæsar, when he added new kingdoms to the Roman empire, carried Roman civilization to Britain and other nations, whose very existence was unknown to the senate and people of Rome. "Conquest," says the Rev. Sydney Smith, "has explored more than ever curiosity has done, and the path for science has been commonly opened by the sword." Even wars of ambition have enabled nations to obtain just and tolerant laws. Cromwell allowed all classes to enjoy religious toleration, and during his protectorate the Jews were allowed to build a synagogue in England. Napoleon Buonaparte gave to France the Code Napoleon, and in 1802 he made Protestants equal to the Roman Catholics, by recognizing them as members of a state church. A modern French historian has correctly defined ambition to be both a curse and a blessing; a curse, when it agitates the world without benefitting it; a blessing when it civilizes while agitating. War in modern times enables courage, generosity, disinterestedness, and other virtues, to obtain a sway which they never have, at least to such a degree, in a time of peace. It has been maintained by Lord Kames, who supports his assertion by facts, that "man by constant prosperity and peace, degenerates into a mean, impotent, and selfish animal: an American savage, who treasures up the scalps of his enemies as trophies of his prowess, is a being far superior" (*Sketches*, vol. ii.) A comparison has been made between war carried on by different states and lawsuits within a state—they accustom people to opposition, and prevent luxury and crime. During the French war in 1759 and 1760, there were 29 criminals condemned at the Old Bailey; during 1770 and 1771, a time of universal peace, the criminals condemned there were 151. The sketch entitled, *Peace and War compared*, by Lord Kames, is by far the most unprejudiced statement of facts that we have met with, and as his conclusion appears to us perfectly consistent with the reasoning founded on these facts, we cannot refrain from quoting it:—"Upon the whole, perpetual war is bad, because it converts men into beasts of prey: perpetual peace is worse, because it converts men into beasts of burden. To prevent such woful degeneracy on both hands, war and peace alternately are the only effectual means; and these means are adopted by Providence."

Before stating the divine law on war, Mr. Levi gives a section of his work to the consideration of "four artificial causes of war." His first cause is not an artificial one in any sense of the term:—"The plea of self-defence—either to prevent the aggrandizement of a neighbouring power, or from jealousy or fear of our becoming afterwards the subject of its future aggres-

sions." There is nothing artificial in this; wherever there is a community of human beings, civilized or otherwise, they cannot but prevent neighbouring states from making the community subject to their power; it is just the working of an innate principle in man. The second cause is the desire to incorporate "in our territories other places or states which we may consider essential to our progress." We do not think that Mr. Levi is right in considering this cause unlawful in the fullest sense of the term; we think, on the contrary, that it is lawful and righteous. Our Indian wars, and the war with the Kaffirs, are mentioned by him as proving his opinion to be correct; now the former only prove that it is the imperative duty of a Christian government to do everything in their power to aid in civilizing the people they come in contact with, and not only is it their duty to do so, but they must, if they find it absolutely necessary, make war on those who hinder their efforts to diffuse the blessings of laws and institutions the most perfect in existence. What was there in the late war against the Kaffirs at the Cape of Good Hope that was "unjustifiable and criminal?" Is Mr. Levi prepared to maintain that when a colony is attacked by savages, it is criminal to resist such attacks? Is it criminal extermination when the savages will not discontinue their attacks, and are, in consequence of their own folly, killed? "The supposed dictates of prophecy" is the third cause. The war that had such an origin never existed, and as no facts are given to prove the contrary, it is surely strange to mention as one of the artificial causes of war what never was a cause; although it *may* become one should future generations fancy themselves wiser than their ancestors, yet this does not prove that *it has been* one. The fourth and last cause is as follows:—"The protection of co-religionists in foreign countries labouring under municipal restraints." There are few individuals who will consider this cause as one deserving to be called "the criminality of religious zeal." It is now an acknowledged part of the British Constitution, that the government, if requested, must protect, even, if necessary, with the national army and navy, co-religionists in foreign countries; Cromwell did so when "the bloody Piedmontese roll'd mother with infant down the rocks," and for this and other instances of noble zeal in behalf of Protestants, both French and English writers vie with one another in expressing their admiration; this they would not have done had they imagined the protection of co-religionists to be criminal. Mr. Levi thinks that the late war with Russia is an instance of a war arising from the fourth cause; we think that it is an instance of the first: that the fourth had nothing to do with the war

appears evident from the fact that the Porte has a perfect right, as an independent state, to make concessions to any Christian Church, and in giving more concessions to the Latin than to the Greek Church, we cannot find anything "much to be regretted."

The thirteenth section is entitled, "Divine Law on War," and is divided into two parts, the divine law during the Old Testament times, and the same law during the New Testament dispensation. I. Mr. Levi begins with noticing some of the recorded instances of war in the patriarchal era, viz., Gen. xiv. 14—16; xxxiv. 26, 29. The first, Abraham's subduing the four kings, is regarded "as an instance of inconsistency of this otherwise most exemplary patriarch," and as a "failing" that cannot be used "as a plea for our own propensities." If Abraham's conduct was an act of inconsistency, then not only Melchizedec, but the Almighty himself blessed what we, according to Mr. Levi, are to consider "reprehensible." There is nothing that requires palliation in the brave conduct of Abraham, and we consider, as has been already stated, the incident as positive proof of the lawfulness of defending our property, and assisting friends (Lot was Abraham's nephew) and neighbours when attacked and overcome by enemies. The circumstance mentioned in the thirty-fourth chapter of Genesis is considered to be a sudden assault "on the city of Shechem for a private injury committed against the daughter of Jacob." That the injury was not a private one, and did not concern only the daughter of Jacob, is evident, as the insult was of such a nature as to effect the honour and very existence of Jacob's family, and, consequently, Jacob's sons had good cause to be "grieved and very wroth" at the crime (see ver. 7), which they justly punished by making war on the city; if this war had been an unjust and unlawful one they assuredly would not have prospered, but it was otherwise, as "the terror of God was upon the cities, and they did not pursue after the sons of Jacob." Can these two cases, asks Mr. Levi, be held as a precedent to justify war? We answer in the affirmative, and we think the divine law warrants us in so doing. Mr. Levi proceeds to consider "the manner in which the Jewish people became the possessors of the Holy Land," which, in his opinion, was "entirely by the direction and under the guidance of the divinity." Here, then, we have a people or nation on its march with commanders appointed by God himself; if the Peace Society, and those who agree with them in considering war as unscriptural and criminal, are right in asserting "it is in vain that by ingenious reasoning we endeavour to find in the Scripture the sanctions for war," and that

reduction of armaments and "periodical congresses of nations," etc., are the only just and lawful means by which disputes, insults, and misgovernments can be lessened, and, eventually, totally abolished, we must find, in the narrative of this celebrated journey, no accounts of battles, etc., but the transactions of congresses of the different nations to whom ambassadors must have been sent. If, however, war is "scriptural" and not criminal, then we must find narratives of well-contested battle fields, of victory and of defeat, and transactions, not of congresses, but of councils of war. Now it so happens that we have a faithful and most minute account of this journey, and from it we learn that the Israelites had a standing army, chiefly composed of infantry, which fought several battles, consequently, we cannot but conclude that war is not contrary to the divine law.* It is, therefore, perfectly consistent with facts to assert that the Israelites "were harassed by various nations, and were under the necessity of *fighting their way inch by inch* till they arrived at their promised possessions," and that "the Jewish wars proceeded from the express command of God;" but to maintain that these wars were also "intended for the punishment and destruction of idolatrous nations" (p. 83), is to assert what is inconsistent with the narrative of the events as they are recorded in the Scriptures. War was made on the idolatrous nations only because they refused, hindered, and assaulted the Israelites in their journey, and only such nations were punished by having war declared against them. Mr. Levi thinks that the questions, Would God "at any time have commanded what is in itself immoral and unrighteous? If war be in itself criminal, would God have so ordered it?" are questions "of impossible solution." In our opinion they are questions very easily solved, for what constitutes a thing criminal or immoral? Is it human or divine authority that makes it so? The child says to his parent, Why is stealing bad? What answer does the parent give? Surely not, it is bad because I say it is bad, but, it is bad because *God says it is bad*, and being criminal and unrighteous he does not permit it. The very same reasoning applies to war; if it is bad, then God does not permit it, but he does, according to Mr. Levi's own shewing, therefore war is not immoral or criminal. Let us not, however, be misunderstood. There are occasions when war is bad, but there are also occasions when stealing cannot be considered an evil, *e.g.*, when a starving mother steals to obtain food for a starving child; there is no

* The reader will find a full and particular account of the army of Israel in the article *War*, by Lieut-Colonel C. W. Smith, in Kitto's *Cyclopædia*.

law, human or divine, that can punish this act, as it cannot be considered a crime. What parent, however, would, because of exceptions, say to his child that stealing is good? So no exceptions hinder us from believing war to be allowed by God. "It is impossible but that offences will come, but woe unto them through whom they come," is no doubt a divine command, but how can woe overtake those who bring the offences? The narrative of the journey proves that war is the divine means by which this is accomplished.

II. It appears from what is recorded in the New Testament, that the profession of a lawyer is the only profession that is condemned by our Lord:—"Woe unto you, also, lawyers! for ye lade men with burdens grievous to be borne, and ye yourselves touch not the burdens with one of your fingers" (Luke xi. 46). If the profession of a soldier is criminal and totally unworthy of a good man's attention, we would expect to find a record of a similar condemnation; as no such condemnation is recorded, we maintain the assertion made by Paley, that the profession of a soldier is nowhere forbidden or condemned, is perfectly consistent with the facts recorded in the New Testament. This celebrated writer, in his *Moral Philosophy* (ch. xii.), mentions Luke iii. 14; Acts x. 1, etc., as instances which prove the truth of his assertion; they are also alluded to by Mr. Levi, who considers them to be "illustrations of inconsistencies often unaccountable in characters otherwise bright with piety and goodness!" In his fourth chapter he gives seven methods "for promoting international justice and peace," the first being "extension of religion." Many who are recipient, says Mr. Levi, of "the grace and power" of the prince of peace, "swell the number of those who disseminate the principle, or commit the crime of war, and thus clothe the guilt itself with the sanction of religion." The fact that such men as Colonel Blackader, Colonel Gardiner, Captain Vicars, etc., were brave and pious soldiers, ought to hinder the members of the Peace Society from calling those who belong to the profession of arms, "performers of deeds involving the perdition of immortal souls," "assassins," and "executioners." The official organ of this Society, the *Herald of Peace*, contains in the July number an article entitled, "Soldiership and Christianity," in which it is stated that a soldier is nothing else than a "blind instrument for the performance of acts having a moral character, without consulting the voice of conscience, or paying the slightest heed to the will of his master." The lives of the celebrated men we have just mentioned prove that this is not the case; and to assert that in military service there must be "the total surrender

of individual conscience to the control and authority of another," is to maintain what we cannot, we will not, believe, because if we did, then Colonel Gardiner, Colonel Blackader, etc., said and wrote what they *knew* was false, and contrary to their experience.

In reference to Captain Vicars' life the question is asked, "Will any body explain to us how a man, entertaining such views and feelings as these, as to the inexpressible value and importance of salvation, could nevertheless behold and be himself an instrument in hurling scores and hundreds of immortal spirits into eternity, in what he at any rate must have considered an unsaved condition?" Although no one has a right to ask such a question as this, yet we will give the desired explanation in the words of the late Dr. Crichton; "While Christianity condemns decidedly unjust aggressions and unnecessary bloodshed—while it recommends strongly to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace,—it inculcates, at the same time, energy and activity when the country requires the aid of defensive arms. Such being the case, every patriotic citizen will feel it his duty to make his private inclinations give way to the general interest" (*Life of Blackader*, p. 28).¹ Mr. Levi thinks that "the pulpit—the great engine of Christianity—has been too often *deseccrated* by warlike and inflammatory addresses. Surely it is not desecrating the pulpit to aid and assist Government in its endeavours to carry on war when State necessity demands it? Far be it from the pulpit to aid those who, urged on by the spirit of avarice, would try to hinder any war which a good Government thinks proper to carry on, because it must interfere with commerce, and thus prevent them from gratifying their passion for gain.

2nd. "Commerce, science, and art."—The history of Great Britain proves that war has done more to promote the welfare and civilization of the human race than commerce, etc., ever did. In fact, during peace, the spirit of gain hinders Christian civilization from progressing :—

"Peace in her vineyard—yes ! but a company forges the wine.
When a Mammonite mother kills her babe for a burial fee,
And Timour-Mammon grins on a pile of children's bones,
Is it peace or war? better war ! loud war by land and by sea,—
War with a thousand battles, and shaking a hundred thrones."

Commerce and not war supplied the Kaffirs at the Cape with muskets, powder, etc., although those who sold or bartered

¹ Among the cheap tracts printed and circulated by the Peace Society are the following,—*The Unlawfulness of Defensive War. Liberty not to be advanced by the sword!*

them well knew that these articles were to be used against their own countrymen.

Commerce is now considered to be the great promoter of civilization, and in consequence of its appealing to the strongest of human passions—the love of gain, its adherents are daily increasing. To the benefit of society? Facts hinder us from answering this question in the affirmative. A report of a late committee of the House of Lords states that “there is scarcely *a single article of daily use* which it is possible to procure *genuine*, from ordinary shops.” At the commencement of the late war, instances occurred of great cupidity on the part of Government contractors.

3rd. “Internal Reforms of States.”—But for an appeal to arms this great nation could not have obtained many of the reforms which we now enjoy.

4th. “Holy Alliance.”—The text of the one proposed in 1816 by Russia, Prussia, and Austria, but with no comments, is given. In the First Article, it is stated that “the three contracting monarchs will remain united . . . and considering themselves as members of one country, they will afford each other, *on every occasion* and in every place, assistance, aid, and succour, etc.” This shews the real object of the Holy Alliance was not “peace and good will towards men,” but a desire to bind one another in keeping and getting territory.

5th. “Arbitration Treaties.”—The method, we admit, can greatly assist in promoting international justice and peace, but it cannot in every case supersede an appeal to arms.

The 6th, “Congress of Nations,” is chimerical, as it would take years, perhaps generations, before the “ambassadors from all civilized nations” could agree (if they could) to a “code of International Law,” which code would require to be revised frequently, and might itself become, in the case of one of the nations violating its conditions, the cause of war instead of a prevention.

7th. “Reduction of armaments.”—This, in Mr. Levi’s opinion, is the most important method “for promoting international peace.” Instead of being a most important method, we think it one of the most ineffectual of the methods given by him; for let it be known that a nation has a small, if any, standing army, and immediately such a nation becomes the object of desire to neighbouring nations having larger standing armies; and unless such a nation, as in the case of Turkey, has powerful and faithful allies, nothing can prevent it, unless it be the emigration of the inhabitants—an idea the Dutch Republic once entertained—from becoming the territory of more powerful nations.

The first of the methods we have just considered is the only one that can, and must eventually, hinder mankind from destroying one another. This, however, cannot take place if we do not refrain from applauding those who belong to the military profession; for it has been truly and eloquently asserted by the historian Gibbon, "As long as mankind shall continue to bestow more liberal applause on their destroyers than on their benefactors, the thirst of military glory will ever be the vice of the most exalted characters." It is related in ancient history of Archimedes, the great mathematician, that when explaining to the king of Syracuse the effect of the power of motion, he uttered the daring exclamation, "Give me another world for a fulcrum, and I will move this earth." What Archimedes so greatly desired in his physical investigations, was also earnestly wished for by the philosophers of Greece and Rome in their religious speculations. For many long years did they vainly toil and labour to find out that "chief good," as they called it, which should lift the heart of man from sensuality, superstition, war, and other results of evil passions. What then, it may be asked, can make mankind turn from the indulgence of evil inclinations, since the strongest efforts of unassisted reason could not succeed? The question is answered by the great apostle of the Gentiles, who says it is "the peace of God which passes all understanding," that can accomplish this (Phil. iv. 7). Those who possess this peace are enabled to refrain from those fleshly lusts which cause wars and fightings, and are consequently always willing to extend the blessings of that religion which, through the influence of God's Holy Spirit, has been the means of giving them that peace of God which none but those who possess it can understand.

If our remarks should appear to Mr. Levi severe, and sufficient to make him exclaim with Parolles, "My lord, you give me most egregious indignity," we can only say with Lafen, "Ay, with all my heart; and thou art worthy of it:" and should he, as Parolles did, assert that it is not deserved, then we give Lafen's reply, "Yes, every dram of it; and I will not bate thee a scruple."

P. S.



THE APOCRYPHAL BOOK OF TOBIT.

BEFORE entering upon a very brief discussion of the question, Is the Apocryphal Book of Tobit a fictitious legend, or does it contain a narrative of facts? we will offer an introductory remark on the supposed history of Judith.

In a former paper is the following sentence :^a—

“If we suppose Sennacherib to have reigned only ten years, and Esarhaddon thirty, the eighteenth of Nabuchodonosor would have very nearly coincided with the fortieth of Manasseh ; and the age of Judith at the siege of Bethulia must have been *sixty-seven* years.”

The real meaning of this passage is, of course, that if the united reigns of Sennacherib and Esarhaddon amounted to forty years, then would the eighteenth of Nabuchodonosor nearly coincide with the fortieth of Manasseh.

Now Sir H. Rawlinson has recently given it as his opinion that Sennacherib reigned from B.C. 702 to 680, *i. e.*, twenty-two years, and that Esarhaddon reigned from B.C. 680 to 660, *i. e.*, twenty years ; hence their united reigns may be believed to have amounted to at least *forty-two* years. According, therefore, to the data of the Book of Judith, the heroine must have been about sixty-seven years of age at the time of the siege of Bethulia, when her beauty captivated Holofernes.

Again, Sir H. R. thinks that Asshur-bani-pal was the name of Esarhaddon's successor ; and this is unfavourable to the notion that he was known in Judea by a title almost, or rather altogether, identical with that of the later *Chaldean* King Nebuchadnezzar. And, elsewhere,^b Sir H. R. has observed that “a

^a *Journal of Sacred Literature*, July, 1856, p. 356. At the foot of the page it is stated that “Amon was seventy-two years old at the death of Manasseh.” This is an error of the press ; it should be twenty-two.

^b *Outlines of Assyrian History*, p. xl. At that time Sir H. R. thought it possible that the name of Esarhaddon's successor might be written Assur-adon-pal. In p. xx. of the *Outlines* it is said that “*Nebo*, or Mercury was held in great veneration both in Assyria and Babylonia.” But it has not yet been found that the name of *Nebo* is an element in the names of any of the Assyrian kings whose tablets and cylinders have been found in the recent excavations.

It was observed in the paper on Judith, that it is impossible to identify Esarhaddon with the apocryphal Nabuchodonosor. Indeed, Sir H. Rawlinson has very recently stated that “there is an almost perfect cylinder of Esarhaddon in the British Museum, which gives an epitome of the events of this king's reign, but the matter is not arranged in the form of annals.” If Sir H. R. had found in the inscription of this cylinder, anything resembling the expedition of Holofernes, and the siege of Bethulia, he would doubtless have mentioned it.

vast number of relics have been found of this king; but those which are of an historical nature *relate almost exclusively to his wars with the King of Susiana.*" If this assertion rests upon a correct decipherment and interpretation of the Assyrian tablets, it is certainly calculated to discourage us from identifying this Assyrian sovereign with the supposed Nabuchodonosor of the Apocryphal Book of Judith.

They who are of opinion that it can be proved that Judith is a work of fiction, from the beginning to the end, will probably have little difficulty in coming to a similar conclusion concerning the Apocryphal Book of Tobit. In the introductory portion of this work we have (if our Authorized Version can be relied upon) the following statement,—

"When I was in mine own country, in the land of Israel, being but young, all the tribe of Nephtali, my father, fell from the house of Jerusalem, which was chosen out of all the tribes of Israel, that all the tribes should sacrifice there.... Now all the tribes which together revolted, and the house of my father Nephtali, sacrificed unto the heifer Baal. But I alone went often to Jerusalem, at the feasts, as it was ordained unto all the people of Israel by an everlasting decree."

Now the obvious meaning of this passage would seem to be that it was not until *after* the birth of Tobit, and while he was yet young, that the ten tribes revolted from the house of David. But this secession of the tribes occurred in the first year of Rehoboam, cir. 975 B.C. We are told that Tobit died when one hundred and fifty-eight years old. If, therefore, we suppose him to have been born in 975 B.C., his death would have happened in 817 B.C., a few years before the assassination of King Amaziah at Lachish.

But we learn from the Apocryphal Book of which we are speaking, that Tobit and his wife were carried captive into Nineveh, apparently by Enemassar (Shalmaneser) the father of Sennacherib, *i. e.*, cir. 721 B.C., nearly one hundred years after the time in which he ought, consistently with the supposed history, to have died. It may, however, be said that the inhabitants of Thisbe, the birth-place of Tobit, were carried into captivity by Tiglath Pileser, 740 B.C. But this latter date, being some eighty years later than that of Tobit's decease, would not remove the difficulty (2 Kings xv. 29).

It may be not unreasonably said that in this matter we are bound to believe that the seeming^c blunder had its origin in the

^c The Septuagint, or rather the Greek copy of Tobit, would, however, seem to declare, as plainly as our English Version, that it was while Tobit was yet young,

carelessness of transcribers, as it is not possible to think that Tobit (or his biographer) could have fallen into such a manifest error. Before we speak too peremptorily on this subject, let us see what he says of Sennacherib, and how far his statements are to be depended on, in reference to the facts of Assyrian history, where he appears to have been almost as grossly ignorant, or as rashly inventive.

If we look at verses 18—21, of the first chapter of this Apocryphal work, we find the following passage :

“ And if the King^d Sennacherib had slain any, when he was come, and fled from Judea, I buried them privily; for in his wrath he killed many; but the bodies were not found when they were sought for of the king. And when one of the Ninevites went and complained of me to the king, that I buried them, and hid myself; understanding that I was sought for to be put to death, I withdrew myself for fear. Then all my goods were taken forcibly away, neither was there anything left me, beside my wife Anna, and my son Tobias. And there passed *not^e five and fifty days*, before two of his sons killed him, and they fled into the mountains of Ararath, and Sarchedonus his son reigned in his stead; who appointed over his father’s accounts Archiacharus, my brother Anael’s son.”

Is it not a fair and obvious inference from this passage that not more than a few weeks, or, at the utmost, *a few months*, had elapsed after Sennacherib’s return from Judæa to Nineveh, when “all the goods of Tobit were forcibly taken away;” and that *before the end of FIFTY-FIVE days after this act of violence*, Sennacherib was murdered by his two sons? And would it not be doing violence to this autobiographical record of the supposed Tobit, were we to infer that a full twelvemonth passed, between the return of Sennacherib to Nineveh, and his assassination in the temple of Nisroch? In short, must we not come to

that the ten tribes revolted. Καὶ ὅτε ἤμην (ἐγὼ Τωβίτ) ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ μου, ἐν τῇ γῇ Ἰσραὴλ, νεωτέρου μου ὄντος, πᾶσα φυλὴ τοῦ Νεφθαλὶ τοῦ πατρὸς μου ἀπέστη ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴκου Ἱεροσολύμων.

^d Our version agrees with the Greek copy,—Καὶ εἴ τινα ἀπέκτεινε Σενναχηρίμ ὁ βασιλεὺς, ὅτε ἦλθε φεύγων ἐκ τῆς Ἰουδαίας, ἔθαψα αὐτοὺς κλέπτων. . . . Πορευθεὶς δὲ εἰς τῶν ἐν Νινευῇ, ὑπέδειξε τῷ βασιλεὶ περὶ ἐμοῦ ὅτι θάπτω αὐτοὺς, καὶ ἐκρύβην. . . . καὶ διηρπάγε πάντα τὰ ὑπάρχοντά μου . . . καὶ ὅν διήλθον ἡμέρας πεντήκοντα, ἕως οὗ ἀπέκτειναν αὐτὸν οἱ δύο υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ. The Greek copy, however, has only “fifty” (πεντήκοντα) instead of “fifty-five.”

^e In topographical matters there is a somewhat similar affectation of minuteness of detail. The book “of the words of Tobit . . . who in the time of Enemassar, King of the Assyrians, was led captive out of Thisbe, which is at the right hand (ἐκ δεξιῶν, to the south) of that city which is called properly Nephtali, in Galilee, above Aser.” On examining the lot of Naphtali (Josh. xix. 32—38), we do not find the name of Thisbe; this is of course not decisive, as there may have been such a name among the villages, though not among the “fenced cities;” or a town of that name may have been afterwards built in the territory of Naphtali.

the conclusion, if we admit the authenticity of the supposed Tobit's narrative, that Sennacherib certainly did not live an entire year after his return from Judæa to Nineveh.

Now let us turn to ancient history, and to the recently discovered Assyrian monuments, for information concerning the length of Sennacherib's reign, and the year of his reign in which the miraculous destruction of the hundred and eighty-five thousand caused his hasty flight from Judæa to his Assyrian metropolis.

From Assyrian inscriptions, Dr. E. Hincks thinks it to be certain that this disastrous event occurred in the *third* year of Sennacherib; and it may perhaps be considered absolutely certain that it did not happen later than his *fourth* year. And if we suppose (as did many before the discovery of the monuments of Khorsabad and Koyunjik) that this king reigned only *seven* years, then, if we are to accept the apocryphal book before us as authentic history or biography, Sennacherib must have employed himself from time to time, during three or four years, in putting Israelites to death, whom Tobit secretly buried; and that three or four years must have passed in this way before the king commanded the bodies to be sought for, and discovered what Tobit had so long been doing.

But the Greek writer Polyhistor assigned *eighteen* years to the reign of Sennacherib; and this view Sir H. Rawlinson preferred to the shorter period mentioned above. Subsequently Sir H. Rawlinson discovered an Assyrian inscription, in which mention was made of the *twenty-second* year of Sennacherib; and he appears to be of opinion that this monarch reigned only twenty-two years. Surely this must at once force us to admit that all that the author of Tobit has written about Sennacherib's conduct after his return to Nineveh, and the supposed interval of *less* than fifty-five days between the violent seizure of Tobit's goods and the death of Sennacherib, is mere fiction, introduced with a view to give an air of genuineness and authenticity to the work.

It is, doubtless, not matter of reasonable surprise that both Jewish and Christian readers of the Hebrew Scriptures and Septuagint Version should be inclined to think that Sennacherib did not long survive the disastrous retreat from Judæa. The words of the Hebrew and Septuagint are here quoted:

f Col. Taylor's cylinder, now in the British Museum, contains the annals of the first *eight* years of Sennacherib, which have just been lithographed. It may be therefore considered as established beyond reasonable doubt, that Sennacherib lived at least *four* (more probably *five*) years after his return to Nineveh. It is to be hoped that Sir H. Rawlinson and Mr. Talbot may yet throw important light upon this subject.

וַיֵּשֶׁב בְּנִינְוֶה שְׁנִנְחֶרֶץ מֶלֶךְ אַשּׁוּר
וַיִּשְׁתַּחֲוֶה בְּבֵית נִשְׂרוֹךְ אֱלֹהֵי
אָדְרַמֶּלֶךְ וְשַׁרְצֵר בְּנָיו (וַיִּשְׁחָטוּ) בְּחֶרֶב

Καὶ ἀπῆρε καὶ ἐπορεύθη καὶ
ἀπέστρεψε Σενναχηρίμ βασιλεὺς
Ασσυρίων, καὶ ὤκησεν ἐν Νινευῇ.
Καὶ ἐγένετο αὐτοῦ προσκυνοῦντος ἐν
οίκῳ Μεσεράχ, τοῦ θεοῦ αὐτοῦ, καὶ
Ἀδραμέλεχ καὶ Σαρασάρ οἱ υἱοὶ
αὐτοῦ ἐπάταξαν αὐτὸν ἐν μαχαίρᾳ.

All this is fairly represented in our own Authorized Version :
“ So Sennacherib king of Assyria departed, and went and re-
turned, and *dwelt* (וַיֵּשֶׁב, ὤκησε) at Nineveh. And it came to pass,
as he was worshipping in the house of Nisroch his god, that
Adrammelech and Sharezer his sons smote him with the sword ”
(2 Ki. xix. 36, 37.) The Hebrew verb, here rendered “ dwelt,”
does not decide the question whether Sennacherib survived the
miraculous destruction of his host one year or twenty years. It
must however be understood as a declaration that he never again
led an invading army into Judæa, and in after ages,^g when all
accurate knowledge of Sennacherib’s subsequent history had
been lost, the readers of the Hebrew and Septuagint Scriptures
would naturally interpret וַיֵּשֶׁב and ὤκησεν, according to inferences
drawn from the preceding context. They would not unreason-
ably think that so daring and impious a blasphemer against the
God of Israel would not be long permitted to survive his heaven-
destroyed host ; and this view would be strengthened as they read
the words of the Most High : “ Behold I will send a blast upon him,
and he shall hear a rumour, and return to his own land ; and I
will cause him to-fall by the sword in his own land ” (Is. xxxvii. 7).
This, like the preceding passage, shews that the discomfited and
humbled Sennacherib was never to enter Judea again, but does not
determine the length of the interval between his return and his
“ falling by the sword in his own land.” And when we calmly
reflect on all the circumstances, we shall reverently acknowledge
that in the miraculous destruction of the 185,000, whom the
destroying angel slew in one night, the Lord Jehovah had
awfully and sufficiently glorified himself as the God of Israel in

^g Berosus the priest of Belus, and a native of Babylon, who wrote a Chaldean his-
tory in Greek, is supposed to have lived not later than 261—246 B.C. The following
version of a quotation made by Josephus from this writer—“ Sennacherib retired him-
self (from Judea) into his city, where, *after he had lived for a time*, he was traitor-
ously slain by his two sons, Adrammelech and Selenar”—would seem to prove that
an inaccurate tradition as to the length of Sennacherib’s reign, already prevailed in
Babylon in the time of Berosus. As Jews were doubtless to be found in consi-
derable numbers at Babylon, in the time of Berosus, it is quite possible that he may
have seen and consulted the Hebrew Scriptures, and may have given his own view of
the meaning of the verb וַיֵּשֶׁב as an *indefinite* expression of the interval between the
return of Sennacherib and his murder by his sons. As a Chaldean, Berosus would
have little difficulty in understanding the language of the Old Testament.

the sight of both Jews and Gentiles. The king's ignominious flight and return would read a far more impressive lesson to the Ninevites, than would the tidings that their fierce and haughty monarch had perished with his fallen host. And Sennacherib himself would long carry in his memory the rankling and corroding recollection of disappointment and shame, which, as there was no hope of successful revenge, would embitter his life, and be a protracted and painful punishment; a punishment which, like Cain, he would long feel unable to bear.

Another apparent error is now to be noticed. It is expressly stated in the second verse of the fourteenth chapter, that Tobit was fifty-eight years old when he lost his sight in the following manner. Having made a grave after sunset, and buried one of his countrymen, he adds—

“The same night also I returned from the burial,^h and slept by the wall of my court-yard, being polluted (through the funeral) and my face was uncovered: and I knew not that there were sparrows in the wall, and

^h This anecdote has in itself the appearance of a childish fiction, and we cannot hesitate to regard it as such when we connect it with the absurdities which follow,—the killing of the seven husbands of Raguel's daughter by the evil spirit Asmodeus,—that Raphael was sent to scale away the whiteness of Tobit's eyes, and give Raguel's daughter for a wife to Tobias the son of Tobit,—that at the self-same time Tobit came home and entered into his house in Nineveh, and Sarah the daughter of Raguel came down from her upper chamber in Ecbatane,—that in the Tigris, not far from Nineveh, a fish leaped out of the river, large enough to devour Tobias, who was washing himself,—that the supposed angel Raphael, under the name of Azarias, deliberately replied to Tobias, who asked him the use of the liver, heart, and gall of the fish.—“Touching the heart and the liver, if a devil or any evil spirit trouble any, we must make a smoke thereof before the man or the woman, and the party shall be no more vexed; as for the gall, it is good to anoint a man that hath whiteness in his eyes, and he shall be healed,—that Tobias, at Ecbatane, took embers of perfumes, and put the heart and liver of the fish thereupon, which when the evil spirit had smelled, he fled into the utmost parts of Egypt, and the angel bound him. It may be objected that these puerile absurdities do not affect the truth of the three recorded facts, that (1), the ten tribes revolted when Tobit was young, (2), that Sennacherib did not live so long as one or two years after his return from Judea, and (3), that Nineveh was taken by Nabuchodonosor and Assuerus, before the death of Tobias. Be it so; and let these three facts stand upon their own merits.

There may, however, be a twofold danger to youthful minds from these idle and ridiculous stories. Some may begin with laughing at these, and end in deriding the miracles of Holy Writ; others may be prepared, through receiving these as true, to believe in the monkish legends of Romish tradition.

A learned writer says of the Book of Tobit—“It contains so many rabbinical fables and allusions to the Babylonian demonology, that many learned men consider it as an ingenious and amusing fiction, calculated to form a pious temper, and to teach the most important duties.” We can scarcely, however, think the well-meaning author of Tobit to have been either a judicious or a well-informed person.

It is to be hoped that, in the forthcoming edition of the Rev. T. H. Horne's valuable *Introduction*, the two apocryphal legends of Tobit and Judith will be described in their proper character, and that he will endeavour to ascertain from the Assyrian inscriptions of Esarhaddon and his successor, how far there is reason to believe that the siege of Bethulia by Holofernes ever occurred.

mine eyes being open, the sparrows muted warm dung into mine eyes, and a whiteness (λευκώματα) came into mine eyes and I went to the physicians, but they helped me not: moreover, Achiacarus did nourish me until I went into Elymais."

This misfortune is evidently said to have happened to Tobit *after* the murder of Sennacherib. In the opinion of Sir Henry Rawlinson, Sennacherib was assassinated, cir. 680 B.C. But it is expressly stated (xiv. 11) that Tobit died at the age of one hundred and fifty-eight years, *i. e.*, he therefore survived Sennacherib at least one hundred years, and died cir. 580 B.C.

And what date are we to accept for the final capture of Nineveh by the Medes and Babylonians? Some have thought that this important event occurred cir. 608-7,—Dr. E. Hincks believes it to have happened cir. 625 B.C.,—and even they who are of opinion that Nineveh fell after the eclipse in 585, will not place its fall later than 580 B.C.ⁱ Even on the last of these suppositions the final siege of the Assyrian metropolis must have commenced *before* the death of Tobit, and its capture have occurred within *less than two years* after that death.

Let us now compare these conclusions with the following extracts from this Apocryphal Book:—

The death of Tobit.

"And when Tobit was very aged, he called his son (Tobias), and the six sons of his son, and said to him, My son take thy children, for behold I am aged, and ready to depart out of this life. Go into Media, my son, for I surely believe those things which Jonas the prophet spake of Nineve; that it shall be overthrown, and that for a time peace shall rather be in Media....And now, my son, depart out of Nineve, because that those things which the prophet Jonas spake, shall surely come to pass....And bury me decently, and thy mother with me, but tarry no longer at Nineve....When he had said these things, he gave up the ghost in the bed, being an hundred and eight and fifty years old; and he buried him honorably" (Tobit xiv. 3—11).

The death of Tobias the son of Tobit.

"And when Anna his mother was dead, Tobias buried her with his father Tobit; but Tobias departed with his wife and children to Ecbatane, to Raguel his father-in-law, where he became old with honour, and he buried his father and mother-in-law honourably, and he inherited their substance, and his father Tobit's. And he died at Ecbatane in Media, being an hundred and twenty-seven years old. But before he died, he heard of the destruction of Nineve, which was taken by Nabuchodonosor and Assuerus: and before his death he rejoiced over Nineve" (Tobit xiv. 12—15).

ⁱ *Journal of Sacred Literature*, Jan. 1856, p. 394.

The writer of this Apocryphal Book tells us that Tobit was not more than fifty-eight years of age when Sennacherib was murdered, and that he lived one hundred years after that event. If this be true, then we may regard it as absolutely certain that Tobit must have died peaceably in his bed at Nineveh, and have been honourably buried there not later than when the Medo-Babylonian armies were already carrying on the final siege of that devoted city, if that siege really occurred after the eclipse of 685 B.C.

Again, the same writer states that Tobias, after his father's death, left Nineve, and went with his wife and children to Ecbatane, the Median capital, to Raguel, his father-in-law. It is added that in Ecbatane "*Tobias became old with honour, and buried his father and mother-in-law honourably, and he inherited their substance, and his father Tobit's.*" It is impossible not to infer from this passage that Tobias lived many years in peace and prosperity at Ecbatane, after the death of his father Tobit at Nineve, and some few years at least after the decease of his father-in-law, Raguel. "And before his death he heard of the destruction of Nineve." It is not said how long he survived the overthrow of Nineve, but it does not appear to have been very long.ⁱ

Again, we have apparently another difficulty. We find that when "Tobit was come to the age of a man," he married Anna, who became the mother of Tobias (i. 9). It seems certain that the writer would have us understand that Tobias was born before the overthrow of Samaria by Shalmaneser or Enemessar. But if Sennacherib fled from Judea in the fourteenth of Hezekiah (cir. 702-1), then must Samaria have been taken in the sixth of

ⁱ If we agree with Sir H. Rawlinson that Sennacherib died cir. 680 B.C., then must Tobit have died cir. 580 B.C., and that *after the commencement* of the final siege of Nineveh by Cyaxares and Nabopolassar, which however did not occur so late as one hundred (or even ninety) years after the murder of Sennacherib. According to the apocryphal narrative Tobias survived his father a considerable time, and it was not until many years *after* the death of Tobit that Nineveh was taken by the Medes and Babylonians. The same narrative obviously teaches us (1.) that Tobias was born before the return of Sennacherib from Judea (702-1), and as he lived to the age of 127 years, he could not have died later than 575 B.C.; (2.) that Tobias was born (i. 9) before the destruction of Samaria by Shalmaneser, which happened seven or eight years before the flight and murder of Sennacherib, so that Tobias must have been born at least as early as 708 B.C., and must have died not later than 581 B.C., one year *before* the death of his father Tobit.

Another instance of apparent carelessness as to the consistency of the tale is found by comparing i. 6, with v. 13. In the former passage, Tobit having stated that all the tribes which revolted, sacrificed to Baal, adds, "*But I alone went often to Jerusalem to the feasts.*" In the latter he says, "I know Ananias and Jonathas, sons of the great Samaias, *as we went together* to Jerusalem to worship, and they were not seduced by the error of our brethren."

Hezekiah, cir. 710-9. If then Tobias was born even so late as 711 B.C., he must, as he lived to the age of one hundred and twenty-seven years, have died 584 B.C., *i. e.*, four years *before* the decease of his father Tobit, whom he is represented as having survived many years. It is also plain (i. 20) that Tobias was born at least as early as the return of Sennacherib from Judea. If this event occurred 702-1 B.C., Tobias could not have lived beyond 575-4 B.C., *i. e.*, he must have died only four or five years after his father.

We are now to shew how apparently contrary are the statements of the author of Tobit to some of those which are found in the history of Judith. Tobias goes to Ecbatane, where he marries the daughter of his father's kinsman, Raguel, who gives him the half of his substance, and sends him back to his father at Nineveh (x. 10). This is supposed to have taken place about eight² years after Sennacherib's return from Judea, and when Tobit was sixty-six years old. About ninety-two years after, Tobit, on his death-bed, thus addresses his son, "Go into Media, my son, for I surely believe those things which Jonas the prophet spake of Nineve, that it shall be overthrown, and

² This circumstance furnishes us with another clue towards an approximation to the time of the birth of Tobias. Tobit appears to have been stricken with blindness shortly after the murder of Sennacherib. He continued blind for eight years (xiv. 2), and was restored to sight through the gall of the great fish, by his son Tobias, on the return of the latter from Ecbatane after his marriage with Sarah the daughter of Raguel. Is it unreasonable to suppose that, at the time of his marriage, Tobias was twenty-four or twenty-five years old? His father would not have sent him much earlier on a long journey into Media. This would make the age of Tobias to have been about sixteen or seventeen, when Sennacherib was slain, and he must have been born about eight years before the fall of Samaria. There is nothing inconsistent in this supposition with the language of the narrative, where Tobit says, "When I was come to the age of a man, I married Anna of mine own kindred, and of her I begat Tobias. And when we were carried away captives to Nineve, all my brethren, and those that were of my own kindred, did eat of the bread of the Gentiles, but I kept myself from eating." If Sennacherib returned from Judea cir. 701 B.C., Samaria was taken cir. 709 B.C., and Tobias must have been born not later than 717 B.C., and, as he lived one hundred and twenty-seven years, his death must have occurred 590 B.C. *before* the capture of Nineveh by Cyaxares and Nabopolassar; which event (if the Book of Tobit be authentic) could not therefore, as some think, have happened *after* the eclipse of 585 B.C., which astronomers now regard as the eclipse of Thales. We might, were it necessary, examine this subject more closely. Tobit was about fifty-eight years old when Sennacherib returned from Judea; he would thus have been fifty years old when he was carried away captive with his son Tobias by Shalmaneser. The narrative does not allow us to think that he was more than thirty years of age (if indeed so old) when he married; and we may believe that Tobias was born within two or three years after his father's marriage. Tobias would thus have been born cir. 728 B.C.; and consequently, on this view, he must have died cir. 601 B.C. But he died before the overthrow of Nineveh. Cyaxares, therefore, must have taken Nineveh *before* 601 B.C., about sixteen years earlier than the eclipse of 585 B.C. They who believe that Nineveh was taken *after* the eclipse of 585 B.C. will probably regard the apocryphal book of Tobit merely as a fictitious legend.

that for a time peace shall rather be in Media." It seems fair to gather from this that no terrible disaster had befallen Media and Ecbatane during this time. Tobias stayed at Nineveh until the death of his mother, when he removed with his wife and children to Ecbatane to Raguel, his father-in-law; "where he became old with honour, and he buried his father and mother-in-law honourably, and he inherited their substance and his father Tobit's. And he died at Ecbatane in Media." It would thus seem that, from the time of the marriage of Tobias until his death, no terrible disaster had befallen Ecbatane. And when we are told that Tobias inherited the substance of his father-in-law Raguel, we seem to be justified in believing that from the day of his daughter's marriage to his death, *Raguel had lived in security and prosperity.*

But when we turn to the Book of Judith we find something calculated to surprise those who regard the Book of Tobit as a genuine and authentic work. We there find that a certain Assyrian king, who is mentioned in no other ancient record, encounters and overthrows

"All the power of the Median king Arphaxad, and all his horsemen, and all his chariots, and became lord of his cities, and came unto Ecbatane, and took the towers thereof, and spoiled (*ἐπρονόμεισε*, pillaged) the streets thereof, and turned the beauty thereof into shame. He took also Arphaxad in the mountains of Ragau, and smote him through with his darts, and destroyed him utterly that day."

It is true that Raguel and his wife may have been absent at the time, or, if not, may possibly, though not probably, have been fortunate enough to have escaped the notice of the marauding Assyrian soldiery. It is indeed strange that Herodotus should have passed over in silence this memorable capture and sack of Ecbatane; but it seems far more strange that neither Tobit nor Tobias, who enter into so many minute details on other matters, should not have made the slightest allusion to the disaster which befel the Median metropolis—especially as Tobias must at all times have felt a deep interest in whatever affected the welfare of the father and mother of his wife Sarah. Perhaps Herodotus, during his researches into the Medo-Persian history, had never heard of Nabuchodonosor's triumphant entry into Ecbatane; and is it not difficult to refrain from coming to a similar conclusion with regard to Tobit and Tobias? But if we admit the idea that even these had never received any tidings of the pillage of the Median capital, though from time to time, during all the ninety-two years which intervened between the marriage of Tobias and the death of Tobit, Raguel must have had opportu-

nities of sending messages from Ecbatane to his daughter at Nineveh, we shall feel strongly inclined to suspect that the triumph of the supposed Nabuchodonosor over the illustrious and strongly fortified city where Raguel dwelt, was but the mere creation of the fancy of the author of the Book of Judith, and never actually occurred.

After what has been advanced, it may seem a waste of labour to discuss the question concerning the time when the Book of Tobit was written. The following portion of the dying address of the supposed Tobit, may assist us in conjecturing a probable date :—

“I surely believe that Jerusalem shall be desolate, and the house of God in it shall be burned, and shall be desolate for a time; and that again God will have mercy on them, and bring them again into the land, where they shall build a temple, *but not like to the first*, until the time of that age be fulfilled; and afterwards they shall return¹ from all places of their captivity, and build up Jerusalem gloriously, and the house of God shall be built in it, with a glorious building, as the prophets have spoken thereof. And all nations shall turn, and fear the Lord God truly, and shall bury their idols.”—xiv. 4, 6.

We shall perhaps not err greatly if we think that the words, “shall build a temple, *but not like unto the first*,” were written by a person who lived after the rebuilding of the second temple, which was very inferior to the first. Again, the sentence, “until the time of that age be fulfilled,” (ἕως πληρωθῶσι καιροὶ τοῦ αἰῶνος,) would seem to indicate that a second time Jerusalem and the temple should be destroyed, and the Jews scattered abroad. And this view would appear to be strengthened by the immediately succeeding context, “And afterwards they shall return from (all) places of their captivity, and build up Jerusalem gloriously, and the house of God shall be built in it with a glorious building,” (καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπιστρέψουσιν ἐκ τῶν αἰχμαλωσιῶν, καὶ οἰκοδομήσουσιν Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἐντίμως καὶ ὁ δίκος τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν αὐτῇ οἰκοδομηθήσεται ἐνδόξως, καθὼς ἐλάλησαν

¹ They who think that the prophetic promises of the restoration of all Israel from the lands of their captivity, and the union of Judah and Ephraim as one nation, under one prince, on the mountains of Israel, were fulfilled at the return in the first year of Cyrus, will not agree with Tobit in his interpretation of prophecy. The writer of this paper is inclined to agree with much that the supposed Tobit says on this interesting subject, though he would be sorry to have no better foundation for his opinion than this apocryphal book. Dr. Prideaux has justly said of the second book of Esdras, which contains the childish vision of the entrance of the ten tribes into Arsareth, that “it is a bundle of fables, too absurd for the belief of the Romanists themselves, for they have not taken this book into their canon, though they have those of Tobit and of Bel and the Dragon.” Surely Tobit’s bundle of fables richly deserved the same treatment at the hands of the Romanists as these meted out to the bundle of Ezra; nor ought mercy to have been shewn to Bel and the Dragon.

περὶ αὐτῆς οἱ προφῆται.) There appears to be here an allusion to *two* desolations of Jerusalem and the temple, two dispersions of the Jews, two rebuildings of Jerusalem and the temple, and two restorations of the people; the former that of Judah and Benjamin, with such members of Levi, Ephraim, and the other tribes, as chose to accompany them; the latter, a restoration of the whole Hebrew family to the land of their fathers. If this interpretation be admitted as correct, we may not unreasonably think that the speech ascribed to the dying Tobit, was not written until after the destruction of the temple and city and dispersion of the Jews in the days of Vespasian. The Greek copy is referred to by Polycarp and Clement of Alexandria, and we might, therefore, suppose that the work was composed at the close of the first, or at the commencement of the second century. That this apocryphal book, like that of Judith, is mentioned neither by Josephus nor Philo-Judæus, would seem to shew either that they had never seen it, or that, having met with it, they regarded it as unworthy of notice.

If we consider this life of Tobit as authentic, we seem called upon to believe that Sennacherib certainly died very shortly after his return from Judea, and that Nineveh was finally overthrown by Nabuchodonosor and Assuerus. Assyrian inscriptions have fully proved the gross inaccuracy of the former statement; we are not therefore justified in relying upon the correctness of the latter, and drawing from it an argument that Assuerus was one of the names by which the Median Cyaxares was known to the Greeks, and that the Ahasuerus of Esther was identical with Xenophon's Cyaxares, the son of Astyages. If we know, through Herodotus, that Nineveh was overthrown by Cyaxares I., the father of Astyages, we also know, through the same authority, that the Medes were assisted by the Babylonians, under their king Labynetus, who, we may feel almost assured, was the immediate predecessor of Nebuchadnezzar. Sir H. Rawlinson tells us that Na-bu-kuduri-uzur (Nebuchadnezzar or Nebuchadrezzar) was the eldest son of Nabupal-uzur, king of Babylon. The popular name of the latter, *Nabopolassar* (as given by the Chaldean historian Berossus) sufficiently resembles the original to enable us to identify the Greek with the Babylonian name. Had the writer of Tobit really been acquainted with the history of the final overthrow of Nineveh by the combined forces of the Medes and Chaldeans, we might have reasonably expected him to write Nabopolassar instead of Nabuchodonosor. As it is, it does not seem unfair to suppose that the apocryphal author had heard that Nineveh had been taken by the Medes and Persians, and that he wrote from conjecture

the well-known scriptural names of Nebuchadnezzar and Ahasuerus.

It is scarcely correct to appeal to this book as early Jewish authority, *i. e.*, as the work of a person who lived sufficiently near to the overthrow of Nineveh, to have it in his power to give from personal knowledge, or the recollections even of his most aged contemporaries, an accurate account of the historical events which occurred during the lives of Tobit and Tobias. The following is extracted from^m Hartwell Horne's valuable work :—

“From some apparent coincidences between this book and some parts of the New Testament, Moldenhauer is disposed to refer it to the end of the first century: but Jahn and most other commentators and critics think that it was written about one hundred and fifty or two hundred years before the birth of our Saviour.”

The more closely we examine the apocryphal books of Tobit and Judith, and the more carefully we compare them with each other, with scriptural and secular history, and with recently deciphered Assyrian and Babylonian inscriptions, the more shall we probably feel constrained to regard both these works as mere religious romances, calculated rather to mislead than to guide us in our inquiries into Hebrew and Assyrian history and chronology. Nor can I doubt that the researches of Sir H. Rawlinson and Dr. E. Hincks will sooner or later settle this point beyond further controversy.

I would touch very briefly on one particular view of the apocryphal question, as it does not belong to the subject immediately before me. If it is true that “the advocates of the Church of Rome affirm that the apocryphal books, with certain exceptions, are divinely inspired, and raise them on a level with Moses and the prophets,” the establishment of their thoroughly fictitious and legendary character may assist in preserving inquiring Protestants from the snares of the papacy in these days of Romish aggression.

G. B.

^m This able writer has thus stated his own opinion of the Book of Tobit :—“It was probably begun by Tobit, continued by his son Tobias, and finished by some other individual of the family: after which it was digested into the order in which we now have it” (3rd edit., vol. iv., p. 227). At that time the Assyrian cylinder of the late Colonel Taylor had not been deciphered, in which it is proved that Sennacherib reigned at least eight years, and that, in all probability, he fled from Judea in his third year. These facts, compared with Tobit i. 18, 21, should go far to shew that Tobit and Tobias were imaginary personages. The dying speech of the supposed Tobit (xiv. 4, 5), must surely have been written for him some three or four hundred years at least after the time at which he is said to have died.

THE ATONEMENT.

THE doctrine of the Atonement and sacrifice, which was offered by the Redeemer on the cross for the sins of men, must always be regarded as the great and prominent doctrine of our religion, because it is interwoven with the entire system of our redemption, as it is begun, continued, and ended in Christ Jesus, and is in truth the foundation on which it is built. It is a doctrine, therefore, with respect to which it is of infinite importance that all persons should clearly understand the grounds of their faith; because error on such a subject must enter in a greater or less degree into our belief in all the great doctrines of our redemption.

But in reasoning on the subject of the Atonement, it is necessary that we should clearly understand the meaning of the term which is employed to express the great doctrine contained in it. Now the word *atone*, as Dr. Johnson has remarked, is derived from the expression *at one*; and to be *at one* is the same as *to be in concord*, as Shakspeare has used the word in *Coriolanus*,—

“He and Aufidus can no more *atone*,
Than violentest contrariety;”

and, secondly, it is used to signify, *to stand as an equivalent for something, and is particularly used of expiatory sacrifices*; in which meaning it is very commonly found. And, in the same manner, with regard to the word *atonement*, it is used (1) in the sense of *agreement, concord*, as Shakspeare in *Richard III.*:—

“He seeks to make *atonement*
Between the Duke of Gloster and your brothers:”

and (2) in the sense of *expiation, expiatory equivalent*. In the former sense it is found in Romans v. 11, “And not only so, but we joy in God through our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom we have now received *the atonement* ;” or, as it is translated in the margin of the Bible, *reconciliation*, δι’ οὗ νῦν τὴν καταλλαγὴν ἐλάβομεν; where there can be no doubt of the true meaning of the word.^a The word *atonement* is found in the Authorized Version of the Old Testament, and always in connexion with *sacrifice*, and as the translation of the Hebrew word *כַּפַּר*, which

^a See *Magee on the Atonement*, who appears to have mistaken the meaning of the word in this passage, vol. i., p. 243.

is generally translated in the LXX. by ἐξιλάσασθαι, ἱλασμός, and other corresponding terms.^b

It would be doing great injustice to many of those persons who have at different times entertained erroneous views on the subject of the Atonement, if we were to impute to them universally a deliberate design of overthrowing that great doctrine. But at the same time it is a mournful truth, that from the time when the redemption of mankind through the death of Christ was first preached to the world, that great doctrine has been the subject of attack from unbelievers; and it is right that this fact should ever be borne in mind by those who assail this great and fundamental doctrine of our faith. The earliest heretics were the Docetæ, who believed our Lord to be a man in *appearance* only, and denied his *incarnation*: the next were the Ebionites, who denied the miraculous conception, affirming that our Lord was born like other men, according to the common course of nature. Both these heresies sprung up in the apostolic age, and they both struck at the root of the Atonement by the death of Christ. In the same manner with regard to the heretics who took their origin from Praxeas, Noetus, and Sabellius, and who are called Patripassians,^c it is evident that their opinions strike at the root of the Atonement by the death of Christ. The same reasoning applies to the heresy of the Apollinarians, and of some of the Arians, who maintained that the divine nature of our Saviour was to him in the place of a human soul; and to the Manichees, who maintained that our Saviour was not really man. All these opinions, as they are inconsistent with the belief of our Saviour's real humanity, so are they directed against the reality of his sufferings; and therefore against the Atonement, which was made in his sufferings and death. It is against the two first of these heresies—those of the Docetæ and the Ebionites, that the second epistle of St. Peter and the epistles of St. John are especially directed;^d by whom the maintainers of these doctrines are designated by the name of Antichrist, as maintaining opinions which are directed against the fundamentals of the Christian faith. And the true opinion with regard to the Gospel of St. John (which was probably the last of all his writings) appears to be, that the apostle was directed by the Holy Spirit to select such of our Saviour's discourses as bore most directly on his divine nature and character, and also on his incarnation and the great redemption which he came to accomplish for mankind. Amongst the subjects of these discourses,

^b Compare Trommius's *Concordance* under these different heads.

^c Compare *Pearson on the Creed*, art. iii.

^d *Bull. Jud. Eccl. Cath.*, cap. ii., 5, etc.

that of his death occupies the most prominent place. For this Gospel must be regarded as an illustration of the great truth, which is the subject of one of our Lord's earnest discourses, that "God so loved the world, that he gave his only-begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life" (John iii. 16).

If we examine the opinions of succeeding heretics, we shall find them directed, in a greater or less degree, against the Atonement, which was offered for the sins of men by the sacrifice of the death of Christ.

But the right understanding of this great doctrine is of infinite importance to every Christian; because it has been made in all ages the subject of controversy, and it is always the first subject of attack from those who would deny the fundamentals of the Christian faith. And, therefore, it is necessary to consider some of the opinions of those persons by whom it has been more especially assailed; and in thus considering it, it will facilitate our enquiries if we consider those which belong to it as it is connected with the Jewish dispensation, or as typical of the Christian dispensation, and preparatory to it.

I. Now in their reasoning on the subject of the Atonement, some persons have reasoned *from* the Levitical sacrifices to prove the sacrificial character of the death of Christ; whereas, as has been acutely observed, "the true intent and use of Christ's sacrifice is to be sought in the plain and literal account which he and his disciples give of it, rather than in the darkness of the legal symbols appointed to prefigure it;"* and the true line of argument appears to be this,—in the first instance, to examine the terms in which the death of Christ is spoken of in the Old and New Testaments, and then to shew their agreement with those sacrifices which were instituted only as "the shadows of good things to come." Now in what terms is the death of Christ spoken of in Scripture? "*The Lord,*" saith Isaiah, "*hath laid on him the iniquity of us all,*" and "*he bare the sins of many.*" "*He bare our sins in his own body on the tree.*" "*Christ was offered to bear the sins of many.*" "*He who knew no sin was made sin for us.*" "*He was wounded for our transgressions, he was bruised for our iniquities; the chastisement of our peace was upon him; for the transgressions of God's people was he stricken, and his soul was made an offering for sin.*" He that denies the Lord, "*denies him that bought him, that bought him with a price, that purchased him with his own blood.*" And our Lord himself declared, "*that he came to give his life a*

* Skelton's Sermons, vol. i., p. 257; Magee, vol. i., pp. 46, 47.

ransom for many." And St. Paul, in his epistle to the Hebrews, speaks of the death of Christ as *the fulfilment* of all that was typified by the sacrifices of the Jewish law: "*As almost all things were by the law purged with blood, and as without shedding of blood is no remission, it was therefore necessary that the patterns of things in the heavens should be purified with these, but the heavenly things themselves with better sacrifices than these;*" that is, by the blood of Christ; "*who now once in the end of the world hath appeared to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself; by which blood he entered in once into the holy place, having obtained eternal redemption for us.*"

Now let us consider, on the one hand, the terms in which the death of Christ is spoken of in the New Testament, and on the other, those in which the sacrifices of the Levitical law are described in the Old Testament; and to what other conclusion can we come, except that the death of Christ was a true, perfect, and sufficient *sacrifice* for the sins of men?

In truth, with regard to those persons who would give a *real* character to the sacrifices of the Jewish law, and a *figurative* character to that of Christ, it may be remarked, that they contradict that which we are assured in the New Testament was the great design of the Jewish dispensation; whereas consider the sacrifice of Christ as the *real* sacrifice, and the Levitical sacrifices as the *figures* of the great sacrifice, and all becomes clear: and those sacrificial terms, of which few dispute the real purport when they are applied to the Levitical sacrifices, establish the true character of the sacrifice of Christ; "by which," as has been observed, "all former sacrifices are to be interpreted, and in reference to which only can they be understood."^f

With regard to the different theories which have been framed as to the nature of sacrifices, the following are the principal:—(1) In one, sacrifices are represented in the light of *gifts*, intended to soothe and appease the Supreme Being, as they are found to conciliate the favour of men; (2) in another, they are considered as *federal rites*,—a kind of eating and drinking with God at his table, and thereby implying the being restored to a state of friendship with him by repentance and remission of sins; (3) in a third, they are described as but *symbolical* actions, or a more expressive language denoting the gratitude of the offerer in such as are *eucharistical*; and in those that are *expiatory*, the acknowledgment of, and contrition for, sins, strongly expressed by the death of the animal representing that death which the offerer confessed to be his own desert.^g

^f Magee, vol. i., p. 242.

^g *Ibid.*, vol. i., pp. 43, 44.

Such is the description of these different theories of sacrifice which has been given by Archbishop Magee, and which claim respectively the names of Spencer, Sykes, and Warburton. But, as that learned writer has justly observed, with respect to them *generally* it may be observed, that "the fact of Abel's sacrifice seems inconsistent with them all." For it is clear from the words of Scripture that both Cain and Abel made oblations to the Lord; and oblations, which in themselves were equally expressive of gratitude to God. How then are we to explain the acceptance of the sacrifice of Abel, and the rejection of that of Cain? How, except that when "*by faith Abel offered a more excellent sacrifice, πλειόνα θυσίαν, than Cain,*"^a he offered such a sacrifice as God had commanded, and as testified his faith in that sacrifice which the Son of God was to offer on the cross for the sins of the world? These theories of sacrifice are moreover inconsistent with the great body of the Levitical sacrifices, which were in themselves of a character strictly expiatory.

There is also another and a very remarkable argument in support of the doctrine of expiatory sacrifice, which is derived from the fact that the heathen sacrifices were for the most part of an expiatory character; and that this extended not merely to *animal*, but to *human* sacrifices, to which the prophet Micah makes an important reference when he says, "*Shall I give my firstborn for my transgressions? the fruit of my body for the sins of my soul?*" (Micah vi. 7). For such is the character of the greater part of the heathen sacrifices; and the only rational account which can be given of the existence of these sacrifices, is derived from the supposition that they were borrowed from a purer religion and worship.

But there is one theory, which has been maintained on the subject of sacrifice, which ought not to be passed over in this review of it; and this relates to the question of the *divine institution* of sacrifice. It is well known that some persons of great learning and eminent piety have denied the divine institution of sacrifice, and have maintained that God adapted a rite already existing to the purposes of the Jewish dispensation, and as a figure of that great sacrifice which the great Redeemer was afterwards to offer on the cross. Amongst the most distinguished persons of a more recent period who have maintained this doctrine, are to be mentioned Grotius, Spencer, and Warburton, and still more recently, the late learned and excellent Mr. Davison, who, in his treatise on *Primitive Sacrifice*, has advocated this opinion. The learned Outram, in his work *De Sacrificiis*, states the principal arguments on each side, without

^a Heb. xi. 4.

pronouncing a decided opinion on either: "*Ego nihil*," he observes, "*omnino malim, quàm quicquam pro certo affirmare.*"ⁱ But how, it may be asked, is the denial of the divine institution of sacrifice consistent with the fact of Abel's sacrifice and its acceptance by God? How with those of Noah, Abraham, and the patriarchs? How also with those of Job, and with the command to him from God to offer a sacrifice for his friends? And the argument is peculiarly strong in the case of Job; because to him was vouchsafed a clear knowledge of the Redeemer. It is a remarkable circumstance in support of the doctrine of the divine institution of sacrifice, that before the flood (the case of Cain excepted), there is no instance of any other than *animal* sacrifice; and that this, in the opinion of many learned persons, was previous to the permission of animal food to man, as appears to be clearly collected from the traces of primitive sacrifice recorded in the Book of Genesis. Now if we believe the Levitical law to have embodied in its moral and religious code the greater part of the institutions of the primitive revelation, including those of the sabbath and of sacrifices, how powerful an argument do we derive from this fact in support of the divine institution of sacrifice.

The preceding considerations appear, therefore, not only to prove the divine institution of sacrifice, but also to establish its *expiatory* character; and this view may be further confirmed by considering the language in which the sacrifices enjoined by the Levitical law are described, in connexion with the terms in which the sacrifice of Christ is spoken of in the New Testament. Now the Levitical sacrifices were ordered not only to relieve men from *ceremonial* incapacity, but there were many of them which were strictly of a *propitiatory* character, and were ordained to avert the displeasure of God from the transgressor not only of the *ceremonial*, but also of the *moral*, law. Thus in the case of *swearing falsely* (Levit. vi. 2—7), we find it decreed, that the transgressor, "*because he hath sinned in this, he shall not only make restitution to his neighbour, but he shall bring his trespass-offering unto the Lord, a ram without blemish out of the flock* (LXX., κρὶον ἀπὸ τῶν προβάτων ἄμωμον); *and the priest shall make an atonement for him before the Lord, and it shall be forgiven him*" (LXX., καὶ ἐξιλάσεται περὶ αὐτοῦ ὁ ἱερεὺς ἔναντι Κυρίου καὶ ἀφεθήσεται αὐτῷ). And again (Levit. xix. 20—22), in the case of criminal connexion with a bondman, and the offender is ordered to "*bring the trespass-offering, and the priest is to make atonement for him with the trespass-offering for the sin which he hath done, and the sin which he hath done shall be*

ⁱ Outram, cap. i.; Magee, vol. i., p. 490.

forgiven him" (LXX., καὶ ἐξιλάσεται περὶ αὐτοῦ ὁ ἱερεὺς ἐν τῷ κρίῳ τῆς πλημμελείας ἑναντι Κυρίου περὶ τῆς ἁμαρτίας ἧς ἥμαρτε, καὶ ἀφεθήσεται αὐτῷ ἡ ἁμαρτία). And in case of all offences which fell not under the description of *presumptuous*, it is manifest from the slightest inspection of the Book of Leviticus, that the atonement prescribed was appointed as the means by which God might be *propitiated* or *reconciled* to the offender. Again, with regard to the *vicarious* character of the Mosaic sacrifices, this appears distinctly to be set forth in the account of the first offering which is prescribed in the Book of Leviticus (chap. i. 4), where it is said of the person who brought a free-will-offering, that he shall "lay his hand upon the head of the burnt-offering, and it shall be accepted for him before the Lord" (LXX., δέκτον αὐτῷ, ἐξιλάσασθαι περὶ αὐτοῦ). But the ceremony of the scape-goat on the great day of expiation places the matter beyond all doubt (Levit. xvi. 21, 22): "Aaron shall lay both his hands on the head of the live goat, and confess all the iniquities of the children of Israel, and all their transgressions in all their sins, putting them upon the head of the goat; and the goat shall bear upon him all their iniquities." The sins of the people being thus transferred to the animal, it is afterwards represented to be so *polluted* as to *pollute* the person who carried it away, and by the entire ceremony expiation is made for the sins of the people. Now it is to be remarked, that this is the only passage in the entire Scripture in which the meaning of the imposition of hands on the victim is directly explained; and from this it would seem that there could be no difficulty in understanding its import in all other cases of piacular sacrifice.^k The translation of the LXX. is here remarkable: Καὶ ἐπιθήσει Ααρὼν τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ χιμάρου τοῦ ζῶντος, καὶ ἐξαγορεύσει ἐπ' αὐτοῦ πάσας τὰς ἀνομίας τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ καὶ πάσας τὰς ἀδικίας αὐτῶν καὶ πάσας τὰς ἁμαρτίας αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐπιθήσει αὐτὰς ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ χιμάρου τοῦ ζῶντος καὶ ἐξαποστελεῖ ἐν χειρὶ ἀνθρώπου ἐτοίμου εἰς τὴν ἔρημον· καὶ λήψεται ὁ χιμάρως ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ τὰς ἁμαρτίας αὐτῶν εἰς γῆν ἄβατον κ.τ.λ. Now let us compare with these expressions those corresponding expressions in the New Testament in which Christ is spoken of as an "ἱλαστήριον, a propitiatory sacrifice through faith in his blood" (Rom. iii. 25), with that expression in Heb. ii. 17, where it is said of our blessed Lord, that "*it behoved him to be made in all things like unto his brethren, that he might be a merciful and faithful high priest in things pertaining to God, to make reconciliation for the sins of the people, εἰς τὸ ἰλάσκεσθαι τὰς ἁμαρτίας τοῦ λαοῦ;*" with that of St.

^k See Magee, vol. i., pp. 34, 366—369.

John, where he is spoken of as ἱλασμος περὶ τῶν ἁμαρτίων ἡμῶν; with that of St. Peter, who says of our great Redeemer, ὃς τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν αὐτὸς ἀνήνεγκεν τῷ σώματι αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ ξύλον; and thus speaks of our redemption, εἰδότες ὅτι οὐ φθαρτοῖς . . . ἐλυτρώθητε, . . . ἀλλὰ τιμίῳ ἁίματι Χριστοῦ ὡς ἁμνοῦ ἁμώμου καὶ ἀσπίλου (1 Pet. ii. 24; i. 18, 19); and lastly, with the song of the redeemed in heaven, who make this the ground of their praises to the Lamb, ὅτι ἐσφάγης, καὶ ἠγόρασας ἡμᾶς τῷ Θεῷ ἡμῶν τῷ ἁιματί σου ἐκ πάσης φυλῆς καὶ γλώσσης καὶ ἔθνους (Rev. v. 9).

Now with regard to the meaning of the expressions which are used in the Old Testament with respect to the sacrifices enjoined by the Levitical law, there can be no doubt; and that they can be understood only in an *expiatory* sense. These sacrifices were, as far as they went, strictly *expiatory*, though *typical*; and these expressions can be understood in no other sense, when they are found in the New Testament, and are applied to that sacrifice which was offered by our Saviour on the cross for the sins of the world.

We may appeal, in support of the preceding reasoning, to the universal testimony of the Christian Church to the death of Christ, as the true and only sacrifice for sin; and to the institution of the Lord's Supper, which was "ordained for a continual remembrance of the sacrifice of the death of Christ, and of the benefits which we receive thereby." Nay, we may appeal even to the Romanists themselves; for though they virtually make of none effect the sacrifice of Christ, by the substitution of another sacrifice, yet in their very errors they bear a constant testimony to the sacrifice of the death of Christ. What though the Fathers sometimes use strong language with regard to the Lord's Supper in speaking of it as a *sacrifice*;¹ yet they bear a constant testimony to the truth, and to their belief in the *sacrificial* character of the death of Christ. The whole testimony of Christian antiquity is opposed to the lowering of the *real* character of that death.

In treating of the great Atonement, which was offered for the sins of men by the sacrifice of the death of Christ, it has been thought best to treat it, in the first instance, in connexion with those sacrifices of the Levitical law, by which it was pre-figured; because this mode of treating the subject appears most effectually to dispose of the reasoning, by which different persons have attempted to get rid of the sacrificial character of the death

¹ Chrysostom: φοβερὰ καὶ φρικωδὴς θυσία; φρικωδεστάτη θυσία; φρίκτη καὶ μυστική θυσία: yet he calls it also, λογική θυσία, πνευματική θυσία, θυσίαν, μᾶλλον δὲ ἐναμνησιν θυσίας.

of Christ; and to rob it of its great value as an expiatory atonement for the sins of the world. For the sacrifices enjoined by the Levitical law (Heb. x. 4), are inexplicable, unless they are considered in connexion with the sacrifice of the death of Christ. If we acknowledge the connexion between the Jewish and Christian dispensations, it is impossible to deny the expiatory character of the death of Christ: and, therefore, all opinions which either deny this great doctrine, or so state our belief of it, as to lose sight of its character as the great sacrifice for the sins of men, err in the great doctrine of our salvation.

II. Having thus stated the argument for the Atonement by the death of Christ, as it is connected with the history of sacrifice under the former dispensations, we will proceed to consider some of the arguments against it, which have been advanced by those who have denied the expiatory character of our Saviour's death.

"The scheme of redemption," as has been observed by an excellent writer, "became necessary, because God had threatened, and would punish, and yet would save. To prevent the fall, or to exclude the consequences of it, might not have been irreconcilable with the divine will, acting on the single motive of benevolence; but, apparently, the moral perfections of God, operating also on their own principles of rectitude, so adjusted the scheme of redemption in all its parts, that it accomplished the purposes of divine benevolence to man, without infringing the rule of righteousness, by treating sinners as if they were sinless, that is, without leaving them wholly unpunished."^m

It has been unanswerably shewn by Bishop Butler, that there is no analogy to be drawn from the general dealings of God with mankind, to shew that he could, consistently with his other attributes, have allowed sin to go wholly unpunished; nor can any argument be drawn, either from the principles of the divine government, or from the actual results of it, that our future good conduct can undo the effects of our former transgressions. On the contrary, we find these to follow almost invariably, even in cases where the evil conduct which led to them has entirely passed away. But still the same great writer has shewn that the appointment of a Mediator and Redeemer is perfectly agreeable to the order of God's providence; in which we continually see evils removed from men by the friendly interposition of others: and he has applied this reasoning to the case of the Christian redemption, in the following admirable language; in which he shews that—

"the Son of God loved, and gave himself for us, with a love which he

^m Holmes on the *Premal principle of Redemption*. Tracts, pp. 368, 369.

himself compares to human friendship; though in this case all comparisons must fall infinitely short of the thing intended to be illustrated by them. He interposed in such a manner as was necessary and effectual to prevent that execution of justice upon sinners, which God had appointed should otherwise have been executed upon them, or in such a manner as to prevent that punishment from following, which, according to the general laws of the divine government, must have followed the sins of the world had it not been for such interposition.”ⁿ

Every view of the death of Christ, which excludes the Christian view of it as a suffering for the sins of others, leaves us without any reasonable account of that death. The whole history of God’s dealings with mankind under the old dispensation is opposed to the idea that God will ever allow sin to be wholly unpunished.

“In every divine government, whether of Israel in particular, or of the world at large, rectitude will indisputably rule; and that can scarcely be presumed in different administrations of the same governor to prescribe opposite principles. There seems to be no sufficient authority for supposing it would exclude the absolute impunity of the guilty in one divine scheme, and yet admit it in another.”^o

Now let us compare the reasoning which these able writers have deduced from the Scriptures with the inspired judgment of St. Paul; when, having shewn that “by the deeds of the law shall no flesh be justified,” he concludes: “*For all have sinned, and come short of the glory of God: being justified freely by his grace through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus: whom God hath set forth for a propitiation through faith in his blood, to declare his righteousness for the remission of sins that are past, through the forbearance of God; that he might be just, and the justifier of him that believeth in Jesus*” (Rom. iii. 23—26).

This reasoning, at the same time that it is fatal to the arguments which are advanced by the Socinians against the Atonement, is equally applicable to some modern systems of divinity, which, without directly professing to deny the Atonement, appear practically to set it aside; and to those also, which at the same time that they dwell in glowing terms on the sufferings and death of Christ, entirely lose sight of the atonement offered to God in that death, and the sins of men which caused those sufferings. This is not the manner in which it was taught by St. Paul, when he said: “*The love of Christ constraineth us.*” And why? “Because we thus judge, that if one died for all then were all dead, and that he died for all, that they which

ⁿ Butler’s *Analogy*, part ii., chap. v.
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^o Holmes, p. 370.
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live, should not henceforth live unto themselves, but unto him which died for them, and rose again."

In considering the great mystery of man's redemption, we may well be thought unable to fathom all the depths of a scheme which was contrived by the Infinite Wisdom; or to know all the reasons in undertaking this redemption, which might influence the mind of him, "in whom are hid all the treasures of wisdom and of knowledge" (Col. ii. 3): and we may well exercise humility on such a subject, when we consider that our redemption could only have been undertaken by One who is infinite in wisdom and in power; and that as in its first conception it was well worthy of the great and merciful Father of all, so in all the details of its accomplishment it was well worthy of the only-begotten Son of God. But as the grandeur of its design, and the benevolence of its execution, are so truly wonderful, not less were its effects on the world, when the humble and the great, the ignorant and the learned, all bowed down in humility and love before the doctrine of a crucified Saviour. Nor has this been confined to the apostolic age; it appears to be at the bottom of all our labours for the instruction and salvation of man. Those who are engaged in ministerial duties acknowledge its truth and its power; and those who have been employed in missionary labours amongst the heathen, bear testimony to the interest with which they listen to the history of our Saviour's death. And the truth of this has been admirably illustrated by an excellent writer of the present day. For after having given an interesting detail of St. Paul's labours, he thus proceeds:—

"Interest so vivid as this, in a case which had no concern with anything belonging to the present world, was altogether new. To go about the world teaching religion, teaching it to all ranks, to the poor as earnestly as the rich, had never entered into the thoughts of Jew or Gentile. Whatever instruction had been given by heathen philosophers, was given to those who were able to remunerate their teachers. To communicate the mysteries of religion to the vulgar and illiterate, to women and children, would have been reckoned most preposterous. All conspired on principle to keep them in ignorance; and to make the characteristic of Christianity more remarkable, that '*to the poor the gospel was preached.*' It arose, indeed, naturally out of the facts of the religion *which declared the infinite value of every soul.* And the conduct of the apostles was the sure result of an actual conviction of what they affirmed, that '*God had sent his Son, that all that believe in Him should not perish, but have everlasting life.*'"^p

The objections of infidel writers have always been especially directed against the doctrines of the Gospel; because they have

^p Sumner, *Evidences*, pp. 237, 238.

felt, that as long as they were maintained in their truth and power, the success of their cause was hopeless. It was the case on the first proclaiming of the gospel; it has been the same in all ages; and more especially in that awful period which preceded and accompanied the French Revolution, when all the efforts of the infidels of that day were directed against them, and especially as they are connected with the divinity of the Son of God, and his death upon the cross for the salvation of men. We know what fatal effects were produced on the religion of this country by the prevalence of Arian opinions, which existed here to so great an extent towards the close of the seventeenth and the first half of the eighteenth century; and the general decay of religion which followed. This is shewn nowhere more clearly than in the masterly review of the life and writings of Dr. Waterland, which has been prefixed to his works by the late Bishop Van Mildert; in which he has shewn with admirable learning the progress of the opinions of Bishop Hoadley and his followers, and the fatal effects which they produced on the doctrines of our Church; effects which were not confined to its pale, but exercised a most baneful influence over the dissenting churches in this country. One remarkable feature in these opinions was the low views which they inculcated of the Lord's Supper. It is needless to remark how these views operated on the spiritual doctrines connected with it, as the most solemn commemoration of the sacrifice of the death of Christ, and of the benefits which we receive from that death.

But with regard to the doctrine of the Atonement, it has this remarkable characteristic, that it cannot stand alone in the Christian system; but as the denial of the Atonement by the death of Christ will gradually lead to the decay of real piety, so will it especially lead to a denial of the great doctrines of the divinity and incarnation of the Son of God, and of all the great doctrines of redemption dependent on them. This has been shewn in so powerful a manner by Bishop Horsley, with regard to its bearing on the incarnation of our Saviour, that in justice to his argument we ought to read his powerful reasoning in his own words:—

“To reverse,” he observes, “the universal sentence, to purge the universal corruption, a Redeemer was to be found pure of every stain of inbred and contracted guilt. And since every person produced in the natural way could not but be of the contaminated race, the purity requisite to the efficacy of the Redeemer's atonement made it necessary that the manner of his conception should be supernatural.

“Thus you see the necessary connexion of the miraculous conception

with the other articles of the Christian faith. The incarnation of the divine Word, so roundly asserted by St. John, and so clearly implied in innumerable passages of Holy Writ, in any other way had been impossible, and the Redeemer's atonement inadequate and ineffectual; insomuch that had the extraordinary manner of our Lord's generation made no part of the evangelical narrative, the opinion might have been defended as a thing clearly implied in the evangelical doctrine.

"On the other hand, it were not difficult to shew, that the miraculous conception once admitted, naturally brings up after it the great doctrines of the atonement and the incarnation. The miraculous conception of our Lord evidently implies some higher purpose of his coming than the mere business of a teacher. The business of a teacher might have been performed by a mere man enlightened by the prophetic spirit; for whatever instruction men have the capacity to receive, a man might have been made the instrument to convey. Had teaching, therefore, been the sole purpose of our Saviour's coming, a mere man might have done the whole business, and the supernatural conception had been an unnecessary miracle. He therefore who came in this miraculous way came upon some higher business, to which a mere man was unequal: he came to be made a sin-offering for us, 'that we might be made the righteousness of God in him.'"^q

And, on the other hand, it may be argued, that the Atonement necessarily leads to the belief of the divinity of the Son of God. For if we believe that our Saviour offered on the cross "a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice for the sins of the whole world," what sacrifice—what atonement could be found less than the death of the eternal Son of God for the infinite transgressions of so many millions of sinners. It may be well said, that except in the belief of the divinity of the Son of God, the belief of his death as an atonement for the sins of the world is unintelligible.

The tendency to speculate on the great doctrines of the Gospel has led in all ages to the greatest injury to Christian truth; and the effect of these speculations on the doctrine of the Atonement has always been to get rid as much as possible of all views of this great doctrine which would maintain the *sacificial* character of the death of Christ. This has been the general tendency of the Socinian arguments against the doctrine of the Atonement; and not of them only, but of others also, who in their professions would disclaim that character. Thus Dr. John Taylor maintains, that "*the blood of Christ is his perfect virtue and goodness, and that it implies a character, which we are to transcribe into our own lives and conduct;*" and that "*our Lord's sacrifice and death is so plainly represented as a powerful means of improving our virtue, that we have no suffi-*

^q Horsley, Sermon on Luke i. 28.

cient ground to consider its virtue in any other light.” And similar opinions have been advanced by a popular writer of the present day, who resolves the atonement offered by our Saviour on the cross into “*the entire surrender of the whole spirit and body to God*” manifested in it.* But on what foundation do speculations like these rest? On that of Scripture? The Scriptures are silent respecting them; nay more, they are opposed to the whole doctrine of Inspiration. Do they rest on the doctrine of the Church of Christ in its best and purest ages? We may boldly pronounce, that they are opposed to the doctrines maintained by all the great writers of the Church—to the creeds and confessions of those very Churches which were planted by the apostles themselves: they are opposed to the opinions of all the great writers of the Church of England; and to the spirit which ever animated their studies, and the patient investigation with which they pursued their labours in the illustration of divine truth. There cannot be a more valuable proof of the true value of Christian antiquity, than the evidence which it affords against these unhallowed speculations on the great doctrines of our redemption. If opinions like these had any foundation in truth, they would have been found in those churches which were planted and watered by the apostles themselves and their immediate successors. But we look in vain for them here. The Christians of these ages had not so learned Christ. And we may well learn a lesson of humility from the great writers of the Church of England, who laid the foundation of their labours in the Scriptures themselves; and in those great writers of antiquity, whose lives were devoted to the illustration and defence of Christian truth; and who in their humility, their learning, and the submission of their own wills and understandings to “the wisdom that is from above,” have taught us to seek and “to receive with meekness the engrafted word, which is able to save our souls” (James i. 21).

G. P.

* *Magee on the Atonement*, vol. i., pp. 184, 185.

* Maurice, *Essays*, p. 147: “Supposing all these principles gathered together; supposing the Father’s will to be a will to all good; supposing the Son of God, being one with him, and Lord of man, to obey and fulfil in our flesh that will by entering into the lowest condition into which men had fallen through their sin; supposing this man to be, for this reason, an object of continual complacency to his Father, and that complacency to be fully drawn out by the death of the cross; *supposing his death to be a sacrifice—the only complete sacrifice ever offered—the entire surrender of the whole body and spirit to God; is not this, in the highest sense, atonement?*” With regard to these and similar opinions, compare the just and forcible language of Dr. Hey, *Lectures*, Appendix to Art. xi., sect. xxvii.

CLEMENS ROMANUS, AND THE SYRIAC EPISTLES ON VIRGINITY.^a

IN the *Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature*, the new edition of which is now before our readers, the following passage occurs : “ In 1752, John James Wetstein published, at the end of his edition of the Greek Testament, two epistles in Syriac (accompanied by a Latin translation), attributed to Clement, which were discovered at the end of a manuscript of the Syriac New Testament. Immediately on their publication, Dr. Lardner examined the evidence for their genuineness, and gave the result of his inquiries in a *Dissertation* (*Works*, vol. x., pp. 186—212) to which we refer the reader, only remarking that the whole strain of these compositions, and the allusions to prevailing practices, sufficiently indicate that they were written long after Clement’s time.”^b

This passage may be taken as a favourable specimen of the mode in which the documents alluded to have been treated, and very few comparatively are to be found who know the epistles in question except by such means as the extract now given. Here and there one reads the *Dissertation* of Dr. Lardner, and occasionally an individual is found who has perused Wetstein’s Latin version. Seldom indeed is the Syriac text consulted, and most persons have been contented with a very inferior acquaintance with the whole subject. For all this there has been good excuse; Wetstein’s book is a scarce and expensive one, and the epistles there are out of place; the most we can say is that they have been put in a place of safety. Then again, Wetstein’s translation is very poor and inaccurate, and his recension of the text full of errors; nor have those who have come after him much mended the matter. Besides, Lardner, Venema, and others have in common estimation so completely crushed these epistles, that they stand no more chance of being referred to an apostolic age and an apostolic man, than the *Certamen Apostolicum*, or any other confessedly spurious work.

It may however be questioned whether proper attention has been given to the epistles on Virginité, ascribed to Clement of Rome. The original manuscript appears to have been allowed to

^a Sancti Patris Nostri Clementis Romani Epistolæ binæ de Virginitate, Syriace, quas ad fidem Cod. MS. Amstelodamensis, additis notis criticis, philologicis, theologicis, et nova interpretatione Latina, edidit J. T. Beelen, etc. Lovanii, 1856.

^b Art., *Epistles of the Apostolical Fathers*, vol. i., pp. 645, 646.

slumber almost unheeded, and the text and version of Wetstein has been almost exclusively employed by those who have since edited, translated or criticised the documents; yet it must be confessed that epistles which claim to be the production of such a man, merit a most careful examination, and deserve to appear in at least one critical and scholarlike edition. After the lapse of a century this work has been undertaken, and we now have what professes to be an accurate text and a literal translation, in connexion with copious prolegomena and notes.

The work of Dr. Beelen has been long expected, and we have lost no time in giving it a careful and serious perusal. We shall lay before our readers the results of our examination, in the hope that attention will be again directed to the subject. This is the more necessary as the editor confidently believes in the genuineness of the two epistles.

The history of these epistles is simply this. Rather more than a century ago the well known Wetstein applied to Sir James Porter, at that time the British ambassador to Turkey, to endeavour to obtain for him a manuscript of the Philoxenian Syriac version of the New Testament. Sir James purchased at Aleppo two manuscripts, one of which contains the four gospels, and the other the Acts and the epistles. When these arrived in Europe it was found to be the Peschito translation, and not the one enquired after. At the close of the second of the two manuscripts, Wetstein discovered two epistles on Virginitas ascribed to Clement of Rome, and some fragments of an anonymous work of confessedly later date. Wetstein, it appears, had no doubt that the epistles were genuine, and published them as such with a Latin translation. They were, however, soon after attacked by Lardner in the Dissertation referred to above, and by Venema. To these Wetstein replied, but his death soon after removed him from the controversy. A few years later, Mansi published Wetstein's translation, and still later Galland published both the Syriac text and Latin version. Since their first publication two versions in French and one in German have also appeared, but no complete translation has been printed in English. The labours of Dr. Beelen may be described in a few words. In his prolegomena, he discusses the evidence for and against the genuineness of the two epistles, and appends a sketch of their literary history. He gives us the Syriac text with a Latin interpretation, and copious notes. Next he gives a revised Syriac text to which he has affixed the vowel points, and appended additional notes. He then publishes the Latin translation of Wetstein and the German of Zingerley; after which he presents us with the anonymous fragments above mentioned. Last

of all we have indices and errata. It will be manifest that we have here all that can be desired, and we are now in a position to examine these epistles with greater confidence than at any previous period.

It is a singular circumstance that the first epistle of Clement, and the fragment of the so-called second epistle, were discovered attached to a manuscript of the New Testament; while the two epistles here under notice were also found attached to a manuscript of the New Testament. In each case there is but one copy of the epistles known to exist in manuscript. But there is a great difference in two respects; the epistles to the Corinthians are in a manuscript of the fifth century,^c and in Greek; but those on Virginité are contained in a manuscript which is dated A.D. 1470, and in Syriac. In the one case we have an ancient copy of the original, and in the other, a comparatively modern copy of a translation. It will be seen, therefore, on how different a footing we stand in reference to the two in this respect. In the one case we have little to question on the score of transcription, and nothing in regard to translation, while in the other we have to depend upon the fidelity both of translators and of transcribers.

There is still another fact which is not to be overlooked, and it is, that while at least one epistle of Clement's (that to the Corinthians) has been generally known and referred to from the earliest ages of Christianity, a dead silence respecting the epistles on Virginité reigns throughout the Greek and Latin fathers, if we except two disputed and doubtful passages which will be given below. Thus, for example, Eusebius terms the epistle to the Corinthians "great and wonderful," Clement of Alexandria frequently cites it, and Irenæus calls it "a most powerful writing," and indeed it is a frequent subject of commendation.^d But the epistles on Virginité are *never* mentioned by name in the early Greek and Latin writers, and are only known to be once quoted by any ancient author, and that author writes in Syriac. It is vain to deny such facts as these, useless to say they are of no importance, and impossible to account for them on the supposition that Clement wrote the epistles in question. At the same time every candid critic will confess, that despite of all these disadvantages, Clement *may have written* the epistles. We know how many precious remains of antiquity have been

^c "Scriptus videtur post med. sæc. v." Tischendorf, Proleg. in N. T., ed. 2nda, pp. 58.

^d Dr. R. A. Lipsius (*De Clem. Rom. ep. ad. Cor. priore disquisitio*, Leipsic, 1855), may be consulted as containing a recent enumeration; pp. 156 and following; but the dissertation of Lardner will do as well.

lost sight of, and that the external evidence in favour of some which have been disinterred in modern times, is of the most meagre description. We may therefore allow Dr. Beelen all the weight which can be demanded in favour of his external testimony, but we feel after all, that the question of the genuineness mainly rests upon the internal character of the epistles.

Before we proceed to mention a few of the evidences which have been adduced on both sides, we may mention another singular coincidence, if coincidence it can be called, between these two epistles, and those in Greek. The first Greek epistle is undoubtedly such, and so is the first Syriac epistle on Virginity: but the second Greek epistle is more like a homily than a letter in its style; as is the second Syriac document, which scarcely resembles an epistle in any respect. We also add, that as the second Greek document is less worthy of faith than the first and inferior to it, so also in our judgement is it with the Syriac epistles; but of this we will speak hereafter, and at once proceed to the evidence upon which Dr. Beelen builds his hypothesis.

He observes then, that there were more epistles than two, known among the ancients as Clement's, but now lost or unknown. In proof of this he quotes Leontius, a writer who lived at the close of the sixth century, and who cites the *ninth* epistle of Clement of Rome. Maximus, also, in the seventh century seems to indicate the existence in his time of more than two epistles by Clement; and Dionysius Bar Salibi speaks in the *twelfth* century of an epistle by Clement against those who reject matrimony. So far, all may be clear, but little has been done to prove the genuineness of these epistles; to this, therefore, Dr. Beelen forthwith addresses himself: "The most ancient witness for this that is yet known," he says, "is S. Epiphanius," from whom the following extract is made:—

"Now they,^e use also other books, to wit those called the *Tours of Peter* (ταῖς περιόδοις—Πέτρου) which were written by Clement. They have corrupted some things in them, indeed, but have allowed to remain a few things that are true, as Clement himself fully proves against them by the (ἀφ' ὧν) *Encyclical Letters* which he wrote, which are read in the holy churches; for his faith and system have a different character from those things which have been falsified by them under his name in the *Tours*. For he *teaches virginity*, and they receive it not; *he praises Elijah, and David, and Samson, and all the prophets*, whom they abhor. Therefore in the *Tours* they have turned everything to their own account."^f

^e i.e., the Ebionites.

^f Epiph., *Hær.* 30., sec. 15.

The passages which are in italics will indicate the remarkable expressions in the preceding extract ; and they shew that when Epiphanius wrote there were certain books in use among the Ebionites, describing the travels of Peter, of which Clement was the author, but these heretics had grievously corrupted the text. To prove that such corruption was real, he appeals to the faith and principles of Clement as represented in a second of his works, which he calls *Encyclical or Circular Letters*. In these circular letters, which were *read in the churches*, Clement teaches virginity, which the heretics reject, and lauds the prophets whom they detest.

Lardner, Venema, and others, have endeavoured to shew that this will apply to the two Greek epistles, but Dr. Beelen labours to prove that it must refer to the two in Syriac on Virginity. He gathers from it that Epiphanius knew of circular epistles by Clement, that they were more than one, that Virginity was taught in them, and that the prophets were praised.

1. Epiphanius knew of circular epistles ; but the epistle to the Corinthian Church was such, and that was universally known long before Epiphanius.

2. Epiphanius knew of more than one such epistle, because he uses the word in the plural number. But it is not so certain that the plural form of the word *ἐπιστολή* necessarily means more letters than one, as in the case of the Latin *literæ* ; see for example Acts ix. 2, and xxii. 5. A second reply may also be made to this : Fifty years before the time of Epiphanius Eusebius mentions the so-called second epistle of Clement, there were therefore more epistles than one extant under his name.

3. In the epistles alluded to by Epiphanius, Clement teaches virginity. To this it is replied that in the first epistle to the Corinthians allusion is made to this subject.

4. Clement praises the prophets in the epistles mentioned by Epiphanius. He does this in the epistle to the Corinthians in two ways ; first, by his numerous quotations from the Old Testament ; and, secondly, by mentioning some of them by name. It is true Samson is not there named as he is in the epistles on Virginity, but it is conceived that Epiphanius spoke without perfect accuracy, or that he wrote Samuel and not Samson. To these points we will add—

5. That it is well known the epistle to the Corinthians was publicly read in the churches, but it is not known of those under consideration.

Of these five points, therefore, it may be said that while the third and fourth apply more directly to the two epistles on Virginity, they do apply to that to the Corinthians, and the other

three are as true of this, as of those. Nothing therefore can certainly be concluded from this passage of Epiphanius.

Next to the testimony of the father just noticed, we have that of Jerome, who in his book against Jovinian uses language to the following effect :—

“To these,” that is eunuchs, “Clement also, successor of the apostle Peter, of whom the apostle Paul makes mention,^g writes epistles, and composed almost all his discourse in reference to the purity of Virginity.”

From this passage, says Dr. Beelen, three things are gathered :—

1. That Clement wrote to spiritual eunuchs.
2. That he addressed to them more epistles than one.
3. That they treated almost exclusively of virginity.

To the first of these it may be objected that Jerome only mentions the two well-known epistles ascribed to Clement, in his list of illustrious men, from which it may be inferred that he was not acquainted with these. But supposing he was acquainted with these, why did he make no more use of them in writing against Jovinian, and not even name them in his catalogue? Dr. Beelen replies, that Jerome may have known them and yet not name them, or he may have come to the knowledge of them in the interval which elapsed between his writing the catalogue, and against Jovinian. In all this we see nothing conclusive; Jerome may or may not have known these epistles.

The second inference has been already considered.

The third alone is strong, and can only be met by supposing that Jerome speaks either unadvisedly, or means to say that the doctrine of Clement is favourable and conducive to virgin purity. This however does not satisfy Dr. Beelen, and he insists upon applying Jerome's words to the two epistles on Virginity. We confess, we have not made up our mind: *judicet lector*. We think, however, that the epistles may have been known to Jerome as those of Clement. It is to be observed, however, that well nigh three centuries had elapsed since the death of Clement, and that Jerome had probably no other means of deciding as to their genuineness than we have.

To the evidence from Jerome must now be added that of a third witness. A Syriac manuscript, written in A.D. 562, and now in the British Museum, contains a fragment of the first of these two epistles. This fragment is as follows :—

“Of Clement, Bishop of Rome, from the first epistle upon Virginity.

“Dost thou understand what honour purity seeks? Dost thou know the glory with which virginity is glorified? The womb of a virgin conceived our Lord Jesus Christ, God the Word; and when our Lord had been made man by a virgin, he led this life in the world,—hereby shalt thou know the glory of virginity.”

The passage just quoted incontestibly proves that in the middle of the sixth century epistles on Virginity were ascribed to Clement in the Syriac Church. There can, therefore, be no question as to the antiquity of these epistles; they have been received as the work of this author for thirteen centuries. Here we have at least one historical fact to build upon, and neither deviations from the present text, nor other considerations can disprove this fact. It brings us over two thirds of the distance between ourselves and Clement, and renders probable the supposition that Jerome if not Epiphanius knew these epistles. Still it is not enough; we know from personal inspection of the Syriac manuscripts, that these writers often adopted spurious works as the works of writers of the apostolic age, and misquoted others. Nay, the same passage may be found ascribed to various authors, of which Mr. Cureton's *Spicilegium Syriacum* compared with the first volume of the *Spicilegium Solesmense* will furnish a good illustration. A passage ascribed to Irenæus in the one is ascribed to Melito in another, the original of both being derived from the Nitrian manuscripts.

The one question then is—What is this testimony worth? what means had the writer of judging? or did he use those means? Again, we cannot undertake to decide. But we may observe that on the same page of the MS. from which this extract is taken, a second and a third are given, also ascribed to Clement. The third is indefinite, simply being “from the same;” but the second is remarkable. It is headed, “Of the same, from the beginning of the *third* epistle.” It commences with the words, “My brethren, thus it behoveth us to think of Jesus Christ, as of God, as of the judge of living and of dead; and it is not becoming of us to think lightly of our Redeemer. For hereby that we think lightly of him, we also expect to receive little,” etc.

Now we know of nothing which goes by the name of the *third* epistle of Clement; but a similar passage to this is quoted in another of these manuscripts^h with the following elaborate introduction:—

^h The passages referred to above are both from the so-called second epistle of Clement. The commencement of the epistle in both cases is quoted as such, but in the second the main extract is from a later portion of the epistles.

“Of holy Clement, head of the bishops (Archbishop) of Rome, and martyr, of whom Eusebius says in the third (book of) *Ecclesiastical Histories*, that he succeeded Anacletus, who succeeded Linus who was bishop there. Now Linus was Bishop of Rome after Peter chief of the apostles. From the *second* epistle to the Corinthians, at the commencement.”

This is followed by a passage partly the same as that just named; but, it would appear, taken from a different translation. The only additional remark we shall make upon the Syriac scribe is, that he was certainly careless in quoting as the third epistle what is elsewhere quoted as the second, and therefore we cannot admit him as an important witness to the *genuineness* of the epistles on Virginity, but simply as shewing that they were extant in his time under Clement's name.

There is but one other testimony appealed to by Dr. Beelen, and that is a letter from Ignatius Antonius Samhiri, the present patriarch of Antioch, in reply to one from Dr. B. This letter is curious and printed in the original Syriac. It declares that the two epistles of Clement (?) on Virginity have been always received as such in the Syrian Church, and by both its earlier and later writers. Several of these writers are named, but as no references to works are given, and we know of no such passages, we may allow Mar Samhiri and his testimony to slumber quietly together.

Let us now come to the epistles themselves and interrogate them on this question of authorship. In the manuscript they bear an inscription which refers them to Clement, but his name nowhere occurs in either of the epistles, nor is there the utterance of a word as to the author, the persons addressed, the place from which, and the period when they were written. It is true that the persons addressed in the first epistle are denominated *virgins*, but this is all too indefinite. In reference to the term just named, it may be observed that it relates to both sexes, for the Syriac text uniformly employs both the masculine and feminine forms of the word. Perhaps the Greek original (if there was one) used the two forms of the article *οἱ* and *αἱ*, the word *παρθένος* (virgin) being of both genders. Who these virgins were must remain a mystery; but it is *supposed* they were persons unmarried, who devoted themselves to a life of celibacy. We say “supposed,” because there are in the first epistle, to which these observations relate, expressions which might excite some suspicion on that head. However, admitting the literal use of the term in question, it is still wholly uncertain who they were, or where and when they lived.

Dr. Beelen has instituted a comparison of sundry expressions in these epistles with similar expressions in the Clementine epis-

ties to the Corinthians, but we submit that the resemblances are so unimportant that the comparison is of little value. Almost every one of the expressions occurs in Paul's epistles, and would therefore be likely to occur in such compositions as these epistles on Virginité.

Lardner shews very clearly in his Dissertation, that the author of this epistle quotes Scripture in a different manner from Clement ; and it is also very observable that the New Testament is more quoted here than in the Clementine epistle, the quotations from the Old Testament being at the same time fewer. There are many other differences which have been detected by Lardner and Venema, the former of whom especially has discussed the matter in a calm and candid spirit. There are doubtless some of these objections which cannot be sustained, and these have been met by Dr. Beelen, but there are others which a careful examination convinces us cannot be so easily removed. The manifest differences between this author and the true Clement, the present editor endeavours to account for by supposing the epistles on Virginité to have been written later, by reminding his readers of the difference of the subject, of the circumstances in which written, etc.

In the epistles before us all the books of the New Testament are quoted or alluded to, except perhaps, 1 Thessalonians, 2 and 3 John, 2 Peter, Jude and Revelation. Leaving out 1 Thessalonians, we observe that these books belong to the Antilegomena, and naturally ask why they were omitted, and whether the omission has any bearing upon the authorship? Perhaps the epistles were originally written by a Syrian, for these books were not included in the early Syriac translation. But it may be urged that the quotations from Scripture are seldom taken from the Peschito Version, and this would be an argument for their having been written originally in Greek. However, in any case the absence of such quotations is only an argument for the early date of the epistles.

On the other hand, the author quotes from Apocryphal books, as *Ecclesiasticus* and the *History of Susanna*.

Again, it would seem from two passages of the first epistle to special occasions. From passages in the second epistle, Dr. Beelen infers the continuance of the "holy kiss" as a Christian salutation. Both these circumstances plead for an early origin to the epistles, and others may be added. For instance : there were many heathen among those to whom the writings were sent ; there was no such regularly organized ecclesiastical system as meets us in a later age ; the habit of standing during public

prayer is mentioned; the reading the Scriptures with an exposition formed part of the public and social exercises of religion: the possession of spiritual gifts, and the practice of adjuring or exorcising those who were supposed to be demoniacs, are mentioned. All these are points of interest connected with the date of these compositions, and we may mention one more; that while the number of those who voluntarily devoted themselves to a life of celibacy was large, and evils had sprung up among them, there was no regular monastic system, and those who bore this character do not therefore appear to have formed communities living apart, but rather individuals who devoted themselves to a life of piety and well-doing among their fellow Christians. The investigation of such topics as these would require more space than we can spare, and we must therefore rest satisfied with having indicated them.

The question of authorship must we think remain unsettled. Epiphanius and Jerome represent Clement as having written upon the subject, and a Syriac manuscript quotes these epistles as his. This, and some minor considerations, is all that can be said for Clement's authorship. Against this, various writers have advanced serious objections, such as have appeared to them sufficiently weighty to refute the present claim. We have an impression that the two epistles are by different persons, owing to the differences observable between them; differences which we think as great as between the first and second Greek epistles. We do not think it impossible that Clement wrote the first, but we think it very unlikely that he wrote the second. Probably an early editor found the first with the name of Clement attached to it, and added the second on a kindred subject. In any case the compositions are valuable as relics of the ancient literature of the church, and Dr. Beelen deserves our thanks for the labour which he has bestowed upon them.

The first epistle addressed to virgins of both sexes is eminently practical, and there are many excellent things contained in it. A careful perusal of it has strongly impressed us in its favour. True, there are some thoughts in it which are fanciful, and some things which are far-fetched, but such things are found in all the early Christian writers. The doctrine of the first epistle is generally sound, and so far as it is objectionable may be considered to have been interpolated. Dr. Beelen himself believes that such is the case, and has rejected many expressions from the text as glosses. Among these we should place the reference to the "divine eucharist" as being decidedly superfluous and prejudicial to the sense. Our learned editor does not however reject this, but boasts of it as proving that

Clement believed in the Romish view of the "real presence." He may boast, but even if it be genuine it is no proof that the writer knew anything of the Tridentine doctrine of the Sacrament. We give the passage to explain our meaning:—"Conquer Satan through Jesus Christ who strengthens thee, by the hearing of his words [and the divine eucharist]; 'Take up thy cross and follow' him who purifies thee, Jesus Christ thy Lord." It is needless to remark how much more consistent the meaning is without than with the words which we have included in brackets. We certainly consider this mode of treating the passage preferable to that of Dr. B. who bolsters it up with an extract from one of the disputed epistles of Ignatius.

The second epistle commences very abruptly, and is chiefly occupied with shewing how those who are addressed should act in their dealings with the other sex. It is addressed to men and not to the virgins—men and women—of the other epistle. It contains a number of allusions to Old Testament facts, but is in all respects an inferior composition to the first, from which it widely differs.

It is not our intention to say more at present about these documents; our object will be gained if attention is directed to them, we shall therefore conclude our observations upon them with a word or two concerning the new translation of Dr. Beelen. This translation is, as we have said, accompanied by the German version of Zingerley, and that in Latin by Wetstein, but it is better than either. In reference to it the author observes that he has endeavoured so to execute it as to merit the appellation of a most trustworthy interpreter.

"Therefore," says he, "I have said in Latin neither more nor less, nor anything otherwise than it was said in Syriac; and if I have anywhere added a word or two of my own to assist the understanding of my Latin version, I have included them in brackets; but I have taken great care lest this great strictness of rendering should diminish the perspicuity of the style. Wherever I have thought I detected anything like a gloss, while I have allowed the Syriac text to remain untouched, I have not rendered in the Latin translation the Syriac words which I took to be a gloss, but have always admonished the reader of the circumstance in a note at the foot of the page."

Such is the account of the matter furnished by the editor himself, and it is in the main correct. But it will be seen that he has rather exceeded his limits by throwing out of his translation, and afterwards from his amended text, what he suspected to be interpolations; a better course would have been to inclose them in brackets, and allow them to retain their places until further criticism had been expended upon them. In two or three cases

we observe expressions which occur in the Syriac, dropped in the translation without any notice or explanation. A case of this kind occurs in the second chapter of the first epistle, where the Syriac reads, "Now those who in truth are virgins for the sake of God." Here Dr. B. omits the two last words (ܐܠܗܐ ܕܥܡܐ —*propter Deum*) from his Latin version, although he has them in his text. Such cases, however, may be a mere oversight.

A second class of passages is that in which the Syriac has been paraphrased. This is often necessary, but there are cases in which it is better let alone. Thus, a passage which literally rendered, is "Knowest thou what great glory is to virginity, and therefore doest this?" or "dost practice this," has been paraphrased in this way—"Nostiri quanta gloria competat virginitati et *ideò-ne vis virginitatem profiteri?*" The author says nothing about a *profession* of virginity, but of its practice. Another instance is this:—the Syriac writer says, "repeat the gift which thou hast received, in *the church*, to the edification of the brethren who are in Christ." Dr. B. paraphrases the word "church" by "*in ecclesiastico conventu*," which was quite unnecessary. Again, in the second epistle he renders "and then we pray and *salute each other*" (lit., "*we ask of peace*," the ordinary form of salutation in Syriac), "then we offer prayer, and give to ourselves the kiss of salutation." His justification of the rendering does not prevent it from being a paraphrase.

In a similar manner the author has become the expositor of his document in regard to certain words. A few specimens will explain our meaning.

Page 8.—Syriac, "The whole creation." Dr. B. "*totum mundum*," where the Latin means less than the Syriac.

Page 21.—Syriac, "And is careful how she may please her Lord in a holy body and in spirit." Dr. B., "*casto corpore*," etc., where the Latin again means less than the Syriac.

Page 24.—Syriac "Knowest thou what honour holiness seeks?" Dr. B., "*nosti quam sit res honorabilis castimonia?*" Two similar examples occur p. 29, where the words "holy" and "holiness" are turned into "virgo" and "castimonia;" the apostle John being the *Virgo*. On the next page we are similarly informed that Elijah and Elisha and many other holy men lived a "*vitam cælibem*"—a bachelor life, when the Syriac text again simply says their conduct was holy. Many cases of this kind occur but it is needless for us to enumerate them all.

Occasionally we think the translator has missed the meaning of the Syriac text, but as these cases are few and generally unimportant we will not examine them. There is one instance in which a probable error of the text would remove a difficulty felt

by the editor. The Syriac text of Epistle 2, chap. ii., reads "that they may bear the holy Word of God and *do* ; and be nourished by the words of the Lord," etc. The editor thinks that in this passage the word *to do*, "is perhaps to be referred to the designation of the Sacrament of the Eucharist under a system of secrecy." But a reference to the passage in Luke xi. 27, which the writer here generally quotes, will suggest that for ܐܘܪܝܢܐ—*that they may do*, the scribe should have written ܐܘܪܝܢܐ—*that they may keep*. But even if the present reading is retained, the difficulty at once vanishes if we render "that they may hear the holy Word of God and *practise* it;" or, "that they may hear and *do* the holy Word of God" (compare John xiii. 17).

There is no doubt that Dr. Beelen's success as a translator would have been complete, and we may say the same of him as an editor, if he had not been under a confessional bias. To this almost every one of his faults is to be traced, and even in spite of this he has given us a book for which we thank him, and which we value very much.ⁱ

We had intended to take up the general question of Clement and his writings, but we have found so many things to be said about these epistles, that we must for the present waive that intention. We shall, however, before concluding this paper, say a few words of the hitherto unpublished fragments which Dr. Beelen appends from the same manuscripts as the two epistles.

These fragments consist of notes or short introductions to the Acts and Epistles. Commencing with the Acts, the author next describes the Catholic Epistles, and lastly the Epistles of Paul. The writer says how many sermons had been produced by Chrysostom upon each of the Pauline epistles, except the Romans. The number of homilies mentioned exactly accords with the numbers contained in the Savilian edition of the father, (vols. x. and xi.) The anonymous writer states that Luke wrote his Gospel and the Acts at the request of Theophilus who was one of the chief men of Alexandria. He says that James the apostle was our Lord's brother in a borrowed sense, but naturally the son of Joseph, and the brother of Jude, Simon, and Joses. He also says that James was made a priest in Jerusalem in the

ⁱ No mention has been made by us of a number of errata which have crept into the Syriac text of Dr. B. Many of these are unavoidable, and the editor has in part corrected them. But there yet remain others, of which no notice has been taken. Nor should we have taken notice of them here, but for the asperity with which the typographical errors of Wetstein are visited,—an asperity which sprinkles all his pages with "mendose," "vitiose," "male," "falso," etc.

upper room, where the priestly office was conferred upon the apostles, and that he was one of the seventy and not one of the twelve apostles. Paul he tells us wrote the epistle to the Romans in Latin, the epistle to the Hebrews in Hebrew, and the rest in Greek; also that he changed his name on his ordination at Antioch. He states that Chrysostom says the first epistle to the Corinthians was written in Hebrew, and it is said that it was written from Rome. Of the epistle to the Hebrews, he says, Paul wrote it in Hebrew at Rome with Timothy, and that Clement translated it into Greek, or according to others, Luke.

Such is the kind of information contained in these fragments, and though very little of it may be new, it is worth notice, as shewing the manner in which facts relating to the literary history of the New Testament were made known. The opinion here alluded to, that Clement of Rome *translated* the epistle to the Hebrews, from Hebrew into Greek, is not common, and we do not remember any other allusion to it.

We have now completed our task, and it only remains that we should commend the investigation of these questions—the authorship, the age, and, the original language, of the two epistles on Virginity to our readers. To go satisfactorily into the subject it will be above all things necessary to read the arguments of Lardner, Venema, and the others here replied to, if possible in their own language, as well as the reasoning of Dr. Beelen, who has sometimes been hasty and warm. Thus he speaks of Cyprian as an earlier writer than Tertullian! And, again, when Venema says the most ancient (*antiquissimi*) authors make no mention of a certain fact, Dr. B. says “Chrysostom” is one, when it is plain the first two centuries of our era were meant. Lastly, he sometimes treats his adversaries very unceremoniously, and uses hard words to them. We have thus freely pointed out the excellencies and the drawbacks of this volume, and shall wait with some anxiety the opinions which may be expressed concerning it. Have we here one of the apostolic flock, or a wolf in sheep’s clothing? Have we a genuine production of an apostolic man, or the imposture of some unprincipled deceiver?

B. H. C.

REMARKS ON THE *VARIÆ* LECTIONES OF THE HEBREW BIBLE

PART II.

(Continued from No. V., p. 152.)

IN continuing our remarks on the *Variæ Lectiones* of the Hebrew Bible, we now propose to examine and classify *all* Kennicott's various readings in the first chapter of Isaiah; and we shall find nearly the same result as we have already remarked respecting the Book of Genesis,—namely, that the immense majority are of very little, if any, importance; that the Masoretic Text has come down to us in a state of comparative purity, for which we ought to be thankful; and that it admits of very little improvement by the aid of those critical authorities which we possess.

We propose to classify the various readings under the following heads ;—

1. Words *plenè* or *defectivè scripta*.
2. Insertion or omission of the conjunction ׀.
3. Words lost.
4. Errors of the scribe.
5. Miscellaneous readings.

The various readings are

In the first class.	106
In the second class.	11
In the third class	22
In the fourth class.	67
In the fifth class	10

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We will now make a few observations on the different classes into which we have divided the *Variæ Lectiones*.

It will be remarked at once that the first is by far the largest class, comprising nearly 50 per cent. of the whole. And in reference to this class, to place the subject in a clearer light, we will go a little into the history of the Hebrew Text.

“The most ancient mode of writing,” says Dr. Davidson, “consisted of consonants alone—a peculiarity which could only be tolerated in a language during its rudimental state. It was the more easy for Hebrew alphabetical writing to remain stationary in this incipient state, because

the vowels, in Shemitic dialects, do not define the roots, but rather their modifications of meaning—the finer and more fluctuating shades of signification, rather than the signification itself. The fundamental idea of a word was distinctly intelligible without vowels; and the peculiar modification of its meaning could be discovered from the connexion of the discourse. Hence, one acquainted with the language could easily supply the appropriate vocalization.^a As soon as the language began to extend itself beyond its imperfect rudimental form, the vowels were expressed in certain positions, corresponding to the improved form the language itself assumed. But no new letters were invented for this purpose. Consonants already existing were used for vowel signs. The alphabet was not enlarged with new characters. Old ones were employed as representatives of vowels.”^b

The letters thus introduced to supply the place of vowels were the following:—א, ה, ו, י, and they “were accordingly termed *matres lectionis* (mothers or sources of [correct] reading).”^c

When the language ceased to be a living language, and traditional pronunciation became less and less to be relied on, as conveying a correct system of pronunciation, necessity led to the invention and adoption of the Masoretic scheme of punctuation, which is generally attributed to the Jews of Tiberias. But the particular time and manner of its introduction are now but of little importance. Suffice it to say that every letter has its vowel point, and every wanting vowel has its place supplied.

The whole mass, therefore, of words *plenè* or *defectivè scripta*, which is scattered in rude confusion through our collated MSS. and Editions, is now become utterly useless. It would be exceedingly difficult to adopt *either* plan of spelling, in preference to *the other*, throughout the Hebrew Bible; and if it were adopted, not the slightest advantage would result. We would therefore propose to take the text of Van Der Hooght, in this respect, exactly as it is; unless, in any particular instance, it were deemed advisable to adopt a reading supported by a very large number of MSS.

The second class of *Variæ Lectiones* consists in the insertion or omission of the conjunction ו. This conjunction is frequently omitted in Hebrew, and often wrongly supplied by the Hebrew copyists and ancient versions. In the eleven readings coming under this head, we will give a translation of Van Der Hooght’s text, and of the readings of collated MSS., from which we think the reader will see that no alteration is required;—only observing that the omission of ו is familiar in Hebrew.^d

^a Davidson’s *Biblical Criticism*, ch. iv., p. 37.

^b *Ibid.*, p. 38.

^c *Ibid.*, p. 40.

^d See *Noldii Concordantiæ Particularum*, in verb. ו.

ISALAH I.

VAN DER HOOCHT.

COLLATED READINGS.

1.—Ver. 2. <i>and give ear.</i>	<i>give ear</i> , not wanted, and supported by only 6 MSS.
2.—Ver. 3. <i>my people.</i>	<i>and my people</i> , not wanted: supported by a few MSS.
3.—Ver. 6. <i>and putrifying sores.</i>	<i>putrifying sores</i> , 1 MS. only.
4.—Ver. 7. <i>your cities.</i>	<i>and your cities</i> , not wanted: a few MSS.
5.—Ver. 9. <i>unto Gomorrah.</i>	<i>and unto Gomorrah</i> , several MSS.; but not wanted.
6.—Ver. 10. <i>give ear.</i>	<i>and give ear</i> , 2 MSS. only.
7.—Ver. 16. <i>make you clean.</i>	<i>and make you clean</i> , 5 MSS.
8.—Ver. 16. <i>put away.</i>	<i>and put away</i> , 2 MSS.
9.—Ver. 17. <i>plead for.</i>	<i>and plead for</i> , 2 MSS.
10.—Ver. 18. <i>though</i> (second).	<i>and though</i> , several MSS.
11.—Ver. 26. <i>after that.</i>	<i>and after that</i> , a few MSS.

The readings of the third class, consisting of words lost out of the text, admit of no doubt. We shall give a translation of the readings of Van Der Hooght, leaving a blank for the omissions in the various readings, and stating the number of MSS. by which they are respectively supported:—

VAN DER HOOCHT.

VARIE LECTIONES.

1.—Ver. 1. <i>Ahaz and Hezekiah.</i>	———— 1 MS.
2.—Ver. 1. <i>Ahaz.</i>	———— 1 „
3.—Ver. 2. <i>O earth.</i>	———— 2 MSS.
4.—Ver. 3. <i>not</i> (second)	———— 1 MS.
5.—Ver. 4. <i>iniquity; a seed.</i>	———— 1 „
6.—Ver. 4. <i>the</i> (prefix before } Holy One)	———— 1 „
7.—Ver. 7. <i>burned.</i>	———— 1 „
8.—Ver. 8. <i>as a lodge.^e</i>	———— 3 MSS.
9.—Ver. 8. <i>in a besieged city.</i>	———— 1 MS.
10.—Ver. 12. <i>to appear.</i>	———— 1 „
11.—Ver. 12. <i>this.</i>	———— 1 „
12.—Ver. 13. <i>an abomination.</i>	———— 1 „
13.—Ver. 13. <i>I can(not) away with.</i>	———— 1 „
14.—Ver. 13. <i>iniquity.</i>	———— 1 „
15.—Ver. 13. <i>even the solemn } meeting.</i>	———— 1 „
16.—Ver. 14. <i>my soul hateth.</i>	———— 1 „
17.—Ver. 18. <i>come now.</i>	———— 1 „
18.—Ver. 20. <i>the mouth.</i>	———— 1 „

^e This appears to be erroneously inserted in this class: it should have been in the first.—*Ed.*

VAN DER HOOGHT.

VARIÆ LECTIONES.

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|--|----------|
| 19.—Ver. 24. <i>the Lord</i> (first). | ———— 1 „ |
| 20.—Ver. 26. <i>and I will restore</i> }
<i>thy judges as at the first.</i> } | ———— 1 „ |
| 21.—Ver. 30. (garden) <i>that</i> (hath) | ———— 1 „ |
| 22.—Ver. 30. <i>no.</i> | ———— 1 „ |

Fourth class,—Errors of the Scribe.

This is a numerous class, comprising nearly thirty per cent. of all the various readings from MSS. collated for this chapter of Isaiah.

Let us examine the particular passages :—

VAN DER HOOGHT.

VARIÆ LECTIONES.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1.—Ver. 1. <i>and Jerusalem.</i> | <i>and on Jerusalem</i> , 1 MS. |
| 2.—Ver. 1. <i>in the days.</i> | wrongly spelt; from the resemblance which י bears to י: 1 MS. |
| 3.—Ver. 1. <i>Hezekiah.</i> | wrongly spelt: 2 MSS. |
| 4.—Ver. 2. <i>and give ear</i> (singular). | ditto plural; י instead of י: 2 MSS. and 4 fortè. ^f |
| 5.—Ver. 2. <i>Jehovah.</i> | <i>Adonai</i> , 1 MS. The Jews never pronounced the sacred name of Jehovah, but always read Adonai instead, which was sometimes substituted by the scribe by mistake. |
| 6.—Ver. 3. <i>the crib.</i> | false spelling, ם for ם: 1 MS. |
| 7.—Ver. 4. <i>people.</i> | <i>nation</i> , 1 MS. only. |
| 8.—Ver. 4. <i>the Holy One.</i> | <i>the twice</i> , 1 MS. |
| 9.—Ver. 5. <i>head.</i> | <i>this</i> , 1 MS. |
| 10.—Ver. 6. <i>putrifying sores.</i> | wrongly spelt: 3 MSS. |
| 11.—Ver. 6. <i>nor bound up.</i> | singular for plural: 1 MS. |
| 12.—Ver. 6. <i>mollified.</i> | י for י, 1 MS. |
| 13.—Ver. 7. <i>fire.</i> | a word added, 1 MS. |
| 14.—Ver. 7. <i>it.</i> | <i>them</i> , 1 MS. |
| 15.—Ver. 7. <i>as overthrown.</i> | a letter interpolated, 1 MS. |
| 16.—Ver. 8. <i>as a city.</i> | י for י, 1 MS. |
| 17.—Ver. 8. <i>besieged.</i> | י for י, 1 MS. |
| 18.—Ver. 9. <i>unto Gomorrah.</i> | <i>and unto Ezra</i> , 1 MS. primò. |
| 19.—Ver. 10. <i>Gomorrah.</i> | letters added, 1 MS. |
| 20.—Ver. 11. <i>the multitude—to me.</i> | י, superfluous, and order changed: 1 MS. |
| 21.—Ver. 11. <i>your sacrifices.</i> | <i>their sacrifices</i> , 1 MS. fortè. |
| 22.—Ver. 11. <i>and the fat.</i> | <i>the fat</i> , 1 MS. |

^f The word *fortè* is used by Kennicott when the original reading of a MS. subsequently altered, is not certain; *primò*, when such reading is certain; *nunc* denotes the subsequent alteration, when the original is elligible *videtur* is used of unaltered readings when not distinct.—Ed.

VAN DER HOOGHT.

- 23.—Ver. 11. *of fed beasts.*
 24.—Ver. 11. *of bullocks.*
 25.—Ver. 11. *I delight not.*
 26.—Ver. 12. *when.*
 27.—Ver. 12. *who?*
 28.—Ver. 13. *to bring.*
 29.—Ver. 13. *it.*
 30.—Ver. 13. *even the solemn meet-
 ing.*
 31.—Ver. 15. *and when ye spread
 forth.*
 32.—Ver. 15. *I will not.*
 33.—Ver. 15. *blood.*
 34.—Ver. 16. *of your doings.*
 35.—Ver. 16. *mine eyes.*
 36.—Ver. 18. *and let us reason.*
 37.—Ver. 19. *if ye be* (second)
 38.—Ver. 20. *but if ye refuse and
 rebel.*
 39.—Ver. 20. *but if.*
 40.—Ver. 20. *ye refuse.*
 41.—Ver. 21. *an harlot.*
 42.—Ver. 21. *city.*
 43.—Ver. 21. *faithful.*
 44.—Ver. 21. *but now.*
 45.—Ver. 21. *murderers.*
 46.—Ver. 22. *with water.*
 47.—Ver. 23. *rebellious.*
 48.—Ver. 23. *rebellious.*
 49.—Ver. 23. *rebellious.*
 50.—Ver. 23. *and companions.*
 51.—Ver. 23. *every one.*
 52.—Ver. 23. *loveth.*
 53.—Ver. 23. *loveth.*
 54.—Ver. 23. *and followeth after.*
 55.—Ver. 23. *and followeth after.*
 56.—Ver. 24. *of mine enemies.*
 57.—Ver. 25. *purely.*
 58.—Ver. 25. *purely.*
 59.—Ver. 26. *and I will restore.*
 60.—Ver. 26. *thy judges.*
 61.—Ver. 26. *as at the beginning.*
 62.—Ver. 26. *and after that.*
 63.—Ver. 26. *to thee.*
 64.—Ver. 28. *and sinners.*
 65.—Ver. 29. *ye have desired.*
 66.—Ver. 31. *and he shall be.*
 67.—Ver. 31. *together.*

VARIAE LECTIONES.

- wrong spelling, 1 MS.
 ditto, 1 MS.
for interpolated, 1 MS.
and interpolated, 1 MS.
what? 1 MS. fortè.
bring, 1 MS.
 wrong gender, a few MSS.
 2 for 1, 1 MS.
 wrong spelling, 1 MS.
 ditto, 3 MSS.
 1 for 1, 1 MS. primò.
 wrongly spelt, 1 MS.
 ditto, 2 MSS.
 ditto, 1 MS.; ditto, 1 MS.
and interpolated, 1 MS.
 twice, 1 MS.
if, 1 MS.
 a letter transposed, 1 MS.
 preposition omitted, 1 MS.
 wrongly spelt, 1 MS.
 twice, 1 MS.
 wrongly spelt, 2 for 2, 2 MSS. primò.
 ditto, 1 MS.
 2 for 2, 3 MSS. (1 fortè).
and interpolated, 1 MS.
 2 before 2, 1 MS.
 2 for 2, 1 MS.
and omitted, 1 MS.
 1 for 1, a Chaldaism: 6 MSS. and
 1 fortè and 1 nunc.
 twice, 1 MS.
 plural for singular, 1 MS.
and omitted, 1 MS.
 plural for singular, 1 MS. & 1 primo.
 wrongly spelt, 2 MSS.
 2 for 2, 1 MS.
 ditto (defectivè sc.) 1 MS.
my hand interpolated, 1 MS.
 wrongly spelt, 1 MS.
 ditto, 1 MS.
 imperfect, some MSS.
 1 for 1, 1 MS.
 wrongly spelt, 1 MS.
 a word interpolated, 1 MS.
and they shall be, 1 MS.
 wrongly spelt, 2 MSS. and 1 fortè.

That these are all errors of the scribe, arising either from the defective state of the MSS. from which the copies were respectively made, from the near resemblance which some Hebrew letters bear to each other, or from negligence, can admit of no doubt. It has been remarked that some MSS. have been transcribed with much more care than others.

In the third class, all of which are errors, twenty out of the twenty-two enumerated are contained each in a single MS. only; and in fifty-five, or perhaps fifty-seven, instances out of sixty-seven of the fourth class, each error appears only in a single MS.

The fifth class consists only of ten various readings; so that, if we are correct in our classification, there are only ten out of 216 to select from, in correcting Van Der Hooght's text.

Let us now examine these ten readings, and see if there are any, and if so, how many, preferable to those of Van Der Hooght.

VAN DER HOOGHT.

VARIÆ LECTIONES.

1.—Ver. 3. החבוק

supported by only 2 MSS. (151 and 196) and 1 primo (95), and the text preferable.

2.—Ver. 4. הוי גוי

1 MS. (136).

3.—Ver. 7. שממה

1 MS. (136).

4.—Ver. 10. דברי

1 MS. primo (96).

5.—Ver. 11. ונבשים ונחודים

Transposed, 1 MS. (109).

These four are supported by only 1 MS. each, and neither of them is preferable to Van Der Hooght.

6.—Ver. 18. נשנים

not preferable to Van Der Hooght, and supported only by 3 MSS. (224, 281, and 384).

7.—Ver. 22. נמים

1 MS. primo (178).

8.—Ver. 25. בליך

1 MS. 252).

9.—Ver. 29. יבשו

2 MSS. (150, 283) read תבשו, *ye shall be ashamed*, instead of *they shall be ashamed*.

Though this is perhaps the most plausible of the various readings in this chapter; yet we agree with those eminent critics, Rosenmüller, Henderson, and Davidson, in not preferring it to that of the *Textus Receptus*.

“*Quippe pudebit eos terebinthorum, quibus vos delectati estis*; oratione a personâ tertiâ ad secundam transeunte, ut sæpius potæ Hebræorum solent, cf. infra xlix., 25, 26; Deut. xxxii. 15, 17, 18; Mich. ii. 3; quare non est necessè, pro יבשו legere תבשו, ut Lowthius vult.” (Rosenmüll. in loc.)

“The change of person in Hebrew poetry is very common; so that,

though Kennicott's *Codices*, 150, 182, and De Rossi's, 226, originally, together with Munster's printed edition of 1536, the Chaldee paraphrase, and the version of Saadiah, read תבשר, 'Ye shall be ashamed,' it is not at all improbable that בשר, the reading of the *Textus Receptus*, is genuine; and to alter it simply on such authorities as those just mentioned, would be unwarrantable" (Henderson's Isaiah in loc.)

Davidson annexes this short note, "תבשר—בשר Cdd. iii. Tg." (i. e., *Targum*.)

VAN DER HOOGHT.

VARIAE LECTIONES.

10.—Ver 30. עלה.

עלה This reading is supported by 29 MSS., 2 primo, 1 fortè, 1 supra rasuram, Kennicott, by 13 MSS., 10 fortè, 7 Edd. R., and by all the ancient versions, and is rightly preferred to the *Textus Receptus* by Hamilton and Davidson.

The readings in this chapter preferred by Hamilton are few and unimportant. Four are merely the addition of the conjunction ׀. 1. Ver. 3, supported by 15 MSS., Kenn. 2. Ver. 7, supported by 17 MSS., Kenn. 3. Ver. 9, supported by 29 MSS., Kenn. 4. Ver. 18, supported by 22 MSS., K., and 1 Ed. In neither case is the conjunction wanted. The fifth is ver. 29, for תבשר or תבשר יבשר, and the sixth, ver. 30, for עלה, עלה. On these two passages we have already made remarks. The only reading in the chapter which Dr. Davidson prefers to Van Der Hooght is עלה for עלה, and in this we have already said we quite concur.

Assuming that Mr. Hamilton, in comparing the text of Van Der Hooght with Kennicott's collated readings of MSS. and Edd. throughout the Book of Genesis, has omitted no reading preferable to that of the *Textus Receptus*, we may conclude that we have now before us a fair criterion of the value of the collated readings, and of that degree of purity with which the Masoretic text has come down to us; understanding by the Masoretic text that of Van Der Hooght, which is usually regarded as the *Textus Receptus* of the Hebrew Bible.

We arranged the *Variae Lectiones* throughout the Book of Genesis under seven heads:—

1. Verba plenè scripta, proposed in place of defectivè scripta	74
2. ׀ proposed instead of ׀	25
3. Insertion of the conjunction ׀	10
4. Proposed insertion of other words	5
5. Miscellaneous changes not required	10

6. Changes preferable to Van Der Hooght's readings	11
7. Sundries	31
	<hr/>
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We have made some difference in classifying *all* Kennicott's various readings in the first chapter of the prophet Isaiah, viz.,

1. Words <i>plenè</i> or <i>defectivè scripta</i>	106
2. Insertion or omission of the conjunction ,	11
3. Words lost	22
4. Errors of the scribe	67
5. Miscellaneous readings	10
	<hr/>
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In both instances, by far the greater number of collated readings consists of *verba plenè* or *defectivè scripta* ; amounting in the first case to 74 out of 166, not less than 40 per cent. ; in the second, to 106 out of 216, nearly 50 per cent.

The 2nd, 3rd, 4th, and 5th classes in Genesis, all of which must be rejected, amount to fifty. Out of 166 readings, therefore, in the Book of Genesis, proposed by Mr. Hamilton as preferable to those of Van Der Hooght, it would appear that not more than eleven are entitled to preference. Referring then to Dr. Davidson, with the exception of numbers 5, 9, and 10, which are different modes of spelling the same words, and 7 and 11, which are merely *verba plenè* or *defectivè scripta*, and which may be adopted or not, as they do not affect the sense, we quite agree with him in preferring numbers 2, 3, 4, 6, and 8, to Van Der Hooght's, and to these we would add numbers 12 and 13, not considering the various reading of Gen. iv. 8, strongly as it is supported by the *exigentia loci*, as admissible into the Hebrew text.^g

The result of our two examinations, though not conducted in precisely the same way, is, in substance, nearly the same.

The following is a comparative statement :—

	In Gen.	In Isa. i.
1. The <i>verba plenè</i> or <i>defectivè scripta</i> amount to	74	106
2. Unnecessary insertion or omission of the conjunction ,	10	11
3. Words lost, needless insertion of words, errors, and changes not required	46	98

^g See "Remarks on the *Variae Lectiones*," etc., *J. S. L.* for April, 1856 ; p. 149.

4. Miscellaneous	25	
5. Readings preferable to the <i>Textus Receptus</i> . .	11	1
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	166	216

It is true that there are parts of the Hebrew Bible, some of the historical books for instance, which are in a much more imperfect and unsatisfactory state; but notwithstanding the sanguine expectations of Bishop Lowth and Dr. Kennicott, the collated readings for the most part afford us very little help towards correcting them. It is true also that conjectural criticism, though it has its proper limits, is a fair auxiliary in ascertaining the sense of the sacred original. But neither of these facts have anything to do with our present design, which is merely to enquire to what extent the Hebrew text of Van Der Hooght is capable of being improved by the aid of these MSS. and Edd.; the collation of which occupied nearly thirty years of Kennicott's valuable life; and we think our readers will agree with us, that, so far as we can judge from a limited research, we have cause to be thankful that, through God's good providence, the present Hebrew text has been handed down to us with such care and fidelity, as to be capable of comparatively very little improvement, by the aid of the immense number of MSS. and Edd. collated by Dr. Kennicott.

We have not indeed referred either to Dr. Rossi's collation, nor to that since made by Dr. Pinner, chiefly at Odessa, and referred to by Dr. Davidson in his work on *Biblical Criticism*.^h But this would have required much additional labour, without any adequate benefit; and besides, De Rossi's is a limited enquiry, omitting, for the most part, all notice of erroneous readings, and selecting only such as he thought entitled to special consideration. The want of a good classification of Hebrew MSS. has often been a subject of regret. We learn from Dr. Kennicott that some MSS. have been written with very great care, and under the vigilant superintendence of some of the most eminent rabbis. Others abound in errors attributable partly to the great difficulty of distinguishing some Hebrew letters from others closely resembling them; for instance, ך from ך; ך from ך and ך; ך from ך and ך; ך from ך, etc.; partly from the defaced or indistinct character of the MS. from which the copy was made, partly from the negligence of the scribe, and partly from a presumptuous desire to amend the text.

We shall clearly prove the negligence of the scribe, if we

^h *Biblical Criticism*, pp. 357—362.

can adduce instances of manifest errors, each of which is found only in a single MS.

List of MSS., each of which contains a single, unsupported error, in different verses of Isaiah, chap. i.

No. of MS.	Errors of classes 3 and 4 in	No. of MS.	Errors of classes 3 and 4 in
4.....	Ver. 8, 15, 23, 26	30.....	Ver. 4, 4, 14, 29
17.....	26	50.....	23
25.....	16	56.....	12

No. of MS.	Errors of classes 2 and 3 in	No. of MS.	Errors of classes 2 and 3 in
76.....	Ver. 13	150.....	Ver. 1
80.....	4, 6, 6, 7, 13, 13, 21, 23, 26	151.....	1
95.....	5	168.....	30
96.....	18, 19	170.....	26
101.....	28	180.....	30
106.....	7	181.....	12, 13, 26
107.....	3	187.....	15
108.....	15	196.....	1, 20
109.....	10, 18	213.....	13
111.....	7	224.....	31
115.....	3	225.....	6
128.....	1	245.....	19
130.....	9	281.....	11
136.....	4, 7, 8, 21	288.....	25
145.....	21	384.....	4, 8, 12, 13, 23

Total MSS., 36 ; errors, 62.

Now here we have the extraordinary fact, that the writers of no less than thirty-six MSS. collated by Dr. Kennicott, instead of accurately executing their task, have each introduced one or more errors, supported by no other MS. authority, into this single chapter of Isaiah.

It is not our intention to lead our readers through all these dry details of criticism ; we shall therefore select four of these MSS., which exhibit the greatest negligence on the part of the transcriber. The MSS. to which we refer are Nos. 4, 80, 181, and 384.

We will begin with No. 4. This MS. is described by Dr. Kennicott as being written in the German character, towards the latter end of the twelfth century. He remarks, " Plurimas

habet codex varias lectiones ; quarum haud paucæ sunt bonæ.”ⁱ
It contains no less than four errors of the scribe not contained in any other copy, in the first chapter of Isaiah.

- Isaiah i. 8, כַּעַר instead of כַּעַר
— 15, אֲנִי instead of אֲנִי
— 23, אֲדַבֵּר instead of אֲדַבֵּר^k
— 26, הָ instead of הָ

MS. No. 80. This MS. is very carelessly written. It contains no less than nine errors in this chapter. It is supposed by Dr. Kennicott to have been written about the middle of the thirteenth century, and is in the German character. Notwithstanding the great carelessness of the scribe, Dr. Kennicott remarks, “Plurimas habet codex variationes et nonnullas pretii haud vulgaris.”^l The errors are—

- Ver. 4. עַן הָעַ left out.
Ver. 7. שְׁמִי left out.
Ver. 13. אֲנִי left out.
Ver. 13. נִצְוָה for נִצְוָה
Ver. 21. לֵ left out before וְהָ
Ver. 23. סוֹדִים for סוֹדִים (letters of similar sound).
Ver. 26. וְהָשִׁיבָה—נִבְחָלָה left out.

MS. No. 181. This MS. contains three errors of the scribe. It was written, Dr. Kennicott thinks, at the beginning of the thirteenth century, and from a copy which had not been made conformable to the Masoretic standard.^l

- Ver. 12. וְהָ left out.
Ver. 13. וְהָ left out.
Ver. 26. וְ interpolated after וְהָשִׁיבָה

MS. No. 384. This MS. contains five errors in this chapter, and was probably written in the beginning of the fourteenth century.^m

- Ver. 4. גַּי for עַם
Ver. 8. כַּעַר for כַּעַר (change of letters of near affinity).
Ver. 12. לִי left out.
Ver. 13. וְנִצְוָה left out.
Ver. 23. וְהָ for וְהָ

It may be remarked that though in all these instances the error noticed is nowhere to be found but in the MS. referred to, yet the same scribes have often inserted errors in this chapter where other MSS. have joined in the error.

ⁱ *Dissertatio Generalis* [at end of tom. ii. of his *Var. Lect.*], p. 72.

^k This reading occurs also in MS. 125.—*Ed.*

^l *Dissert. General.*, p. 86.

^m *Ibid.*, p. 99.

But whilst we consider the copyists of the MSS. which we have quoted justly entitled to censure for their negligence, in making so many blunders in a single chapter of Isaiah, we must acknowledge the care of those who have used these MSS. either for copying or collation, in not allowing any one of these errors to find its way into their copies. The negligence of some copyists does not diminish the value of the fact that many of the MSS. have been written with the greatest care and fidelity, and considering the very close resemblance of some Hebrew letters to others, the wonder is that they have been able to execute their work with so few errors.

J. R."

THE LOGOS OF ST. JOHN'S GOSPEL.

ALL who consider with any attention the affirmation contained in the first chapter of St. John's Gospel, that Jesus Christ is the Word, feel that it is something more than the addition of a name of honour, or an attribute of dignity given to our Saviour, and that it involves the proposition that some office or character known by those to whom the Evangelist wrote was actually borne by him. Until we endeavour to place before ourselves some notion of what was meant by this mysterious name, we shall fall far short even of that imperfect understanding of this, and some other passages of Holy Writ, which is all that we dare hope for here below.

What is said in the New Testament itself as to the Word of God; what we can derive from a fair explication of the term itself; and lastly, the use of it by prior and contemporary writers, are all distinct sources from whence we may derive an elucidation of this most deeply interesting point. The opening passage of St. John's Gospel is one that all Christians have felt to be of no ordinary importance. The abstract nature of the propositions, standing by themselves in all their fulness, not limited by any circumstances of the persons to whom they are addressed or of the connection in which they stand, gives us every reason to feel assured that here we may search for absolute

" This article was written during the last weeks of a long and painful illness, and finished only a few days before death. For a short account of the esteemed and venerable author, our readers are referred to the Obituary.—*Ed J. S. L.*

truth, and that without fear of seeming to extract more meaning from the words than they were meant to convey.

It appears to us, we confess, that in this glorious passage there is a great and surpassing weight of meaning. *a)* It seems that the Evangelist tells us that the Word of God which came unto Abram in a vision saying, "Fear not Abram, I am thy shield and thy exceeding great reward" (Gen. xv. i.) was Jesus Christ. *β)* It seems to tell us that that "Word of Jah" of whom the Jewish Targumists had written as God holding converse and relationship with his people, was more expressly manifested than ever before in him whom the priests and people of the Jews rejected and crucified. *γ)* Philo had spoken of the most holy Word as the image of the absolutely existing being *De Confus. Ling.*, s. 20. Edit. Mang., i. 419); as the first begotten son (id. s. 14, i. 415,) who like the viceroy of a great king was to be charged with the government of the whole creation of God (*De Agna*, s. 12, i. 308); as the man of God immortal and incorruptible *De Confus. Ling.*, s. 11, i. 411); and as the agent in the creation of the world. Philo had used many other expressions with regard to the Word, often dark and mystical and mingled with notions borrowed from the Platonic philosophy, and yet such as we cannot read without something even of wonder. The writer of the Wisdom of Solomon, too, in all probability another Alexandrian Jew, if he were not Philo himself, had likewise spoken of the all-powerful Word as the agent in the world's creation (ix. 1), as the guide and healer of the children of Israel in their wilderness journey (xvi. 12), and the destroyer of the first born of their oppressors (xviii. 15). All that there was of truth in this remarkable language of the Alexandrians, St. John seems to gather up in this passage of his Gospel and to apply to Christ our Saviour. *δ)* In this passage he seems to say to the Gnostics, that true it was, as they asserted there was a Word, but to affirm also that this Word was in the beginning, that the Word was God, and that all things were made by him, each of which truths was a refutation of part of the Gnostic scheme of doctrine. *ε)* And lastly, this passage of St. John seems to challenge and appropriate to the despised and crucified Jew, all these dark and half-understood sayings of the Grecian philosophers, in which they had spoken of a Word, sometimes as the supreme reason and guide of man, sometimes as the spirit and ruler of the world.

Some parts of this matter have occupied the attention of writers, but so far as we know, no general elucidation of the subject in anything like the amplitude we have suggested, has ever been made or even attempted; and yet we feel sure that

such an enquiry would richly repay the student. We shall now only make a few remarks on the last branch of the subject just sketched out.

To some persons it may appear highly improbable that the passage of St. John should have any reference, however remote, to the speculations of Grecian philosophers. But this improbability is perhaps not so great as may appear. The gospel of Christ being a revelation of absolute truth, gathered up, and was designed to gather up and absorb in itself, all the scattered rays of truth which had here and there struggled through the darkness of the heathen world. Heathendom was not without its "unconscious prophecies," and of its bards and philosophers it has been said with no less truth than beauty,

"As little children lisp and tell of heaven,

So thoughts beyond their thoughts to those high bards were given."

We shall never, we think, understand as much even as we may of the length and breadth of the Gospel, until we look upon it in relation not merely to the Jewish ritual but to Grecian speculation, and as the unfolding of what there was of eternal truth that lay implicitly in both these. "We," says Clement of Alexandria, speaking of the relation of the Christians to the heathen Greeks, "hold all their possessions to be our own, because all things are of God" (*ἡμεῖς αὐτοὶ τὰ ἐκείνων ἴδια ἡγούμενοι ὅτι πάντα τοῦ Θεοῦ*, Strom. v., c. 4,—s. 19). St. Paul had preached Christ to the Athenians from the inscription on the altars, and had quoted Aratus and Cleanthes as bearing witness to the truth of his doctrine. It need not therefore seem strange if the language which St. John held, and that at a time when it was already made known to the church that the Gospel was for the Gentile as well as for the Jew, should have some reference to the teachings of Grecian philosophy.

Another consideration will lead us to the same result. Philo and the Alexandrian Jews of his day seem to have been the first to use the epithet *λόγος* in the same sense as that in which we find it in the first chapter of St. John. Considering the position which Philo occupied in the middle point and junction of Jewish and Grecian learning, and his studied effort to harmonize and connect them, it would seem highly improbable that he used the epithet in question without reference to the preceding usage of the Greek philosophers. Indeed, it seems to us not improbable that this may in part have induced their adoption of *λόγος* in the sense in which *ῥῆμα* appears to have been used by the Seventy in their version of the Hebrew scriptures. Again, it is scarcely we think to be supposed that St. John wrote what he did without

some knowledge of, and reference to, Philo : so that in this indirect way we may with great probability regard the language of the Greeks about the word as illustrating the passage of the New Testament in which that epithet is applied to Christ.

We shall be glad if these observations should call to this point the attention of any one capable of fairly elucidating it. We will conclude this short paper with a reference to a few passages of the heathen writers which seem to us relevant, and which have come across us in our reading and may possibly assist some future enquirer.

First, we will call attention to the remarkable passage of Epicharmus presented to us by Clement of Alexandria in *Strom.*, lib. v., c. xiv., p. 719; Potter; and by Eusebius in the *Præp. Evang.*, lib. xiii., p. 682; edit. Viger. Col. 1688.

Εἰ ἔστιν ἀνθρώπῳ λογισμὸς, ἔστι καὶ θεῖος λόγος,
ὁ λόγος ἀνθρώπῳ πέφυκεν περὶ βίου καὶ τῆς τροφᾶς·
ὁ δέ γε τὰς τέχνας ἅπτει συνέπεται θεῖος λόγος,
ἐκδιδάσκων αἰεὶ αὐτὸς αὐτοῦς ὃ τι ποιεῖν δεῖ συμφέρον.
οὐ γὰρ ἄνθρωπος τέχνην εὖρ' ὁ δὲ Θεὸς ταύταν φέρει.
ὁ δέ γε τὰνθρώπου λόγος πέφυκ' ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου.

This is the reading of the passage in the editions of Clement by Potter and Klotz. But it is to be remarked that the words ὁ λόγος at the beginning of the second line are wanting in the Parisian and one other MS. of Clement, and are judiciously placed in brackets by Klotz. We cannot help venturing to think that they are corrupt, and to suggest in substitution, ὁ μὲν γὰρ, which would mean λογισμὸς, and render the whole passage more sensible than at present. As it now stands, the ὁ δέ γε of the third line is the same as the ὁ λόγος of the preceding, by which we lose the contrast which the author appears to have intended between the mere natural, we might almost say animal cunning of man, and his higher reason. With this alteration, the passage seems to refer to three several objects. First,—the natural reason or cunning of man; secondly,—the reason or highest faculty in him, which is the emanation from the divine reason, and in that sense is itself divine (line 1): and lastly, the divine word or reason, in the fifth line identified with the Deity, which communicates to man the arts of life and civilization which he would by himself be unable to attain to, and teaches him what is right and fitting for him to do.

To the stoical writers, the name of *the Word* was very familiar to express the Deity, or all-pervading Soul of the world. Zeno—to follow the abstract of his doctrine which we have in Diogenes Laertius (vii. 134), held that the principles of the

universe were two; the one passive, the other active; that the passive was matter, and the active the Word or Deity residing in and pervading it: “τὸ δὲ ποιοῦν, τὸν ἐν αὐτῇ (ὕλῃ) λόγον τὸν Θεόν. Τούτου γὰρ ὄντα αἰδίον διὰ πάσης αὐτῆς δημιουργεῖν ἕκαστα.” And Plutarch, discussing the relation of evil and matter and quoting apparently from Chrysippus, uses language which shews this identification of the Deity with the word in the Stoic nomenclature. “Matter of itself their writers allege does not produce evil of itself, for it is without quality, and all the differences which it admits of are derived from that which moves it and gives it form,” adding, “κινεῖ δ’ αὐτὴν ὁ λόγος ἐνυπάρχων καὶ σχηματίζει, μήτε κινεῖν ἑαυτὴν μήτε σχηματίζειν πεφυκυῖαν. Ὡστ’ ἀνάγκη τὸ κακὸν, εἰ μὲν δι’ οὐδεν, ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος· εἰ δὲ διὰ τὴν κινουσαν ἀρχὴν, ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ γεγονὸς ὑπάρχειν.” (*Adv. Stoic.* c. 34).

Cleanthes in his hymn to the Supreme Deity, speaks of—

——κοινὸν λόγον ὃς διὰ πάντων
Φοιτᾷ μιν γινόμενος.

but evidently conceives of it as some all-pervading principle in subordination and subjection to the commands of the Supreme God than as absolutely one with the Deity.

There are many passages which might be adduced from Marcus Antoninus to a similar effect; but these being posterior in date are of course only secondary, and improper evidence in reference to the writings of St. John.

It is familiar to every scholar that from the time of Anaxagoras downwards, the Deity was often spoken of as the νοῦς. In the proper significations, as applied to the constitution of man, the words νοῦς and λόγος, express different parts of that mental system, or at least the same faculty in different relations; and it appears to us very worthy of enquiry whether the heathen philosophers in their use of these words as applied to the Deity, did not, sometimes at least, retain some such distinction, and whether that may not rightly be imparted into the significance of the latter word as used in the Christian Scriptures. If it be so, the application of it to Jesus Christ will inform us that as the λόγος in man is his mind going out into relation with things around him, so Christ is the manifestation of the Deity in relation with the world and in communication with our fallen but not deserted race.

Lincoln's Inn, Jan. 1856.

E. F.

שְׁאוֹל, SHEOL.

THIS word occurs sixty-five times in the original Hebrew of the Bible, and is rendered, in the common English translation, thirty-one times "hell," thirty times "the grave," three times "the pit," and once "grave."

As use, and not derivation, is the true standard by which the meaning of a word is most properly ascertained, so, whether שְׁאוֹל Sheol is supposed to be derived from one word or from another, either derivation is founded on only a supposition, and can prove comparatively nothing. For an illustration of this remark, let it be supposed that שְׁאוֹל Sheol etymologically means a cavity; then, as it cannot be proved that the soul of man, though immaterial, is capable of existing in all places at one and the same time, so, on its departure from his body, it may really occupy a general cavity of a particular nature; and hence, שְׁאוֹל Sheol may be in this respect as applicable to the soul as to the body; and if the word is derived, as usually supposed, from a word signifying "to ask," it is, in this case also, as applicable to a receptacle for the soul as to one for the body, since the former receptacle, at least as truly as the latter, may be regarded as claiming what it receives. As derivation, then, affords no means of ascertaining the meaning of the word definitely, its use must be examined and regarded as alone decisive in relation to its signification.

Several grammatical facts connected with שְׁאוֹל Sheol are very striking, and they indicate that it is a *Hebrew proper name of a particular place*. If this be true, it is susceptible of the clearest demonstration.

1. According to the rule of Hebrew grammar which requires the Hebrew article to be "*omitted in proper names of countries*," שְׁאוֹל Sheol is never connected with that article. That the constant absence of the Hebrew definite article from this word indicates that it is a proper, and not simply an indefinite or common noun, is particularly corroborated by two special facts: first, that, if it were not an ordinary proper name, such of its omissions of that article as those in Numbers xvi. 33, and Psalm xlix. 14, would be contrary to the rule of Hebrew grammar, according to which the article is prefixed to a common noun when it is repeated after it has just been introduced; secondly, that if it were not a proper name, its omissions of the article in Proverbs i. 12, Canticles viii. 6, and Habakkuk ii. 5, would be contrary to the rule, that the Hebrews employed the article

in comparisons after כִּי ke (as) when the noun compared is not *made definite*, either by a *genitive*, as is the word similarly compared which follows לִשְׁכַּת Sheol in Prov. i. 12, or in any other way, as by the fact that it is a proper name, of which an illustrative example occurs in Isaiah i. 9, independent of these three instances of לִשְׁכַּת Sheol. In Canticles and Habakkuk, the original word rendered “death,” similarly compared, is in each case preceded by the article, shewing that לִשְׁכַּת Sheol, not otherwise *made definite*, is made such by the fact that it is a proper name.

2. As Hebrew collective nouns, or nouns of multitude, are preceded by the article, when the *entire genus* is designated, and as Hebrew nouns which designate plurality, and which are not collective nouns, have plural endings, or are repeated, *with and without the copula*, so לִשְׁכַּת Sheol, *which*, as in Job xxvi. 6, and Proverbs xv. 11, *never has any of these characteristics of plurality*, is not a collective noun, and is always in the singular number, which shews that there is only one thing of its character. It therefore cannot mean deaths or earthly distresses; and though it designates the place to which all men are represented, as in Ecclesiastes ix. 10, to go at death, yet it cannot designate the place to which their bodies then go, unless such *place* include at least land and water and the open air, and the internal parts of animals. Its meaning then would, from even this alone, appear to be *the general receptacle of departed human spirits*.

3. לִשְׁכַּת Sheol is never connected with personal possessive pronouns, nor with demonstrative pronouns, and it never occurs in the “construct state,” nor in any other way which would shew that it belongs or appertains to only one individual, or to only a part of mankind; and hence it must be regarded as a general receptacle, and as not susceptible of an exclusive appropriation to individuals.

4. As what is emphatically termed “*He local*” (הַלּוֹכֵל) implies *place*, so לִשְׁכַּת Sheol, which has that Hebrew appendage to designation of locality annexed to itself ten times, and twice to words connected with it in meaning, is evidently a *place*, and not an abstract *thing*, as death, unconsciousness, or earthly distress, which is confirmed by the fact, that לִשְׁכַּת Sheol, *never being feminine in form, and never having the article prefixed to it*, has not the marks which singly or jointly are generally connected with Hebrew abstract nouns.

To the grammatical use of לִשְׁכַּת Sheol, Hebrew common nouns in abundance, especially those of *at least as frequent occurrence*, present striking and illustrative contrasts. For an illustration

of this remark, it is sufficient to refer to the appropriate Hebrew words for a literal grave and death, with which לִשְׁוֹל Sheol is perhaps most frequently assumed to be synonymous. The former of these, קֶבֶר kever, has the Hebrew article in Psalm lxxxviii. 11,—“the grave;” plural endings, as in Exodus xiv. 11—“graves;” personal possessive pronouns, as in 1 Kings xiii. 30—“his own grave;” and it is also in the construct state, as in 2 Samuel iii. 32—“the grave of.” The latter of those two words, מָוֶת mauveth, has that article also in 1 Samuel xx. 3—“death;” a plural ending in Ezra xxviii. 10—“deaths;” personal possessive pronouns, as in Deuteronomy xxxi. 27—“my death;” a demonstrative pronoun in Exodus x. 17—“this death;” and it is also in the construct state, as in Joshua i. 1—“the death of.”

Though it is true that exceptions occur to most rules, yet as it is **UTTERLY ABSURD** to suppose that this word, *with a comparatively limited frequency of occurrence*, is an exception, not to *one* rule, but to *several different rules, and in so many instances*, so it seems to be philologically proved that is a proper name. As such it is not susceptible of a multiplicity of meanings, and therefore cannot legitimately signify a literal grave, pit, death, earthly distress. It is not very strange, however, that when it is represented by the words grave and pit, an absurdity does not always appear; since the arrival of a human soul in the general receptacle of departed spirits is usually succeeded by a consignment of its body to the grave or pit; and therefore in such cases two events are equally true, and a man goes as really to a grave or pit as to the spirit-world. But as such an interpretation tends to produce the impression that לִשְׁוֹל Sheol is an indefinite noun, susceptible of so various meanings as to exclude any one fixed and proper signification, truth would unquestionably be promoted by rendering it, in all cases, *the general receptacle of departed human spirits, or the spirit-world*; or still more by transferring it without a translation, as a proper name. In Robinson's *Gesenius's Hebrew Lexicon*, it is so treated, and therefore expressed by the English Sheol.

That the inhabitants of לִשְׁוֹל Sheol have consciousness is obvious from the circumstances under which it is represented. As Sheol designates a place separate and distinct from that to which the body is consigned at death, the conclusion follows almost irresistibly that the part of man which goes to it, and which must be the soul, possesses consciousness, since no other good reason can be assigned why that distinguished part occupies not at death the same place with the body.

Clear and striking as is the preceding evidence that לִשְׁוֹל Sheol

represents the general receptacle of departed human spirits, an exposition of every passage in which this unique and important word occurs, will clearly shew that it represents a place in which the soul of man dwells after death, and into which all enter with their respective characters of obedience or disobedience, according as they are obedient or disobedient to heaven's requirements at their departure from this life; from which seems necessarily to follow a distinction there of pleasure and pain.

1. Genesis xxxvii. 35 : "And all his sons, and all his daughters rose up to comfort him, but he refused to be comforted; and he said, for I will go down," לִשְׁמֹל *Sheolah*, "into the grave unto my son mourning. Thus his father wept for him." This is the first instance of לִשְׁמֹל *Sheol* that occurs in the Bible, employed by the patriarch Jacob after he had exclaimed, "An evil beast hath devoured him. Joseph is without doubt rent in pieces." לִשְׁמֹל *Sheol* is here proved not to be grave, nor any opening in the earth, by the fact that Jacob believed his son Joseph to be in it, while he equally believed him to be, not in the earth, but either in the "evil beast," or scattered upon the earth's surface. As the father thought that his son had been "*devoured*," he could not have expected to go unto his son's body, either in that evil beast, or anywhere else, at least prior to the general resurrection. Nor could the venerable father have meant that at that resurrection he would "go unto his son," since he said he would "go unto him *mourning*," which implies that he expected to *continue* to be *sad*, *till* he should reach him; but this he could not have expected, had he known that after the death of his own body he would for thousands of years be unconscious, and that, accordingly, instead of going unto him while "*mourning*," he would go unto him in simple unconsciousness, or in that joy with which his body will doubtless meet Joseph's at the resurrection. He must therefore have expected to reach him as soon as he himself should die. Nor could he have meant merely that he would *die*, since his words, "*unto* my son," imply place and nearness of position; and as his body could not experience such a position relative to that of his son, while he himself was "*mourning*," he must have expected that his conscious soul would in לִשְׁמֹל *Sheol* be associated with the undevoured soul of Joseph. The words "*unto* my son," then, condemn the assumption that after death nothing remains of man besides his body. If at death there is not immediately a meeting of departed human spirits in the spirit-world, then to say that one person who is about to die will "go unto" another who is already dead, and from whose dead body he will continue to be far separated, would indicate

at least as much absurdity as to say that one person who is about to live, will come "unto" another who is already alive, and from whose living body he will continue to be far separated. Besides this, if Jacob did not expect to "go unto" Joseph except in the sense that he would soon be dead, as he thought his son already was—if he had no reference in his expectation to a meeting with him in the spirit-world, then he might as well have said that he was going to all the animals, and even all the vegetables that were then dead, and from the remains of which he would continue to be far separated! And if the soul of Jacob did not at death "go unto" that of Joseph, then it would be as absurd in him to say he would go unto his son, as to say that one person who is about to sleep, will go unto another who is already asleep, and from whom he will during sleep continue to be far separated. It seems also to be absurd to suppose that Jacob expected to come unto Joseph, without knowing it; and therefore he must have expected to continue conscious beyond death. As, according to 2 Cor. xii. 2, 3, a man may be a man, "whether in the body or out of the body," so it is not strange that Jacob did not mention the soul as the part which he expected to "go unto" Joseph. Such circumlocution would have been alike inconsistent with the directness of deep emotion, and with the elliptical simplicity of similar statements on the part of those who are positively known to believe that man's soul has a conscious existence after death. As Jacob could not have thought that Joseph, whom he regarded as "*devoured*," was in earthly distress, so לִשְׁמֹרֶת *Sheol*, in which he believed him to be, is proved not to mean earthly distress. This is also obvious from the fact, that in such distress, the "*mourning*," Jacob already *was* when he said, "I *will go down into*" לִשְׁמֹרֶת *Sheol*, "unto my son mourning." Should it be said that, because he was "*mourning*," he could not expect to meet Joseph in the spirit-world, then, for the same reason, he could not expect to meet him in heaven at death. From the fact that he is represented as a good man when the words here discussed were uttered, it is reasonably inferred that he expected to enjoy happiness in the spirit-world. The word "down," in connexion with לִשְׁמֹרֶת *Sheol*, no more proves that לִשְׁמֹרֶת *Sheol* is a place for man's unconscious dead body than the word "up" in connexion with heaven, in 2 Kings ii. 1, 11, and in Luke xxiv. 51, and also in Acts i. 9—11, proves that heaven is not the place where God more immediately dwells. That word "down" indicates, if anything, that לִשְׁמֹרֶת *Sheol* is a *place*, and not a state. And to say that the soul or spirit of a man occupies after death a place, is not inconsistent with

its dwelling before death in a place, nor with Solomon's prayer to God, who is emphatically "a Spirit," in 2 Chronicles vi. 30: "Then hear thou from heaven thy dwelling-place." *Place*, then, is not repugnant to the scriptural idea of a spirit. Whatever may be the nature of a human spirit, it possesses not the attribute of Omnipresence, and must necessarily occupy some particular portion of space. The word "down," then, implying locality, harmonizes with the idea of a spirit-world, as does also "*He local*," which is here annexed to לִשְׁכַּת שְׁהוֹל *Sheol*. The assumption that לִשְׁכַּת שְׁהוֹל *Sheol* means merely death, or a state of death, supposes that the patriarch Jacob expected to meet his son Joseph, not in the spirit-world, nor even where he supposed the body of that son to be, but in the abstract state of death, which, aside from its subjects, like other abstractions, has no existence! Where לִשְׁכַּת שְׁהוֹל *Sheol* may be located, cannot be positively inferred from the word "down," which may be used relatively, not to the earth, but to heaven, which is represented to be "up." An ignorance of the precise location of לִשְׁכַּת שְׁהוֹל *Sheol* is, however, no more strange or significant than that of the precise location of heaven.

From the preceding remarks relative to לִשְׁכַּת שְׁהוֹל *Sheol*, as first used, it follows that it was regarded, in the times and among the people of the patriarch Jacob, as designating a place in which the soul of man dwells after its departure from the body.

2. Genesis xlii. 38: "And he said, My son shall not go down with you; for his brother is dead, and he is left alone: if mischief befall him by the way in the which ye go, then shall ye bring down my gray hairs with sorrow to the grave," לִשְׁכַּת שְׁהוֹל *Sheol*. From the use of the words "gray hairs," it might at first seem that לִשְׁכַּת שְׁהוֹל *Sheol* represented a place designed for the reception of man's body. But this meaning of לִשְׁכַּת שְׁהוֹל *Sheol* would be in direct opposition to that given to it by the same patriarch in the passage just discussed. Besides this, he could not have meant that his "gray hairs" would alone be brought to some place or thing, and this proves that these words are figuratively employed. As such, then, the question arises, what do they represent? The answer must be that, in connexion with the word "my," they represent *me*—"then shall ye bring" me "down" "with sorrow to the grave," לִשְׁכַּת שְׁהוֹל *Sheol*. This is according to the rule of Hebrew grammar, that "The place of the personal pronouns, especially in a *reflexive* sense, is often supplied by the most distinguished and essential parts of either the *external* or *internal* man." The sense of *Sheol* in this passage is thus seen not to differ from that just discussed, since the represented *me* of this is the same as the "*I*" of that—"I will go down into

the grave," שְׁאוֹל Sheol, "unto my son mourning." Besides, he could not here have meant by שְׁאוֹל Sheol any other place than that in which he supposed Joseph's undevoured soul to be, into which his own "gray hairs," or even body, could no more be brought now than before. That שְׁאוֹל Sheol here means the spirit-world, and not a literal grave, is also confirmed by the fact that the instrument by which he said that his sons would "bring him down to the grave," שְׁאוֹל Sheol, was "*sorrow*." The influence which sorrow has upon the body ceases at death, and not at a subsequent burial; and as Jacob did not expect to escape sorrow before his arrival in שְׁאוֹל Sheol, nor to be buried at, but after death, שְׁאוֹל Sheol is proved not to mean a literal grave, but the spirit-world. That שְׁאוֹל Sheol does not here mean death, is obvious from the fact that "*He local*" is here connected with it, and from the fact which Matthew x. 28 emphatically teaches, that the soul is so indestructible that neither the sons of Jacob, nor those of any one else, can kill it; and that though the body is killed, the soul remains alive—"fear not them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul." And that שְׁאוֹל Sheol does not here mean earthly distress is evident from the fact that, if it did, then Jacob represented that as *going* to such distress or sorrow which was *already* affected "with sorrow!"^a

THE MOSAIC ACCOUNT OF THE CREATION.

WHATEVER can be *immediately* proved or disproved by any science is "scientific" in the only sense which has any relevancy in the controversy, whether or not the Scriptures contain a revelation of the truths of science. But if such be, indeed, the only definite and at the same time relevant meaning which can be attached to the word, then, although many theologians have, in the most explicit manner, *denied* that the Bible *does contain* a revelation of scientific doctrines, it is *self-evident* that few, very few, of them have really believed the statement—their own statement—to be strictly and universally true, and, a fact which cannot be disputed that by their practice they have violated and contradicted it. All the theories, for instance, which attempt to harmonize, as it is called, Geology and Genesis, rest on postulates and embody propositions asserted to be contained

^a From the *American Methodist Quarterly Review*, October, 1856.

in the Mosaic narrative which, whatever else may be said of them, are undoubtedly scientific as lying within the sphere of Geology, and so admitting of being immediately or directly proved or disproved by it. Looking only at the three attempts which have been the most generally approved, we find that (1) Chalmers' requires a universal pre-adamitic chaos which has already been geologically shewn not to exist; that (2) Smith's requires a partial pre-adamitic chaos which is equally capable of being decisively determined by physical observations, though from its nature it necessitates either for its establishment as a physical fact, or for its refutation as a merely conjectural and erroneous dogma *about* fact, more minute and special investigations; and that (3) the theory of periods is a complete summary of the whole history of the earth's changes—an inspired summary of the specially heaven-favoured science of Geology. Now it is to the fact that these and similar theories have all rested on the assumption that the Bible *is* in part a revelation of scientific truth—that there are at least *some* of its statements which do *not* belong to any higher sphere—that though it may never be pledged to false science, it may, it can, it even *must in certain cases* be pledged to true science;—to this fact, we say, we attribute their utter failure, their manifest insufficiency to accomplish the end at which they aim, and, most of the perplexities which men at present feel in regard to a portion of Scripture which would otherwise present to them few and slight, if any, difficulties.

We believe then that the assumption that the Scriptures reveal scientific truth is the source of innumerable errors, and itself, as a matter of necessary consequence, one of the greatest of errors. It does not require to be shewn that *it is possible* for a revelation never to lower itself to the disclosure of scientific truth. Religion is, of its own nature, always above and beyond science. Theological truths are never on the same level as scientific truths, whether physical or psychical. When religion and science are necessarily connected the former is an inference from the latter. Now to this higher sphere revelation might be exclusively confined. We do not deny, however, that the promulgator of a revealed religion might, though he had the imparting of information about heavenly things for his grand, his main aim, be notwithstanding so much impressed with the importance of a right understanding of the physical and psychological laws, according to which the movements of the phenomena of matter and of mind are regulated, that he would at the same time make use of his superhuman knowledge to disclose the nature of these laws; or rather such knowledge might seem

to the Supreme Being so important and necessary to man, that he would incorporate it with the spiritual instruction which he was giving by inspiration to a few of his servants, and through them to mankind in general.

But the question is, whether this method *has actually* been adopted in the course of the manifestations which God has made of himself, and caused to be recorded in Scripture. We believe that it has not; that, on the contrary, Scripture has for its exclusive object the disclosure of spiritual truth, the development of the divine government, and even that in special relation to a plan for recovering the human race from a state of misery and sin to a state of happiness and holiness, for building up out of the fragments of a morally ruined earth the kingdom of God; that man has been most wisely left to discover for himself even the most important truths in science; that there is, therefore, really no opposition between nature and Scripture, not because Scripture makes only on matters of science such statements as are scientifically correct, but because it never makes scientific statements at all, and that all expressions in which it appears to do so, may by a freer and truer criticism be explained otherwise, without any tampering with the Divine Word.

It is a fact in history that the oppositions or contradictions which have at any time appeared to exist between Nature and Scripture, have been removed only in consequence of the application to them of the rule or law which we have just laid down. The statement is very frequently made that the cases of even apparent opposition between revelation and science are very few—far fewer than we might have expected—when compared with the cases of agreement between them. It is, however, only another of those dicta which men thoughtlessly accept and repeat, because a great many have accepted and repeated them in the same unthinking way before them. The real facts are, we believe, that there are an extraordinary number of such instances when the fewness of anything that can possibly be construed into a statement of scientific truth is for a moment considered; and that every passage of the sort—without, perhaps, a single exception—so long as it has been held to contain a revelation incidental or direct of physical or psychical truth, has been in more than seeming opposition to the genuine lessons of nature. The manner too in which the two records, the natural and the supernatural, have been brought into unison has always been the same. It has not been (as it is in general, either ignorantly or dishonestly asserted), by a profounder and more accurate acquaintance with science, by natural science

being brought up to the more advanced, because divine, science of the Bible, but it has been by science, as its own strength and evidence increased, forcing the theologian to forgo his own interpretation of the written word, by compelling him to perceive that there is no scientific statement at all in the place where he formerly imagined there was one. In every case of the kind, the uniform result, in all past history, has been that opposition has been disproved only by shewing that revelation has concerned itself with an aspect of things with which science has nothing to do; that even when both have reference to the same fact or phenomenon, the one views it exclusively in its supernatural, the other exclusively in its natural aspect. We repeat, then, it is a fact that up to the present time all the apparent oppositions between science and the Bible have been removed only by shewing that the Bible does not reveal scientific truth in the places where it has been formerly but erroneously thought to do so. Now this of itself is surely almost a demonstration that what has been will be—that our difficulties must be removed as similar difficulties have been removed in the past, viz.: by shewing not the coincidence of science and the statements in the Bible, but that while religion and science are ever contiguous they never interpenetrate. This we think is the grand lesson which the whole history of interpretation most emphatically teaches both the philosopher and the theologian.

There is no reason for regarding *creation* as any exception to this general rule, which seems to us to have been an absolutely unbroken principle in the entire course of the Divine Manifestations. Some facts indeed lie, as it were, on the borders of the natural and the supernatural; partly within the province of the one and partly within the province of the other, and the creation of the world is one of them. Looked at in its origin and essence it is not a subject of science but a miracle, a direct and immediate production of the power of God preceded by no ordinary, no natural laws, and distinguishable from no real miracle whatever, although miracles are by their very definition extra-scientific. Free, immediate, and miraculous acts, however, are in some instances the commencement or source of necessary, mediate, and ordinary laws; indeed, all laws whatever must be admitted to have originated in such acts, unless we would adopt the arbitrary and absurd opinion of the atheist, that the phenomena of the universe, its combinations, laws, ends, and moral meanings, need not a creator to make them intelligible. The miracles of our Saviour had not this character. Though in the mere fact of their causation not different from creation, they were not originative of laws—they

were not perpetuated—they did not remain permanent phenomena in the universe, governed by their own inherent principles of being. Creation did. The fiat of omnipotence called it forth into existence, and so far was a miracle lying entirely within the peculiar sphere of a revelation such as we have found the Bible to be; it was, however, at the same time the beginning of laws, and as these laws are all the very materials of science, it is equally within the province of science. What is true of the matter of the universe is also, in the same way, true of plants and animals, each species of which has laws, but had not its origin in laws. The important point, however, to be observed is, that even in these cases it is quite possible for a revelation to keep entirely distinct from nature—to confine itself exclusively to the supernatural, the miraculous, and leave the domains of all the physical and mental sciences intact. This we say is the important point; for the possibility of it in regard to creation taken in connexion with the general fact, that in every other case scientific statements *have* been excluded from Scripture, is a strong proof that here too they are excluded. If they are not, why, we would ask, have we this exception to a rule so uniform, and for the observance of which such weighty reasons can be assigned?

Speaking for ourselves, we can truly say that no reason is visible to us for so remarkable an anomaly, no good purpose which could be served by the violation in this single instance of a principle elsewhere so carefully observed. It has not been pretended that it entered into the intention of the Supreme Being to make the *Hebrews* acquainted with the leading facts, the grand results of geological research by embodying these facts—these results—in the first chapter of Genesis. The past age is manifestly not calculated to do anything of the sort. *They* then were not to be any the better of it, nor in fact were mankind as a whole. The truths of geology, it cannot be denied, were hid in a deeper darkness in Genesis than in the bosom of the earth. Historically, it *has* been more difficult to extract them from the written record than from that of rocks. The Jews and all other men, until the rise of the science of Geology, even, it would seem, *necessarily misapprehended* the Mosaic narrative. They not only could *not* give it its *true* interpretation, but they could *not help* giving it a *false* interpretation. Now, we would ask, is there any case like this anywhere else in the whole Bible besides? Is it not even impossible, absurd, to believe it of any really divine Word? There is nothing inherently self-contradictory in a divine manifestation, either in the natural or the supernatural, being such that we shall be *incapable* of appre-

hending it *rightly* and *fully*. *That, a priori* we might expect. *That, a posteriori* we abundantly find. But there is something inherently self-contradictory in the notion that what is really a revelation of the Supreme Being *must* be understood *wrongly*. To be unable to reach the truth—to be unable not to acquiesce in falsehood; there is the greatest difference between these two statements; and those who believe that there is revealed a geology in Genesis, which yet could not *but* seem to a Hebrew to coincide with cosmogonical views entertained by himself but not in unison with facts, would do well to attend to the distinction. Men, however, so far as the present writer can see, were very little the worse for not being able to give the record its true interpretation; and not being able to help themselves from giving it a false interpretation, they did not thereby lose any moral and spiritual truth. The religious doctrines contained in it are—we think we may say *confessedly*—independent of the scientific doctrines which it reveals. If therefore scientific truths be revealed in this instance at all, it must be merely for their own sake—why then we are entitled and, in fact, *forced* to ask, were they not put in such a form that men could not honestly remain ignorant of them? That this would have had many bad consequences, that it would indeed have endangered, if not shipwrecked, the whole spiritual mission of Moses is most true, but our opponents must see that *that* is *their* business, not *ours*. It appears then that a Mosaic revelation of geological truths would be useless *before* men had discovered such truths for themselves by independent observations. Would it be useful *after* they had done so? We answer, that it would not, for two reasons; first, the truths were then obtained, and no reasonable man would desire—no man whatever could get—anything more; secondly, were the *rule* but uniformly observed—were the separation of science from revelation but complete—did the Bible never pledge itself either to true science or to false, everything would be obtained which possibly could be obtained by *violating it on a single occasion*.

We ought not in this connexion to overlook the complete failure of all the schemes of reconciliation which have proceeded on the contrary supposition. It is in vain for their advocates to talk about the recent rise and present imperfections of geology, for most of the objections urged against them arise out of the very plenitude of our positive and indubitable knowledge. We however cannot here enter into an examination of these theories shewing their utter futility, nor is it very necessary. The more sober of them have been found to contradict facts so unequivocally that they have latterly disappeared, giving place

to some form or other of the wildly extravagant one "of periods." But *it* again is of such a nature that it never can give permanent satisfaction. Even at present, people give it a sort of half acquiescence only, because they have nothing with which they can supply its place. They cling to it as men cling to any stray plank or spar when their ship has sunk, and all the small boats have gone down with her.

We think we have proved that the Bible never reveals scientific truth; that, in fact, the entire exclusion of science is a great law which pervades the whole of Scripture. But let this principle be once fairly and *fully* admitted, and all the difficulties, which are on scientific grounds so widely felt in regard to the first chapter of Genesis, will vanish. A great part of it—everything that is of spiritual value, that is religious and supernatural—is entirely removed beyond the sphere of science, and therefore is infallibly true, being by God himself *said* to be true. Moses has to teach the Jews that God made all things; he accordingly does so. He groups together the facts of nature, and attaches to them all, in the execution of his divine mission, the proper theological truths. "The matter of the earth," he says, "God made it; the sea he made it too, and the plants, the sun, moon, and stars, reptiles and fishes, birds, beasts, and man—God made each one of them all." But he pledges his authority on nothing else. Statements lying beyond the limits of the spiritual world are indeed within the covers of our Bible—*must be there*—but they are *not words of God*, are not *said* by *Him* to be true, and therefore *we* need not say so. We can believe then that very much in the Mosaic record had its origin in an older Hebrew cosmogony. Such a fact would indeed of *necessity* determine the form of a revelation. There was, suppose, a belief current that the present economy of things was formed in six days out of a primeval chaos; then, in that case, two courses of conduct, *and only two*, were open to the teacher of revelation. He must either teach his hearers a true cosmogony, and suspend for a long time his spiritual instruction, or he must take the one which they had, and without saying that it was true, without pledging his pretensions as a religious guide on the correctness of it, attach to it the required theological conclusions—such spiritual principles as are true, independent of any particular physical—any national cosmogonical—theory. A missionary, we shall imagine, goes to some country where the people believe that the "present economy of nature" has sprung from an egg or a lotos flower; and we would ask, If this missionary, instead of indoctrinating them into what he believes to be the true origin of it, should say, "God made the egg," or

“God made the lotos,” is he to be understood as sanctioning their physical theory? or is it to be said that he is on that account not to be believed when declaring purely spiritual truths? And, if this would *not* be said of a missionary; if every wise man would, on the contrary, condemn him were he to spend his time in teaching geology when he might be saving souls, and commend him for pursuing the other plan which is *morally* quite open to him, and has such immense advantages otherwise, why should a different rule be applied to Moses? Why are the writers of the Bible to be tried, even by their friends, by principles essentially different from, and far more stringent than, those by which all other men are tried? A real religious objection might have been urged against Moses had he not done as we think he has done, or else taught geology thoroughly. Had he not given an exhibition of the whole system of the universe so as to convince the Jews that there was not such a chaos as they supposed—had he merely said, “God made all things,” and left to reject or retain, without connexion with religion, their idea that the earth once existed in a “state of disorganization, detritus, and ruin,” he would have been leaving room for them to retain the false views of religious truth which had gathered round that notion—the prejudices and lies of paganism; room, we say, to retain these, to invent them or to import them from other nations. But when, letting their physical hypothesis pass without contradiction, he superadded that “the Spirit of God moved on the face of the waters,” he rendered the reception of these false religious views for ever impossible among all who believed in the divinity of his mission. Had the statements in the first chapter of Genesis which lie within the sphere of science,—had the account of the days, for instance, *been true* in the only sense in which physical statements can be true, that is correct expressions of physical facts, we think we should have been not only warranted, but bound by the whole analogy of Scripture in relation to science to deny that *it said they were true*. We then can have neither hesitation nor difficulty in allowing that the account of the days and all the other things in the first chapter of Genesis which come within the sphere of science are *false*, seeing that we contend that Moses does not say that they are true. Whenever a matter of science is introduced by a biblical writer it is always to be understood with an implied proviso “as we think” “as is received,” or some equivalent expression, and the truth or falsity of such statements considered in themselves does not in the least affect his authority as a religious teacher.

We do not think it possible after the exposition of our

theory given in the preceding pages, that it can be confounded with that of Professor Baden Powell, from which it differs *toto cælo*. He appears to think that science somehow entered into the revelation and yet did not correspond to physical facts; that certain statements are said to be true and yet are not true. Such an opinion is of course liable to the most serious objections. One finds it difficult indeed to believe that Professor Powell *can* really mean to affirm it. He himself, however, allows that his view has a bearing upon inspiration, but that it is incompatible with plenary inspiration; and thus we are forced to hold that his hypothesis is the very strange one here attributed to him, and that he has had no clearer insight than his opponents into the great principle which unties all the nodi and complexities of the subject; viz., that God in his revelation has never condescended to teach the truths of science. Were that principle once firmly apprehended, it could not but be seen that the truth or falsity of the account of the days in Genesis, of the existence of a chaos extending from the undefined era of the earth's creation down to a short time before the making of man, etc., has no bearing whatever on the question of inspiration, and is as compatible with that form of it called plenary as with any other.

Nor can it I think be said that the view which we have brought forward leaves us in any doubt as to *when* the Bible says that a thing is true and *when* it does not. The whole aim of our inquiry has been to establish *a law or principle of scientific apprehension* which may, in accordance with the famous second axiom of Lord Bacon, be transformed into *a rule of practice*, viz., *whenever we find in Scripture anything which lies within the province of the sciences, that thing may be either true or false, but Scripture never says that it is either the one or the other*. There is surely no dubiety or ambiguity in a rule like *that*.

R. F.

PHOTOGRAPHS AND THE VATICAN MANUSCRIPT.^a

In the *Times* newspaper, under the date of November 16, 1855, appeared a letter, addressed to the editor by a Mr. Thomas Moresby (so the name was printed), asking the question :—

^a From the *United Church Journal*, July, 1856.

“Will the Roman Catholic Church, through its appropriate officers, permit the *Codex Vaticanus*, No. 1,209, now at Rome, to be photographed?”

* * * *

“If once carefully photographed, that would render future collation unnecessary, except in rare instances, and prevent what is called tracing—a manual labour not always correct, as proved by facts, and one would think always, though but in a small degree sometimes, injurious to the MS.

“The published collations of Mico and Birch (this latter is imperfect, omitting Luke and John) have been carefully compared with each other by Dr. Tregelles, and they are found to differ in nearly 2,000 places.

* * * *

“If one manuscript can be photographed successfully, and that an ancient one, nearly all might; and then learned bodies, and owners of private collections of MSS., might exchange copies, just as casts of Flora and Fauna are now exchanged by the museums of Europe.”

This question about an obvious application of the recent discovery of photography (so obvious that one almost wonders it never was publicly asked before) drew forth the next day the following note from Mr. Ashpitel on the Vatican MS.:—

“About a year and a half ago, when in Rome, I had the honour of an introduction to the celebrated scholar, the Cardinal Angelo Mai. In the course of conversation he asked some questions as to the state of the *Codex Alexandrinus* in the British Museum; and, on my remarking on my disappointment at not being able to see the *Codex Vaticanus* at the great library, he explained that it was in consequence of his being engaged in preparing an edition of it himself, and that it was, of course, obliged to be kept at his palace.

“The learned Cardinal proceeded to open a large strong chest, from which he took an elaborately worked iron coffer, containing this most precious manuscript. Observing that the greater part that had been published was unsatisfactory and contradictory, he said that he was occupying his leisure by editing it, page by page, line by line, letter by letter; and that he entertained serious thoughts of having a fount of the type cast in *fac simile*, in the same manner as Dr. Woide had for the *Codex Alexandrinus*, but the difficulties were so great he had abandoned the idea. I then suggested the making a *fac simile* of the whole in lithography, page by page, as Mr. Arden had done for the *Orations of Hyperides* he discovered at Thebes. This could easily have been done, as the manuscript is in such a state of preservation that the greater portion would have borne the transfer paper without the slightest danger of injury. The learned Cardinal assured me he would think very seriously of this suggestion, and directed his secretary to send to London for a copy of Mr. Arden’s book.”

Directly following this letter appeared another communication from Mr. T. E. Thoresby (for such is the correct name of

the gentleman who opened this correspondence), from which we print the following extract :—

“I consider the letter of Mr. Ashpitel, in your impression of yesterday, of great importance, as proving the three following things :—

“That, in the judgment of that distinguished man, Cardinal Mai, ‘the greater part that had been published’ of the *Codex Vaticanus* ‘was unsatisfactory and contradictory;’ the Cardinal was not alone in this opinion, and it did not die with him; that the Cardinal himself laboured hard to give the world a faithful copy of the MS.,—he was ‘editing it page by page, line by line, letter by letter,’ from which I infer the Roman Catholic authorities are favourable to its publication; and that those who have charge of the MS. are conscious of its great value—‘it was taken out of an iron coffer which was deposited in a large strong chest.’

* * * *

“One word in my letter of the 16th instant conveys an incorrect opinion as to the completeness of the MS. I fear it will be found that at least the pastoral Epistles are gone.

* * * *

“Will the Vatican speak, and tell us the exact state of the case, and what it intends to do?

“I wish to keep before the mind of some of your readers that what I propose is not a collation, transcript, or tracing, but a photograph of the *Codex Vaticanus*.”

To the observations of Mr. Thoresby, Mr. Ashpitel replies, Nov. 23 :—

“I cannot say whether or not the authorities are favourable to the publication of the MS.; the Cardinal evidently was at work upon it alone and unassisted; he did not consider his exertions part of his public duties, but a labour of love of his own.

“Could I have foreseen that that great man would have been so soon taken from us, I should have endeavoured to have noted down as full an account as possible of the MS. It formerly had been, I was told, separated into two volumes; when I saw it, it formed one large thick octavo. It is incomplete at the beginning and end, having lost about half the book of Genesis, and nearly all the Apocalypse. This last is supplied by another hand, in cursive Greek, of the date, probably, of the tenth century.

* * * *

“The Gospels and Epistles seem, as nearly as I could judge, to be tolerably complete. The celebrated verse in the First Epistle of St. John, as is well known, is not in the text.

* * * *

“With many thanks for the kind communications of several photographers, I fear it would be necessary to reduce the page so much to get a clear image in the camera, that the text would be scarcely legible. A quarto page of uncial Greek, reduced to three or four inches square, would, I fear, be of little practical utility. It would, however, be very easy to try the experiment on some other MS. I fear, also, it would be necessary to

strain the page and get it perfectly flat, or the curl of the vellum would alter the focus and distort the image."

This correspondence, meanwhile, had attracted the attention of Dr. S. Prideaux Tregelles, whose name appeared in Mr. Thoresby's first letter, and who had acquired a right to speak authoritatively on the subject of the MS. in question, from his pains-taking efforts, unfortunately abortive, to get possession of its readings. In a letter, dated Portland-square, Plymouth, Nov. 23, he thus addresses the editor of the *Times* :—

"In common with many others, I feel a very deep interest in the proposition of Mr. Thoresby, that the New Testament portion of the Vatican MS. should be photographed.

* * * *

"The New Testament is not now a separate volume; but it and the Septuagint are all bound in one; and this is as it should be, for they are all one MS.

"The *Codex* exhibits no trace of intentional mutilation. It is true that the Epistles of St. Paul to Timothy, Titus, and Philemon are wholly wanting, as well as the Apocalypse, so far as the ancient writing is concerned; but this arises from the MS. having been injured at both ends, so that in the beginning the greater part of Genesis is gone, and in the New Testament the old writing breaks off in Hebrews ix. As the pastoral Epistles, in the arrangement of old Greek MSS., stand after that to the Hebrews, they are thus of necessity wanting. Not so, however, the Catholic Epistles, which occupy their usual Greek location, after the Acts and before Romans.

* * * *

"The MS. ought to be examined as well as photographed; because the manner in which the letters have been traced over again by a later hand is such, that here and there implicit dependence on the photographed copy might lead to inattention as to the faint, pale, original reading.

* * * *

"I saw at Cambridge, about a month ago, a beautiful photograph of one page of the *Codex Augiensis*, lying in the MS. itself, in the library of Trinity College."

This recent and authentic information respecting the condition of the Vatican Manuscript must prove interesting to many of our readers, apart from the question of perpetuating and diffusing its text of the Greek New Testament by means of photography. Notwithstanding what Dr. Tregelles affirms respecting the sample of light-printing in Trinity College, Cambridge, we fear the difficulty is not yet removed. But, if it were, it is not quite certain that the Vatican Manuscript would be submitted to the process by the consent of the Roman authorities. The obstacles thrown in Dr. T.'s way, when he resided

for five months in Rome for the purpose of collating it, we cannot designate as other than gratuitous and vexatious. Those who would see a temperate account of the transaction will consult his volume—*The printed Text of the Greek Testament*, pp. 156, 157. But an extract from a private letter of his, published in the *Times* of Nov. 29, and which we should scruple to use, but that it is presumed it has seen the light with his sanction, gives us a fuller insight into the way in which he was baffled in his studies and researches. Dr. Tregelles says :—

“I took with me such introduction as seemed most fitting to accomplish the end I had in view; but no! no facility could be afforded for anything that aided to edit the text of Scripture, and I could only meet with promises and delays of a most wearying kind. Cardinal Lambruschini, then at the head of affairs, and holding the office of Apostolic Librarian, as well as that of Secretary of State, gave me permission to collate the manuscripts, and yet difficulties were thrown in my way at the library. Monsignor Laureani, the *primo custode*, acted on the secret orders [?] that he had received, and took no notice of the apparent permission that had been given. I obtained an interview with the late Pope, and he graciously gave me permission; but he referred me to Monsignor Laureani, who was already my hindrance, and thus, after five months of weary waiting, I left Rome without accomplishing my object. It is true that I often saw the manuscript, but they would not allow me to use it, and they would not let me open it without searching my pockets, and depriving me of pen, ink, and paper; and at the same time two *prelati* kept me in constant conversation in Latin, and if I looked at a passage too long they would snatch the book out of my hand.”

This happened in the year of grace 1845, in the metropolis of the Catholic world, and deserves a place in the next edition of Disraeli's *Amenities* of literature. We can imagine the starving student ready to set to at the glorious fare lying before him, but stopped at every mouthful, like Pança, at Barataria, by the solitudes of the spiritual practitioners at his side. It is a pitiful exhibition, painful to record, unpleasant to comment upon. But there were better things and persons in Rome, as Dr. T. very properly acknowledges in his book.

The fittest punishment for those who are so chary of the intercourse of strangers with their MS. would be on its publication, which must arrive some time or other, to find it stripped, on solid grounds, of the high antiquity it claims. We think this result very possible. Its whole internal character, when its readings are accurately known, will contribute to fix its date, no less than its external appearance and history, and may have the effect of robbing it of its present *prestige*.

Before we proceed with any further observations on the sub-

ject, we may record our belief that the seeming reluctance of the court of Rome to have the Vatican MS. published arises from no doctrinal or ecclesiastical apprehension, but merely in the first place from that lack of funds or zeal which operates in other quarters, as well as in theirs, to the death and burial of MSS. Again, there may be suspected the feeling that the value of their treasure might be impaired by publication—the same feeling which induces the owner of some unique painting to forbid its being copied. And, lastly, the desire that the MS. in question should be given to the public by one of their own scholars rather than by a foreigner—a gift which the literary inertia of Rome, in almost everything which regards external criticism, has succeeded in withholding from the world hitherto. Thus, not so much to the jealousy of rival creeds or churches, do we ascribe the coquetting of cardinals with collators, on the ground of the Vatican Manuscript, as to the jealousy of rival scholarship, or what is most probable, an entire want of sympathy with Protestant Europe as to the state of the Greek text of the New Testament. The effect, of course, is still the same; nevertheless, it is more agreeable to feel that lethargy or caprice dictates the course pursued rather than theological heat and polemic opposition. The Church of Rome knows right well, and we know it, too, that its claims and *status* are affected in no degree by the readings of the Greek Scriptures, consequently need not fear their publication. Any dread on this head, in connexion with the old Vatican MS., would be singularly unreasonable, inasmuch as the general character of the document, and its leading peculiarities, are tolerably well known already.

We may now interject that the publication of the Vatican *Codex B.*, which is still a desideratum, we were led to believe had been completed long ago, at least so far as the New Testament was concerned. In the lectures of Dr. Wiseman on the *Connexion between Science and Revealed Religion*, 1836, there occurs a paragraph in the following terms:—

“When Monsignor Mai, lately librarian to the Vatican, suggested to Leo XII. the propriety of publishing the New Testament of the *Codex Vaticanus*, his Holiness replied that he would wish the whole, including the Old, to be accurately printed. Upon this the learned prelate undertook the task, and advanced as far as St. Mark’s Gospel. Not satisfied with the execution of the work, he has since re-commenced it on a different plan. The New Testament is finished, and the Old considerably advanced. This publication will be the most satisfactory proof of how little apprehension is felt in Rome of any ‘injury to the Christian religion,’ from the critical study of the Holy Scriptures.”—*Lecture X.*, vol. ii., p. 190.

Now all that this statement reports as to the fact of the New

Testament having been printed before 1836 is absolutely, not, of course, knowingly, untrue. Of the charge of extreme carelessness of assertion, Dr. Wiseman cannot be so easily exonerated. These lectures of his were written and delivered in Rome, and he must have thought he had some good ground for so positive a declaration; yet it turns out as a matter of fact, that the New Testament, so far as St. Mark, was never printed on an imperfect plan, nor afterwards the whole text on a more perfect one. What the learned doctor asserted he believed, and, we cannot doubt it, desired; but he must have been misled when informed that it was actually done. Acting on the information his interesting volume supplied, we sent to Rome for the imprint of the Codex B., and received some twelve or fourteen years ago, in return of our order, two quartos of Cardinal Mai's, but they only contained miscellaneous fragments of Greek and Armenian literature recovered by his industry. Thus burst the bubble of our personal hope of making acquaintance with the Vatican copy through the medium of the press.

We have now to add, *à propos* of the photograph correspondence, that so far back as 1854, on the publication of the Collation of the Codex Montfortii of T.C.D., with certain MSS. in Lincoln College, and New College, Oxford, we had conceived the idea of employing the photograph in the transfer of manuscripts. As so much interest attached to the correct representation of the classical passage, 1 John v. 7, in the Dublin Codex, and as every transcript hitherto made had been declared to be more or less incorrect, we thought this new art might be employed with infallible accuracy in representing it.

But in that case we were met by the following difficulties, and it is still far from certain whether any of them can be effectually removed, saving, perhaps, the second:—

1. That the MS. could not be removed to the premises of the photographer.

2. That there might be much difficulty in the transport and adjustment of a sufficient apparatus in the library of the college. And

3. That the lens of the instrument might not be sufficiently capacious to exhibit the page and characters of the MS. of the natural size.

Dr. Tregelles, indeed, reports the photographing of a page of Augian MS. in Cambridge, but till we have his express testimony that the photographic copy is the exact counterpart, in size as well as in other features of the original, we must still remain in doubt, whether, in the present stage of the art, photography can render manuscripts of the life size. But once let us

be assured of the fact, that no page of any size whatever is beyond the compass of the photographic machine, and the extensive application of photography to the delineation, preservation, and publication of MSS., is only a question of time.

O. T. D.

CORRESPONDENCE

. The Editor begs the reader will bear in mind that he does not hold himself responsible for the opinions of his Correspondents.

THE INSCRIPTIONS AT PERSEPOLIS, AND SCRIPTURE CHRONOLOGY.

To the Editor of "The Journal of Sacred Literature."

SIR,—I request permission to reply to some portions of the letter on Darius, the son of Ahasuerus, inserted in the last number of the *J. S. L.* The writer allows that I had fairly and clearly stated the popular view of the chronology—a view which he appears altogether to reject.

I. Your correspondent speaks of "the indisputable authority of the Persian inscriptions found at Persepolis, relating to Darius, and translated by Colonel Rawlinson" (p. 402), and afterwards of "the indubitable testimony of the rock (at Behistun) to the existence of Cyaxares as king of Media" (p. 403). I agree with him in attaching a high value to these important historical documents. Let us see how far your correspondent's view can be supported by an appeal to what he concedes to be their indisputable authority and indubitable testimony.

In the rock inscriptions at Behistun, Darius Hystaspes clearly states that an impostor seized upon the throne of Cambyses, and that the latter was already dead when he (Darius) slew the usurper. In the inscription Darius says: "There was of that Cambyses (Kabujiya) a brother named Bardis; he was of the same father and mother as Cambyses. Afterwards Cambyses slew this Bardis. When Cambyses slew this Bardis, the troubles of the state ceased which this Bardis had excited. Then Cambyses proceeded to Egypt (Mudraya, compare the Hebrew Mitzraim). Afterwards there was a certain man, a Magian (Maghush) named^a Gomates. Then it was that as he arose to the state, he thus falsely declared, 'I am Bardis, the son of Cyrus, the brother of Cambyses;' then the whole state became rebellious; from Cambyses it went over to that (Bardis) *both Persia and Media*, and the other provinces. He seized the empire. Afterwards Cambyses, unable to endure his (misfortunes), died. . . . After Gomates the Magian had dispossessed Cambyses *both of Persia and Media*, and the (dependent) provinces, he did according to his desire; he became king. I (Darius) slew Gomates the Magian, I dispossessed him of the the empire; by the grace of Ormuzd, I became king."

It is thus clear, beyond controversy, from this inscription, that Darius

^a The Magian impostor is called Tanuoxarces by Ctesias, and Cometes (almost the same as Gomates) by the Latin historian Trogus Pompeius.

Hystaspes, however high might be his rank among the Persian nobles, was in the condition of a Persian subject during the reigns of Cyrus and Cambyses; that after the death of Cambyses, he became one of the subjects of the Magian impostor and usurper; and that, when he had slain the Magian, he (Darius) passed, at one and the same time, from the condition of a Persian subject of the Magian to that of supreme sovereign of Persia, Media, and all the other portions of the vast Medo-Persian empire which had previously been successively subject to Cyrus, Cambyses, and the Magian. Babylon was thus undoubtedly a part of the empire of which Darius became the sovereign on the day of his accession to the throne of Persia; and open disobedience on the part of the Babylonians would have been nothing less than rebellion against their rightful lord. On these points the language of Herodotus is in full agreement with that of the Behistun inscriptions.

Nor can we doubt from the tenor of the inscription, which, in this matter, is altogether in accordance with Herodotus and Xenophon, that Cyrus died before the accession of Cambyses to the throne and empire. Hence we are certain that Cyrus and Cambyses were both dead before Darius passed, on the death of the Magian, from the condition of a Persian subject to that of a Persian sovereign.

Is it not strange that your correspondent should, in the face of such evidence as has been just adduced, think that Darius "came to the throne before he came to the empire;" and should say, "we have the means of proving on the most indisputable authority, that there was a time when Darius (Hystaspes) did not claim to be 'king of kings,' or sovereign of the empire, but styled himself simply king of the province of Persia" (p. 402).

The authority here appealed to is found in a certain inscription at Persepolis, supposed to have been written earlier than the other inscriptions discovered, and, of course, earlier than those on the rock at Behistun. But it is not reasonable to think that Darius flatly contradicted at Behistun that which he had previously asserted at Persepolis. Hence, when we find recorded at the latter place, "The great Ormuzd—he established Darius king, . . . says Darius the king. This province of Persia which Ormuzd has granted to me, which is illustrious—from the enemy feareth not. May Ormuzd protect this province from slavery" (p. 402); we are surely constrained to believe that Darius was here speaking of the same time and event (when, at one and the same time, he ceased to be a Persian subject on becoming sovereign of the Persian empire) of which he thus speaks at Behistun, "I slew Gomates the Magian, I dispossessed him of the empire; *by the grace of Ormuzd I became king.*" There is nothing to surprise us in the fact that the great Perso-Median monarch, Darius Hystaspes, who was proud of his Persian Achaemenian descent, should, in some of the inscriptions at his Persian capital (Persepolis), take pleasure in invoking the special blessing of heaven upon his favourite province of Persia. And what can be more natural than that this king should apply the epithet of '*illustrious*' to Persia, the native province of himself and his Achaemenian ancestors, considered as being, at the time when the inscription was written, the chief or royal and imperial province

of his vast Perso-Median empire? The inscriptions both at Persepolis (where we learn that Darius obtained the province of Persia when he was established king or sovereign of the empire) and at Behistun, strikingly confirm the testimony of the sacred historian Ezra, who teaches us that the Darius of the second temple (who is certainly to be identified with the son of Hystaspes) came at once into the possession of Persia, Media, and Babylon. And as Darius does not hesitate to call Persia 'a province,' we need not think it strange if, when reading in Ezra of certain transactions which occurred in the second year of his reign, we find Media described as "Media the province" (Ezra vi. 2).

It is thus established from the inscriptions at Behistun and Persepolis, (and still more strongly when these are compared with Herodotus and Xenophon, and, in part, with Ezra,) that Cyrus died before the accession of Cambyses—that Cambyses died before the Magian usurper was in full possession of the empire—and that Darius Hystaspes was only a Persian subject before he slew the Magian; shortly after which event he passed at once from the humbler position of subject to that of supreme sovereign. In connexion with this part of my subject, I observe that your correspondent admits (p. 396) that the eclipse observed at Babylon fixes indisputably the seventh year of Cambyses to that date. It follows, then, of necessity, that the eclipse of B.C. 523 also proves indisputably that Cyrus died B.C. 530-29, because it proves this to be the date of the commencement of the reign of Cambyses over the Persian empire. Again, he is not disposed to deny that Darius came to the throne about 521, and if so, Darius undoubtedly came to the sovereignty of the empire at the same time. That this is indeed undeniably the fact is shewn by two eclipses recorded at Babylon, which prove that Darius was already king of Babylon as well as of Persia in B.C. 521, and therefore that Cambyses was certainly dead before the close of 521 B.C., and we know that Cyrus died before Cambyses began to reign. Hence, the three following statements may be regarded as wholly inconsistent with the testimony of ancient history, both sacred and profane, and of ancient and authentic astronomical data.

(1.) "The argument that Darius (Hystaspes) became king in B.C. 521 does not prove that he may not have been subordinate to Cyrus in B.C. 511, or that he may not have taken the government of the province of Babylon into his hands in B.C. 493, when about sixty-two years of age" (p. 403).

(2.) "In the year 521 B.C., Darius Hystaspes probably seized the throne of Persia during the absence of Cambyses in Egypt."

(3.) "My belief is that Egypt was conquered by Cambyses in the year 519 or 518 B.C."

II. We read in p. 396: "I have published my reasons for believing that the ten years erroneously deducted by Africanus from the reign of Necho, should be deducted from the reign of Amosis, who reigned some years during the life of Apries" (p. 396). Africanus and Eusebius agree in assigning six years to Necho. Herodotus says that he reigned sixteen years; and, assuredly, we shall find it difficult to believe that Necho could have accomplished all that Herodotus relates of him within the com-

paratively short space of six years. That your correspondent is correct in saying that Africanus has erroneously deducted ten years from Necho, will appear evident from the following fact :^b—“ An Egyptian record has been discovered by Mariette, from which Lepsius has determined that the actual interval between the first year of Nechao, and the first year of his successor Psammitichus II., was fifteen years ; and that the year in which Nechao died, was called his sixteenth year at its commencement, and the first of Psammitichus II. at its close.”

III. Your correspondent writes (p. 393) : “ The paradoxical opinion, that Darius, the son of Ahasuerus, of the seed of the Medes, was identical with Cyaxares, the son of Astyages, I have ventured to designate a hopeless contradiction.” Are not both the hopelessness and the contradiction more seeming than real ?

By comparing together Herodotus and Xenophon, we learn that Cyrus was the *first Persian* who, after the fall of the Babylonian dynasty, became king of Persia, Media, and Babylon. On consulting Daniel and Ezra, we learn that Coresh was the *first Persian* who, after the overthrow of the Babylonian dynasty, became lord of Media, Babylon, and Persia. Is not the conclusion inevitable ? The Coresh of Ezra and Daniel was no other than the Cyrus of Xenophon and Herodotus.

Again, assuming the substantial correctness of Xenophon in this part of his history (his account of the death of Cyrus is manifestly a fiction,) we find that Cyaxares the Mede was the *first* and *only* Median king of Babylon after the overthrow of the Babylonian dynasty, and he was the immediate predecessor of Cyrus on the throne of Babylon, which he ascended shortly after the death of the last king of that city. But we learn from Daniel, that the Median Darius, whom both Daniel and the celestial messenger designate as ‘ Darius the Mede,’ was the *first* and *only* Median sovereign of Babylon after the overthrow of its royal dynasty ; he came to the throne of Babylon shortly after the death of the last independent king of Babylon, and was the immediate predecessor of Coresh or Cyrus on the throne of Media and Babylon. The conclusion cannot be avoided—that Darius the Mede, the son of Ahasuerus, of the seed of the Medes, was certainly identical with Cyaxares the Mede, the son of Astyages, king of Media. And having advanced thus far, we cannot reasonably refuse to take another step, and identify king Astyages, the father of the Median Cyaxares, with Ahasuerus, the father of Darius the Mede. As to the difference between the two names Cyaxares and Darius, we are not to forget that Josephus expressly tells us that Darius the Mede had another name among the Greeks, *i. e.*, he was not called Darius by them, and therefore he cannot, in the judgment of Josephus, be identified with the son of Hystaspes, who was known to the Greeks only by the name of Darius. Your correspondent, however, arguing from the prophecy of the seventy weeks, and from his supposition that Darius commenced his sixty-second year in B.C. 493, thinks the conclusion to be irresistible, that Darius, the son of Ahasuerus, of the seed of the Medes, is one and the

^b See a paper on the Chronology of the Twenty-sixth Egyptian Dynasty, etc., by Dr. E. Hincks, published in the *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy*.

same king with Darius Hystaspes. This conclusion is the more surprising, as, in the same page, he allows that "it is altogether certain that the Darius of the second temple was the son of Hystaspes." If, then, his view be correct, it would follow that Darius the Mede must be identified with the Darius of the second temple. Yet it is very plain from a comparison of Daniel with Ezra, that Darius the Mede was altogether a different person from the Darius of the second temple. The former was a Mede by the father's side (of whatever country his mother might be a native), who reigned over Babylon before Coresh received from the Most High the sovereignty of that city and of so many other nations and kingdoms;^c the latter was a Persian, who reigned over Persia and Babylon

^c The importance of establishing beyond reasonable doubt the identity of the Coresh of Isaiah, Daniel, and Ezra, with the Great Cyrus of Herodotus and Xenophon, may, perhaps, plead my excuse for bringing forward here, in a somewhat fuller and more satisfactory manner, what I have elsewhere stated on this important point. It seems certain that Coresh was the independent sovereign of Persia, of Babylon, with the dependent provinces of the Babylonian empire, viz., Elam with Shusan, lying between Babylon and Persia, Syria with Damascus, Samaria and Judea. Was he also king of Media? (1.) His own formal declaration, that "the God of heaven had given him all the kingdoms of the earth," would seem equivalent to a solemn and positive assertion that Media, which bordered directly on Persia, belonged to his empire. How inconsistent with his high description of his own imperial sway and dignity would be the fact that at the very time in which he was thus speaking of himself, a formidable and independent sovereign, who owed no allegiance whatever to Coresh, was ruling after his own absolute will the powerful kingdom of the Medes, immediately adjoining the frontiers of Persia. The decree for the restoration of the Jews, and the rebuilding of the temple, was evidently so far his own spontaneous act, that it was not done in obedience to the command of any earthly sovereign superior to himself—it was the result of a direct impulse from God upon his mind, "The Lord stirred up the spirit of Coresh." (2.) Isaiah predicted that God would subdue nations, and loose the loins of kings before Coresh, and give him all the power and dominion necessary to fit him to be the Lord's shepherd to collect the scattered and exiled flock of Israel, and restore them to their own land, and "to perform all Jehovah's pleasure." It was doubtless part of the will and good pleasure of the Most High that Coresh, as the royal shepherd and anointed of the Lord (who may be said to have been specially anointed, when God stirred up his spirit, and inclined his heart to the work), should be able, as well as willing, to gather and restore that portion of the scattered and exiled flock, which were in Media, as well as those portions which were dispersed in Babylonia and in Persia. (3.) Coresh succeeded Darius the Mede in Babylon and the Chaldean realm; and who but Coresh can, for a moment, be supposed to have been the successor of Darius in Media? (4.) It is plain from Ezra vi. 1, 2, not only that *Media* was a *province* of the Persian empire in the second year of Darius, but also at, and before, his accession to the throne. Hence his predecessor Artaxerxes was sovereign of Media as well of Persia; and, in his reign, the decree of Coresh was to be found in Ecbatane in the province of Media. How came it there? It is wholly unreasonable to suppose that a king of Media removed it to Ecbatane either with or without the permission of Coresh. And it is both reasonable and probable to suppose that Coresh, not regarding Babylon as one of his royal residences or as a fit place to be the depository of the state papers of the Medo-Persian sovereigns, had sent the decree in question to be kept at Ecbatane with other important documents, because, at the time in which he issued the decree, Media had already become one of the provinces of his own Medo-Persian empire. (5.) What is the inference to be drawn from the vision of the Medo-Persian ram and Macedonian goat? Is it not that from the time of the commencement of the career of resistless aggression of the ram until it was

after Coresh and his two successors Ahasuerus and Artaxerxes had in their turn reigned over an empire which included within its limits, Persia, Media, Babylon, Samaria, and Judea. The supposition that Darius the Mede was one and the same king with Darius Hystaspes is, to say the least, as incredible as the notion that Coresh, the liberator of the Jews, was a satrap prince deputed by Artaxerxes (Longimanus) to rule over Babylon and Persia, and whose first year coincided with the twentieth of Artaxerxes.

In establishing the identity of Coresh with Cyrus, we necessarily establish also the identity of Darius the Mede with Cyaxares II., and of Astyages with the Ahasuerus of Daniel.

IV. In p. 393 are the following remarks : "Your correspondent has fairly and clearly stated the popular view of the chronology, and if his

cast down by the Grecian he-goat, the Medes and Persians formed one closely united political power, under the real supremacy of the higher horn or Persian king? It seems, therefore, to be established beyond controversy, that, when Coresh king of Persia became sovereign of Babylon, he became sovereign of Media also.

Was Coresh also lord of Lydia and the Asiatic Greek states, as we know Cyrus to have been? On this not unimportant point, the reader's attention may be directed to the following passage, in which a celestial messenger, who appeared to Daniel "in the third year of Coresh king of Persia," says to the prophet, "And now will I return to fight with the prince of Persia, and when I am gone forth, lo, the prince of *Grecia* (Javan) shall come" (x. 20). Without attempting to answer the question, "Who was this prince of *Grecia* or Javan," I venture to offer the following suggestion. Javan—i. e., the Ionian and other Greek states of Asia—was thus, in the third year of Coresh, already in apparently close connexion with the court of Persia. Setting aside, for a moment, the testimony of secular history, it would appear to me very probable, not to say almost certain, that this must have been a connexion of tributary subordination and dependence on the part of the Greek states towards the king of Persia. Supposing, then, Coresh to have already become lord of the Asiatic Greeks, in the third year of his reign over Babylon, I proceed to consult, not the pages of secular historians, but a map of ancient geography. It is there seen that Lydia bordered immediately on these Greek states, and lay almost directly on the road from Persia to Ionia. And, taking into consideration the warlike and ambitious character of Coresh, and the successful and victorious career of him before whom the Most High had promised "to subdue nations and loose the loins of kings," it seems to me that, according as we deem it probable or certain that Coresh was lord of the Asiatic Greeks in his third year, so must we deem it to be probable or certain that he was also lord of Sardis and Lydia in, and even before, his third year.

But when we proceed to combine sacred with secular history, we can almost certainly prove, even if there had been no mention in the Scriptures of the prince of *Grecia*, that Coresh must have conquered Lydia before he could hope to become master of Babylon. It appears to have been the will of the Most High that "the reign or kingdom of Persia" (and not merely that of Media) should be established in Babylon, previous to the restoration of the Jewish captives (2 Chron. xxxvi. 20). And the more carefully we study secular history, the more clearly shall we see that it was absolutely necessary that Crtesus, the powerful and determined ally of Babylon, should be vanquished by the Persians before Babylon could be conquered by Cyrus. And as Ionia formed a portion of the empire of Crtesus, it was to be expected that the Persian conqueror would naturally desire to make himself master also of the Lydian dependencies in Javan or Ionia. Coresh, then, when he published the decree in favour of the Jews, appears to have been the sovereign of Persia, Media, Babylon, Elam with Shushan, Syria with Damascus, Samaria, Judea, Lydia, and the Asiatic Greek states.

dates are correct, I do not object to the accuracy with which he has drawn his unsatisfactory conclusions. But I do dispute the correctness of the common mode of reckoning which he adopts as regards this period of Egyptian, Persian, and Babylonian history; and I ask for no other proof of the impossibility of this reckoning being correct than the facts with which he has provided me, viz., that four kings of Media and Persia, living within a period of about eighty years, who undoubtedly bore the titles in their own countries (in Greek orthography) of Astyages, Cyaxares, Cambyses, and Smerdis or Bardes, should of necessity be identified, by means of this reckoning, with four kings whose names are written by contemporary sacred historians, acquainted both with their persons and titles, Ahasuerus, Darius, Ahasuerus, and Artashashta (Artakhshash). I have no hesitation in pronouncing that a scheme of chronology, which produces such results, must be absolutely false. Your correspondent has reduced it to an absurdity; and the proper verdict to be pronounced over it is—*felo de se.*"

It appears to me that too much stress appears to be placed, in the above extract, upon the difficulties supposed to arise from the difference of names. One half of the difficulty may be regarded as already removed; inasmuch as it has been clearly proved that two of these four kings, viz., Ahasuerus and Darius the Mede were identical with Astyages and Cyaxares II. This fact should of itself make us careful how we venture altogether to deny the possibility of identifying the Ahasuerus and Artaxerxes of Ezra iv. 6, 7, with the Cambyses and Magian Smerdis of Herodotus.

Let it be borne in mind that it has been demonstrated that the Coresh of Daniel and Ezra was certainly identical with the Cyrus of Xenophon and Herodotus. And I take for granted that every candid reader of the book of Ezra will allow that, if we follow this sacred historian, we must believe that Coresh was succeeded on the throne of the Persian empire by Ahasuerus, and the latter by Artaxerxes, and he by the Darius of the second temple.

Now, in Ezra and Herodotus, we have lists of four kings, who reigned in succession over an empire which comprised within its limits Persia, Media, Babylon, Elam, Samaria, and Judea.

EZRA.	HERODOTUS.
Coresh.	Cyrus.
Ahasuerus (Akhashverosh).	Cambyses.
Artaxerxes (Artakhshast).	Smerdis.
Darius (Daryavesh) of the second temple.	Darius Hystaspes.

And thus Ezra teaches us that Ahasuerus succeeded to the throne and empire of Coresh, and Herodotus assures us that Cambyses was the son and successor of Cyrus. But Coresh and Cyrus were certainly one and the same king; accordingly, Ahasuerus was certainly identical with Cambyses,^d and was therefore the son as well as the successor of Coresh.

^d It is doubtless impossible to identify the name Cambyses with Ahasuerus or Akhashverosh; yet they may be brought to resemble each other more nearly than might at first sight be supposed.

Your correspondent does not hesitate (in comparing names) to drop the first

Artaxerxes succeeded Ahasuerus, the son and successor of Cyrus, on the throne of the Persian empire; and Cambyses, the son and successor of Cyrus, was immediately followed in the sovereignty of the Persian empire by the Magian Smerdis. Thus the Artaxerxes of Ezra iv. 7, was no other than the Magian impostor Smerdis. This Artaxerxes was immediately followed by the Darius of the second temple; and the next Persian king to Smerdis was Darius Hystaspes. May it not be said that the conclusion is irresistible that the Darius of the second temple was no other than Darius Hystaspes?

It is true that Ezra (vi. 6) does not call Ahasuerus "the king of Persia," as he does his successor Artaxerxes. But when we find him thus writing, "And the people of the land hired counsellors against the Jews, to frustrate their purpose, all the days of Coresh king of Persia, even until the reign of Darius king of Persia. And *in the reign* of Artaxerxes, *at the beginning of his reign*, wrote they an accusation against the inhabitants of Judah and Jerusalem. And in the days of Artaxerxes . . . wrote they to Artaxerxes, king of Persia," we must be satisfied that Ahasuerus was king of Persia, who began to reign when Coresh was no longer on the throne; that Ahasuerus, king of Persia, and Artaxerxes, king of Persia, were the only Persian sovereigns who intervened between Coresh, king of Persia, and Darius, king of Persia; and that Ahasuerus and Artaxerxes were (in the judgment of Ezra) independent kings and sovereigns of Persia,^e Media, Elam, Babylon, Samaria, and Judæa, in the same supreme sense of the terms as were Coresh and the Daryavesh, or Darius, who commanded the completion of the second temple. Is it not strange that any person should ever have deliberately attempted to prove

syllable of Cyaxares, considering that thus Cyaxares and Acksueres are identical. I may take a similar liberty, and be allowed to write Khashverosh instead of Akhashverosh. I next refer to the Greek forms, *Kypos*, *Δαρείος*, and *Καμβύσης*. It might be thought at the first glance, that the final *os* of the two first and the *ης* of the third, were merely Greek terminations, the final *s* not, perhaps, existing in the original oriental forms. That this, however, was not the case is proved by the existence of the forms Coresh and Daryavesh. Hence we conclude that the final *s* of *Καμβύσης* may also represent the sound of a final *s* or *sh* in the original name. We thus arrive at Khambyshesh for *Καμβύσης*. Our next reference is the form in which the name of the successor of Khoresh or Cyrus appears to be represented in the Behistun inscriptions, viz., *Khabujiya*. Dismissing, on this authority, the *μ* from *Καμβύσης*, we write *Καβύσης* and Khabyshesh. But when we now proceed to compare together the two forms, Khashverosh or (from the affinity of *b* and *v*) Khashberosh and Khabyshesh, we cannot venture to regard them as identical. And even if it were permitted to transpose the *b*, and to write *Khashbyesh* for Khabyshesh—something like the difference between the Chaldee word *ܚܝܬܝܢ* and the Persian nobishten, which Gesenius compares with it—yet still the letter *r*, which occurs in Khashverosh, would be wanting, and forbid the identification.

^e It has been already remarked in a preceding note, that it is almost, or rather, altogether, a necessary inference from Ezra vi. 1, 2, that Media was a province of the Persian empire when the Darius of the second temple ascended the Persian throne; and that, therefore, Media was a province of the empire, and the decree of Coresh was safe in Ecbatana, before the close of the reign of his predecessor Artaxerxes. There appears to be no other satisfactory way of explaining this, than by supposing that Media with Ecbatana passed, with Babylon, into the hands of Coresh, at the death of Darius the Mede. There seems to be no sufficient grounds for fol-

that Cyrus the Great was no other than the Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar, and that Coresh, the liberator of the Jews, was nothing more than a satrap prince of a later period, deputed by Artaxerxes (Longimanus) to rule over Babylon and Persia? Nor is it scarcely less surprising to endeavour to shew that Darius the Mede, the son of Ahasuerus, of the seed of the Medes, was no other than Darius Hystaspes, the Darius of the second temple.

How is it, then, that Ezra called Cambyses Ahasuerus, and Smerdis Artaxerxes? The difficulty in replying to this question would be greater, if Ezra had professed to compile a popular history of the kings of Persia, and had repeatedly and invariably designated the two, who were next in succession to Coresh, and the immediate predecessors of the Darius of the second temple, by the names of Ahasuerus and Artaxerxes. But nothing was farther from his purpose. He is rather to be considered as employing, in his book, the names by which these two Persian monarchs designated themselves in their royal letters to the governors of the district or province in which Samaria was situated. Nor is there anything improbable in the supposition, that Cambyses, and after him the Magian Smerdis, instead of using, in their state documents, the familiar names by which they had been previously known when only subjects, employed significant and high-sounding appellations, such as Ahasuerus and Artaxerxes, which they would regard as more in accordance with their regal station and dignity. At all events, whether this suggestion be approved or not, the following would seem to be a correct inference from what has been advanced, viz., that just in proportion as we deem it to be probable or certain that Coresh was no other than the Great Cyrus, and that the Darius of the second temple was identical with Darius Hystaspes, so must we deem it to be probable or certain, that the Ahasuerus and Artaxerxes of Ezra iv. 6, 7, are to be identified with Cambyses and the Magian Smerdis.

Another important argument must not be overlooked here. When we read the decree of Coresh and the circumstances immediately connected with its promulgation, we should naturally expect (though forty years intervened between the triumphant passage through the Red Sea and the entrance into the Promised Land) that immediately on the arrival of Zerubbabel the returned Jews would commence the rebuilding of the

lowing the margin, which translates the word Achmetha by *coffer*. But the admission of this version would make no real difference; as we could not help believing that, if the servants of Darius found an important state document of Coresh "in a coffer in the province of Media," this coffer was undoubtedly at Ecbatana.

f J. S. L., Jan., 1854, pp. 451 and 460.

g It has been observed by one of the reviewers of Colonel Rawlinson's translation of the Behistun inscriptions, that the Greek Artaxerxes occurs in later inscriptions under the form, *Artakshatra*, and that *kharsatra* is frequently met with in the inscriptions for "crown, empire." I think it exceedingly probable that the arrogance of the Magian usurper would lead him to discard the simple name of Smerdis, though it had belonged to the second son of Coresh, and assume, in his state documents at least, some such regal appellation as Artaxerxes. We have, therefore, only one apparently real difficulty to encounter, viz., the identification of Ahasuerus with Cambyses.

temple, and carry on the work, under the special guardian care of heaven, without interruption or alarm, to a speedy and successful completion. Yet, even if the Divine Wisdom should allow difficulties and opposition to arise, we should certainly expect them to continue but a comparatively short time. If the Ahasuerus and Artaxerxes who came between Coresh and the Darius of the second temple, are to be identified with Cambyses and Smerdis, then their united reigns did not amount to nine full years. In the canon Cyrus is represented as having reigned seven or eight years. Deducting from this period the short space occupied by the reign in Babylon of Darius the Mede (Cyaxares II.), who is not mentioned in the canon, we may believe that the Scriptures allow to Coresh or Cyrus a reign of about six years over Babylon. In his third year the adversaries of the Jews bribed persons at the Persian court to stop the progress of the building of the temple at Jerusalem, and before the close of the third year of Coresh they appear to have succeeded in their object, and the work was effectually prevented all the remaining years of Coresh, through the entire reigns of his two successors, and until the second year of Darius (Hystaspes). Thus all the time between the interruption of the second temple, before the close of the third of Coresh, and its final and successful resumption in the second of Darius, did not exceed *fourteen* years. And this appears to be so far consistent with the spirit and letter of sacred prediction and narrative, that we should be reluctant to accept any other view (unless based upon satisfactory grounds) which should require us to believe that a longer period—say of thirty to forty years—intervened between the interruption and final resumption of the sacred work.

For the decree of Coresh had special reference to the building of the second temple, an object which, of course, implied the previous restoration of the captive Jews. When we consider how that decree originated, we find that it was not so much the expression of the will of Coresh, as of the will and good pleasure of HIM who had given victory and empire to Coresh. When Jehovah had thus made Coresh sovereign lord of Persia, Media, Babylon, Elam, and Palestine, and all this too “for Jacob his servant’s sake, and Israel his elect,” he proceeded to stir up the spirit of Coresh to command that to be undertaken which we may believe the Most High had determined to be accomplished with as little delay as was possible, consistently with his infinite wisdom. Coresh issues the following proclamation: “Thus saith Coresh, king of Persia, The Lord God of heaven hath given me all the kingdoms of the earth; and he hath charged me to^a build him an house at Jerusalem, which is in Judah.

^a Some writers, among whom, perhaps, Rollin may be numbered, have appeared to think that the mind of Coresh or Cyrus experienced a strong and abiding moral change at this time; and, being unconsciously influenced by this notion, they seem to think that he was thenceforth under the special care of the Divine Providence, and that it could not be permitted (so to speak) that he should die otherwise than peacefully, and in his palace, in the bosom of his family and friends. It would be wicked as well as presumptuous to denounce the divine judgments against Coresh or Cyrus, because he yielded to the malignant adversaries of the Jews, and allowed the building of the temple of God to be hindered and interrupted during the closing years of his reign. But the candid reader of the Holy Scriptures will, doubtless, concede that there is nothing of ignorant fanaticism in the idea that, from the day in which he

Who is there among you of all his people? His God be with him, and let him go up to Jerusalem, which is at Judah, and build the house of the Lord God of Israel (he is the God) which is in Jerusalem." That which is here set forth as the decree of Coresh, was in reality the public and formal expression before Gentiles and Jews of the determined counsel and purpose of the Most High, in his special character of the God of Jacob or Israel. In the second year of their return, the Jews, who had already erected an altar of burnt-offering, laid the foundation of the house of God. Now the Most High might be considered as comparatively indifferent (if we may reverently use these terms) to a somewhat long delay in raising the walls of the city; or rather, he might see fit to punish his people for their lukewarmness and worldly-mindedness, by deferring the completion of the defensive fortifications of the city, even until the twentieth of Artaxerxes (Longimanus). But the house of God was of vastly greater importance, with reference to the setting forth of the divine glory, than the erection of the walls of the city. During all the time that this sacred house should be desolate and neglected, the ignorant and malicious heathen might naturally exclaim, "There, there! so would we have it! The gods of the nations are greater than the God of Jerusalem." The honour of the Divine Majesty was, therefore, far more closely and immediately concerned in the early and speedy erection of his temple. To learn how consistent is this view with the language of Holy Writ, we may refer to the prophet Haggai, who prophesied in the days of Zerubbabel and Joshua, where we see how urgently desirous (if the expression may be permitted) was the Most High that his house should be finished without delay.

"Is it time for you, O ye, to dwell in your ceiled houses, and this house to lie waste? Thus saith the Lord of hosts, Consider your ways. Go up to the mountain and bring wood, and build the house; and I will take pleasure in it, and I will be glorified, saith the Lord" (Haggai i. 7, 8).

"Then spake Haggai, the Lord's messenger, in the Lord's message unto the people, saying, I am with you, saith the Lord. And the Lord stirred up the spirit of Zerubbabel, governor of Judah, and the spirit of Joshua the high priest, and the spirit of all the remnant of all the people; and they came and did work in the house of the Lord of hosts their God" (Haggai i. 13, 14).

It would thus seem to be neither an unfair nor an unreasonable inference from the spirit and letter of sacred prediction and narrative, to

turned his back upon the builders of the temple, or at least left them in the power of their enemies, Coresh forfeited (as it were) his claim to continue under the special care of that Supreme God, who had hitherto subdued nations, and loosed the loins of kings before him. If he had faithfully and energetically promoted, to a successful completion, the building of the temple of the God of Israel, we might more easily believe that it could not have been permitted that he should die otherwise than peacefully. And as Coresh, after his public recognition of the God of the Jews as the Supreme God of heaven, practically renounced that confession of faith when he suffered the malignant enemies of the Jews to stop the building of the temple, we cannot wonder if the Most High permitted the dynasty of Coresh to pass away, and a new dynasty to be established in the person of Darius Hystaspes, before he suffered the work to be resumed and the temple to be completed.

regard the fact—that the united reigns of the two successors of Cyrus did not exceed *nine* years, to be in itself no inconsiderable presumptive evidence in favour of the identification of the Ahasuerus and Artaxerxes of Ezra iv. 6, 7, with Cambyses and Smerdis.

V. In p. 401, your correspondent takes for granted that Cyaxares, the son of Astyages, “was unknown to Herodotus, a (supposed) fact which tends much to lower our estimate of the Persian account by that historian, while the value of that of Xenophon, who gives so circumstantial account of the actions of Cyaxares, is equally enhanced.” But we cannot be sure that the name and history of Cyaxares were so entirely unknown to Herodotus. This writer evidently intended to give only an outline of Median and Persian history—to narrate the most important events, and to speak of the great and leading characters. Now if we read Xenophon, we see that, throughout the history, Cyaxares II. was wholly overshadowed by Cyrus; and that it was really the mind of Cyrus which planned, his voice which commanded, and his right hand which wielded the victorious sword, throughout the career of Medo-Persian conquest. It might with equal reason be said that Cyaxares was also unknown to the original compilers of the canon of Ptolemy, because in that list the name of Cyaxares is altogether omitted, and that of Cyrus stands as the immediate successor of the kings of the Babylonian dynasty. Nor does the Athenian Æschylus, who was born cir. 524 B.C. in the reign of Cambyses, and fought against the forces of Darius Hystaspes at Marathon, make any mention of Cyaxares, in his historical tragedy of *The Persians*, which was written about eight years after the battle of Salamis. In the followingⁱ verses, supposed to have been spoken by the shade of Darius in the presence of his widow Atossa, and the great officers of the state, we may feel confident that we have a statement in agreement with the views then entertained by the Athenians, and therefore by the Asiatic Greeks, subjects of the Persian kings.

“ Asia’s brave hosts
A Mede first led. The virtues of his son
Fixed firm the empire; for his temperate soul
Breathed prudence. Cyrus, next by fortune graced,
Adorned the throne.”

ⁱ Darius, after saying that Cyrus added Lydia, the Phrygians, and Ionia to his empire, proceeds to speak of Cambyses and the Magian:—

“ His son then wore the royal diadem.
Next to disgrace his country, and to stain
The splendid glories of this ancient throne,
Rose Mardus; him with righteous vengeance fired
Artaphrenes, and his confederate chiefs,
Crushed in his palace; Maraphis assumed
The sceptre: after him Artaphrenes.
Me next to this exalted eminence,
Crowning my great ambition, fortune raised.”

Potter’s *Æschylus*.

We have here, if not absolute, yet substantial, agreement between Æschylus and Herodotus; and the poet clearly unites his own to the testimony of the historian and the Behistun inscriptions, in teaching us that Darius was in the condition of a Per-

The Mede who first led the hosts of Asia, was doubtless Cyaxares I. His son and successor was as certainly Astyages; and in immediate succession to him was the great Cyrus. The poet makes no allusion whatever to Cyaxares II., who we may believe was too unimportant a personage to be noticed, and he may have been indebted to the forbearance and clemency of Cyrus for permission to reign over his father's kingdom of Media. Again, in the Behistun inscriptions, "Phraortes and Martes, who claimed the Median throne, it will be there seen, set up their titles, not as sons of Cyaxares, but as of 'the race of Cyaxares.'" I think it exceedingly probable that Darius was here speaking not of Cyaxares II., the son of Astyages, but of the illustrious Cyaxares I., the son of Phraortes and father of Astyages.

And what idea should we be led to form of Cyaxares II. (Darius the Mede) from the vision of the two-horned Medo-Persian ram? The vision evidently commences with the aggressive and victorious career of the *combined* Medo-Persian forces, which did not begin until after the overthrow of Astyages, to which the vision makes no direct allusion. I am disposed to think, however, that the vision is not unfavourable to the view given in the narrative of Herodotus. The sudden rise of the second and higher horn seems to indicate that the Persian horn arose suddenly into its position of superiority. We know that Persia had previously been a province of Media, and therefore it is not improbable that the Persian horn rose suddenly into its higher province of sovereignty, and won its superiority over the Median, by force of arms. The two horns had doubtless special, though not exclusive, reference to Coresh and Darius the Mede; and it is a fair inference from the prophet's vision, that throughout all the career of conquest which terminated in the capture of Babylon, Coresh or Cyrus so far overshadowed and eclipsed Cyaxares, as to render it in no respect surprising that Herodotus, in his meagre historical outline, should speak only of the former, and omit all mention of the latter.

It appears^k that in a paper read at a meeting of the Asiatic Society, your correspondent "considered the year 538 B.C. to be the traditional and true date of the victory of Cyrus over Astyages;" but he adds that certain writers "expressly stated that Nabonidus, the last king of Babylon, was Astyages himself." This certainly is not very intelligible, and if we can identify Nabonidus with Astyages, we need not (so far as the mere difference of names is concerned) hesitate to identify Ahasuerus and Artaxerxes with Cambyzes and Smerdis. If, however, we accept the account which Herodotus gives of the overthrow and dethronement of Astyages by Cyrus, it follows that then was the real transference of supreme power from the Median to the Persian king. The clemency, forbearance, and policy of Cyrus may have led him to permit Cyaxares (especially as the latter had no son and heir) to hold for life the throne of Media, on the understanding that, while he reigned, the Median forces were to be always ready to join the Persians at the call of Cyrus, and that,

sian subject until the death of the Magian. The language of the poet seems also to imply that, in his judgment at least, Cyrus conquered Lydia, the Phrygians, and Ionia, rather for himself, than for Cyaxares II., the son of Astyages.

^k *J. S. L.*, Oct., 1855, p. 232.

at his death, Cyrus was to be the only king of Media. We repeat, then, that (on the supposition that the narrative of Herodotus is substantially correct) the real transference of supremacy from Media to Persia took place at the defeat of Astyages, and thus¹ Herodotus might not deem it necessary to his plan to notice a comparatively subordinate arrangement, which had no sensible effect on the public and victorious career of Cyrus. We thus see that Herodotus is not alone in the omission of all allusion to Cyaxares II. This king is named neither by Æschylus nor in the canon of Ptolemy; while it is exceedingly probable that the Cyaxares of the Behistun inscriptions was the renowned Cyaxares I., the grandfather of Cyaxares II. And, perhaps, if Daniel had not, in a considerable degree, confirmed the narrative of Xenophon, we might have thought there was more of fiction, or mere popular tradition, than is really the case, in Xenophon's account of the second Cyaxares.

VI. In p. 401, your correspondent writes: "The Targum on the Book of Esther asserts that Darius of the second temple, or Darius Hystaspes, was the son of this Ahasuerus or Cyaxares (apparently identifying the Ahasuerus of Esther with the Ahasuerus of Daniel) in conformity with the Book of Daniel:" and again he says, "I have shewn that 'Darius, the son of Ahasuerus,' who began to reign over the Chaldeans when about sixty-two years of age, and 490 years before the birth of Christ, is the same as Darius, the son of Hystaspes, who was about sixty-two years of age in the year 490 before the birth of Christ." Against the authority of the anonymous Jewish Targumist on Esther, I would set the earlier and superior authority of the Jewish historian Josephus, who tells us that "Darius the Mede had another name among the Greeks;" *i. e.*, that in his judgment, Darius the Mede was a different person from Darius Hystaspes.

Again, in p. 401: "The conclusion that Ahasuerus and Cyaxares are the same title, leads to important consequences from which we cannot shrink. The inscription at Behistun speaks of Cyaxares as the king of Media, from whom all claimants to that throne drew their titles in the days of Darius (Hystaspes). The Book of Esther informs us, that Ahasuerus or Cyaxares reigned over the Medes and Persians and 127 provinces, about the period of the captivity of the Jews at Babylon—Mordecai, who was carried captive in the reign of Jeconiah, being in attendance on him—and not long, therefore, before the reign of Darius."

It does not appear to me that the Book of Esther says anything about the supposed fact that Mordecai was carried away with Jeconiah. Mor-

¹ We cannot satisfactorily infer, merely from the silence of Herodotus, that he was ignorant of the name and existence of Cyaxares II. If, however, the historian was really ignorant on this point, such ignorance is no light argument in favour of the view that this Cyaxares II. was a comparatively unimportant and subordinate personage. If Cyrus, who appears to have conquered Lydia and Ionia before he besieged Babylon, had subdued the Asiatic Greeks as the lieutenant of Cyaxares II., then must the latter have been for a short time sovereign of these Greeks, and his name would have been recorded as such in their annals; in which case we might expect that Herodotus would have mentioned him. The historian's silence seems to shew that Cyaxares II. never was lord of the Asiatic Greek cities, and that Cyrus was the independent king of Persia, even while the son of Astyages was yet living.

decai and Esther are thus introduced to the reader: "Now in Shushan the palace there was a certain Jew, whose name was Mordecai, the son of Jair, the son of Shimei, the son of Kish, a Benjamite; who had been carried away from Jerusalem with the captivity which had been carried away with Jeconiah, king of Judah, whom Nebuchadnezzar, the king of Babylon, had carried away. And he brought up Hadassah, that is, Esther, his uncle's daughter, for she had neither father nor mother; and the maid was fair and beautiful; whom Mordecai, when her father and mother were dead, took for his own daughter" (Esther ii. 5, 7). The obvious interpretation of this passage would be to say that Kish, the great grandfather of Mordecai, was carried away to Babylon. And, whatever interpretation we put upon the Hebrew word here translated 'uncle,' it is plain that, in point of relative age, Esther was sufficiently young to have been the daughter of Mordecai. Accordingly, it would appear that the Kish who was carried away to Babylon with Jeconiah, was Esther's paternal or maternal grandfather's grandfather. But this point deserves a little more attention.

Some (your correspondent is certainly not one of the number) have held a system of scriptural chronology of which the following are among the assumptions:—"B.C. 596. Cyaxares dies, having reigned forty years, and expelled the Scythians; this is the Abasnerus of Tobit. B.C. 595. The first year of Apries, king of Egypt; also the first of Astyages, who is the Ahasuerus of Esther, and Darius the Mede. B.C. 556. Darius the Mede, called also Astyages, obtains the empire of Babylon." Can any thing be more improbable than that the Astyages of Herodotus and Xenophon was the husband of Vashti and Esther. In the first place, the Persians take precedence of the Medes throughout the Book of Esther, with only one exception. Thus we read of "the power of Persia and Media,"—"the ladies of Persia and Media,"—"the seven princes of Persia and Media,"—"the laws of the Persians and Medes." In chap. x. 2, we read of "the book of the chronicles of the Medes and Persians." But we at once see that we have here a reference to priority in chronological arrangement, and not to the precedence of political superiority. And when we find the inverted order—"laws of the Medes and Persians"—thrice used in the sixth chapter of Daniel, we cannot help inferring the very great probability that Darius the Mede was a native of Media, and the son (not merely the adopted son, or the son-in-law) of a Median sovereign, and that he was certainly not the Ahasuerus of Esther. Nor is this inference weakened, when we bear in mind an important fact, wholly unknown to the chronologists alluded to above. In the Behistun inscriptions Darius Hystaspes appears on all occasions to give the precedence to Persia over Media; and I may be allowed to quote a few instances. "There was not a man, *neither Persian nor Median*, who would dispossess of the empire Gomates the Magian." "I firmly established the kingdom, *both Persia and Media*." "I am Darius, the great king, the king of kings, *the king of Persia*, the son of Hystaspes, the grandson of Arsames the Achaemenian." "From Cambyses the state went over to that (Magian) *both Persia and Media*, and the other provinces." "Gomates the Magian dispossessed Cambyses *both of Persia and Media*."

Such is the usage of Darius Hystaspes in his Behistun inscriptions; and your correspondent's view does not seem to be consistent with this usage, when he identifies Darius the Mede with Darius Hystaspes, and supposes that the son of Hystaspes began to reign over the Chaldeans, when sixty-two years of age, cir. 490 B.C., and that, after having been king of kings and king of Persia for twenty years, while proud of his illustrious province of Persia and of his own Persian and Achaemenian descent, he should allow the established usage of the court, whether at Babylon or elsewhere (though it is generally believed that Daniel was cast into the den of lions at Babylon) to give precedence to Media, and speak of "the laws of the Medes and Persians" (Dan. vi. 8, 12, and 15).

Our next argument will be drawn from the consideration of the time in which we may suppose Shushan to have ceased to belong to the Chaldean dynasty. The importance of this point will be at once seen, when we bear in mind that it is all but certainly deducible from the commencement of the Book of Esther (i. 1—4), that Ahasuerus, the husband of Vashti, in his *first* year, and on the^m first day of his accession to the throne, became at once sovereign of Shushan and a "glorious kingdom," extending from India to Ethiopia, over an hundred and twenty-seven provinces.

Now it is clear beyond controversy, that "Shushan the palace, in the province of Elam," belonged to Belshazzar, the last king of Babylon named in the Scriptures, in the *third* year of his reign; and it is equally clear that Belshazzar never could have taken it from so mighty a monarch as the Ahasuerus of Vashti and Esther. Indeed, we may fairly believe

* It is said, "In the third year of his reign, Ahasuerus made a feast unto all his princes and his servants; the power of Persia and Media, the nobles and princes of the provinces being before him: when he shewed the riches of his glorious kingdom, and the honour of his excellent majesty, many days, even an hundred and fourscore days." No one will doubt that Persia and Media had belonged to this king from the day of his accession; and as his glorious kingdom could scarcely have been won in two years, we may safely take for granted that Persia and Media, and the whole of his glorious kingdom, was his at his accession, and, therefore, that it had certainly belonged to his predecessor on the Perso-Median throne. If the writer of the Targum on the Book of Esther really thought that the Ahasuerus of Esther was no other than the Ahasuerus of Daniel, he must have read both books to little purpose. The way in which "the ladies, the laws, and seven princes of Persia and Media," are spoken of, shew beyond a doubt that the united kingdom of Persia and Media had been established more than two or three years, and must undoubtedly have been subject to the predecessor of Ahasuerus. And what is the obvious inference from the following passage? "Now it came to pass, in the days of Ahasuerus, that in those days, when the king Ahasuerus sat on *the throne of his kingdom*, which was in *Shushan* the palace." Is it not that "Shushan the palace" had been the throne of the vast Perso-Median empire more than about two years and a half? and that Shushan had certainly been the seat of the throne of the kingdom of the *predecessor* of the Ahasuerus of Esther. If, therefore, we are to suppose with the Targumist, the Ahasuerus of Esther and the Ahasuerus of Daniel to have been one and the same king, it would follow that Shushan must have been the royal residence not only of the Ahasuerus of Daniel, but also of his predecessor. And yet Daniel informs us that Shushan was still subject to the sovereign of Babylon, in the third year of Belshazzar. Doubtless "the glorious kingdom," whose "riches," together with "the honour of the excellent majesty" of its king, was displayed during 180 days, could not have been the growth of less than three years.

that Shushan was in the possession of Belshazzar at least so late as in his fourth year. We learn from Colonel Rawlinson's interpretation of recently-discovered Babylonian monuments, that the last king of Babylon, Nabonidus, associated his son, Bel-shar-ezer, with him on the throne. This would doubtless be towards the close of his reign. At all events the fourth year of this son would not be very long before the time at which the Most High had determined to give the realm of the Chaldeans to the Medes and Persians. And as Shushan, with the province of Elam, was doubtless a part of the inheritance which the great Nebuchadnezzar bequeathed to his successors, we may confidently believe that this royal palace-fortress did not come into the possession of Darius the Mede, until at, or shortly* before, the death of Belshazzar, and consequently it never belonged to, and never was the royal residence of, Ahasuerus, the Median father of Darius the Mede. But your correspondent asserts that Darius the Mede was no other than Darius Hystaspes, that Ahasuerus (his father), whom Daniel mentions, was Cyaxares, and that this Ahasuerus or Cyaxares reigned over the Medes and Persians, and 127 provinces (dwelling in Shushan as the metropolis of his empire), about the period of the captivity of the Jews, and not long, therefore, before the reign of Darius (*i. e.*, of Darius the Mede, erroneously supposed to be Darius Hystaspes). It may, however, be regarded as certain, beyond the possibility of doubt, that the Ahasuerus of Daniel never became lord of Shushan—at all events he was not lord of Shushan in his first year, unless we are prepared to believe that the Ahasuerus of Daniel, the father of Darius the Mede, ascended the throne *after* the third or fourth year of Belshazzar—a supposition too incredible to be seriously entertained for a single hour. Your correspondent, therefore, is altogether in error, in supposing that the Ahasuerus of Esther reigned over his vast empire, extending from India to Ethiopia, with Shushan for his principal residence, “about the period of the captivity of the Jews at Babylon, and not long before the reign of Darius (the Mede),” and therefore before the promulgation of the decree of Coresh.

Nor is it difficult to shew that Darius the Mede was not the Ahasuerus of Esther. According to the tradition recorded in ancient history, Susa was first made a royal residence of the Persian kings by the Great Cyrus, *i. e.*, by Coresh; and, if this highly-probable tradition be true, it is sufficiently clear that Shushan was not a royal residence, still less the favourite royal residence, of Darius the Mede, so early as his first, or even in the second and third reigns of his sovereignty over Babylon, if he reigned there so long. And, surely, setting aside this very probable Persian tradition, no reader of Daniel (unless his mind were previously biased by some peculiar chronological theory) would think that Darius the Mede, on coming to the throne of the realm of the Chaldeans, neglected both Ecbatana and Babylon, and at sixty-two years of age, made Shushan his chosen royal residence. Still less would such a reader of

* It appears, however, to be plain from a comparison of Isaiah xxi. 2 and 9, with Isaiah xlv. 1—4, that Elam fought under the banner of Coresh when he besieged and took Babylon.

Daniel suppose that Darius the Mede, in the seventh year of his reign, and in the sixty-ninth of his age, married Esther, and reigned more than fourteen years after the death of Belshazzar, although Daniel makes mention only of his first year. It is also not easy to understand how, on the view of your correspondent, a *Jewish* historian of the early portion of the reign of Ahasuerus, in a work written for Jews, should not once^o name the prophet Daniel. If we are (with some) to identify Darius the Mede with the husband of Vashti and Esther, when are we to date the commencement of his reign. The husband of Vashti and Esther on ascending the throne, found himself at once lord of a vast empire, of which Media, Persia, and doubtless also Babylon, were provinces, and Shushan the most favoured royal residence. This could not have been the case if we suppose the reign of the Median Darius to have commenced earlier than the third or fourth year of Belshazzar, and we may feel equally sure that when he took the realm of the Chaldeans, his empire did not extend to India and Ethiopia (Cush), nor did he make Shushan his favourite residence. Darius the Mede cannot, therefore, be identified with the Ahasuerus of Esther. That this was the deliberate view of the celebrated Jewish historian (Josephus) is plain from the fact that he identifies the husband of Esther with Artaxerxes Longimanus, the son and successor of Xerxes.

It is plain that neither Coresh, nor his successor Ahasuerus, nor Artaxerxes, the predecessor of the Darius of the second temple, was identical with the husband of Vashti; because from the third year of Coresh onward, the malignant adversaries of the Jews prevailed at the Persian court, until the second year of Darius—not to mention the fact that the united reigns of Ahasuerus and Artaxerxes (Cambyses and Smerdis) did not exceed nine years.

Darius Hystaspes, who married Atossa, the daughter of Cyrus and widow of her brother Cambyses, was not the Ahasuerus of Esther. In his second year he publicly confirmed the decree of Coresh, and it is difficult to think that the Jewish compiler of the Book of Esther should have been altogether silent concerning a fact of such great importance to his nation. Nor is there the shadow of a reason to suppose that, in his third year, he publicly and finally repudiated his queen Atossa, who became the mother of his son and successor Xerxes; and whom Æschylus describes as having been the queen of Darius, and in his confidence, unto his death.

Xerxes was certainly not the husband of Esther. In his fourth or fifth year, in 481 B.C., he set out from Susa on his disastrous expedition against Greece, and did not return until late in September, 479 B.C. As he commenced his journey towards the close of April, 481 B.C., he was absent from Susa and Persia during a considerable part of his fourth or fifth year, during the whole of his fifth or sixth year, and during a considerable portion of his sixth or seventh year. And as it is not likely that this proud king, mortified and exasperated by the triumphs of the Greeks and the destruction of his own fleets and armies, should have felt

^o We might, perhaps, have expected some mention of the names of Ezra and Nehemiah; but these were unimportant personages compared with Daniel.

a kind interest in the Jews in his seventh year, we feel more than reluctant to identify this monarch with the Artaxerxes of Ezra (vii. 7), who, in his seventh year, sent Ezra with a favourable letter to Jerusalem.

Josephus appears to be quite correct in his statement that it was one and the same Persian monarch, who, in his seventh year, sent^p Ezra, and in his twentieth year commissioned Nehemiah, to Jerusalem. He is undoubtedly wrong, however, in supposing this king to have been Xerxes. For the Artaxerxes of Nehemiah reigned at least thirty-two years, and secular history assures us that the reign of Xerxes did not exceed^q twenty-one years.

The more this question is considered, the more inclined shall we probably be to embrace the opinion of Josephus, that the Ahasuerus of Esther was the successor of Xerxes, and thus to agree also with the late Duke of Manchester, who thus writes,^r "I would add that, after doubting for some time as to whether the Ahasuerus of Esther was Xerxes or Artaxerxes (Longimanus), I have decided in favour of the latter, and that Esther was the queen sitting by the monarch (Neh. ii. 6) when Nehemiah obtained his petition."

I have reserved the following supposition (although it is, perhaps, apparently, rather than really, conjectural) for the close of this part of my subject. When we read Esther with attention, and explain the terms India, Ethiopia (Cush),^s and "the isles of the sea," according to their obvious interpretation, as denoting a region bordering on the Indus, the African Cush or Ethiopia, and the isles and coasts of the Mediterranean sea, it seems impossible to believe that either the Ahasuerus or the Median Darius of Daniel ever reigned over such a mighty empire. Again, the more I consider the subject, the more probable (not to say certain) does it appear to me that the Ahasuerus of Esther was one of the mighty sovereigns of the Perso-Median empire, including^t Babylon, who began to reign *after* the Persians had become supreme over the Medes, and several years *after* the overthrow of the Chaldean dynasty; and who, therefore, *inherited* Shushan and his vast empire from his predecessor—a most probable supposition, which, if true, is altogether fatal to the identification of either the Ahasuerus or the Median Darius of Daniel, with the Ahasuerus of the Book of Esther.

^p There seems to be no valid reason for supposing that Ezra "the scribe and priest," who assisted Nehemiah in the work of national reformation (Neh. viii. 1, 2) was a different person from Ezra "the priest and scribe" (Ezra vii. 11), who went to Jerusalem with a royal letter in the seventh year of king Artaxerxes.

^q Artaxerxes Longimanus reigned about forty years.

^r *J. S. L.*, Jan. 1855, p. 460.

^s Gesenius thinks that the Cush of Holy Writ is almost invariably to be referred to the African Ethiopia lying to the south of Egypt. Josephus, I believe, speaks both of Zerach (2 Chron. xiv. 9) and of Tirhakah as sovereigns of the Arabian Cushites. This shews his want of correct information on this point. The careful researches and almost universal consent of the students of ancient Egyptian history, appear to have decided that Tirhakah and also Zerach (Osorcho) were African Cushite sovereigns.

^t It is not possible to doubt that Babylon was a portion of that vast and "glorious" Perso-Median kingdom, the throne of which, both at, and previous to, the accession of Ahasuerus, was in *Shushan the palace*.

VII. We read in p. 398, "The testimony of ancient history is in favour of Nabopolassar having reigned until B.C. 579; while the ancient Jewish historian Demetrius, whose authority is lightly put aside in the next paragraph of your correspondent, goes direct to the fact, in affirming that Nebuchadnezzar began to reign in the year B.C. 578."

The value of the authority of Demetrius will soon appear as we proceed to examine the evidence for the date of the commencement of Nebuchadnezzar's reign. No system of scriptural chronology can be expected to stand which rests upon such sandy foundations as the ancient historian Demetrius, and "the early Jewish authority of the Book of Tobit."

The following suppositions may be regarded as essential parts of the chronological system of your correspondent, viz., (1.) Nabopolassar"

" I confess that I cannot understand what your correspondent says of Nabopolassar. He writes (1.) "I have frequently pointed out that the year B.C. 579 is the first year of Nebuchadnezzar in conjunction with his father Nabopolassar" (*J. S. L.*, July, 1855, pp. 408-9). (2.) "The year 578 is twenty-eight years after the year B.C. 606, when Nabopolassar ceased to reign on the joint thrones of Babylon and Nineveh, during which twenty-eight years the Scythians occupied the empire of Asia, and during which Babylon remained an independent kingdom" (*Ibid.*, p. 409). It is almost certain that the accession of Pharaoh-Necho cannot be dated *later* than 612 B.C. Hence the twenty-eight years of Scythian dominion must have begun earlier than 612 B.C. (3.) "King Josiah was only eight years old, we know, when he began to reign, and the year before his accession, B.C. 614, which falls in with the twelfth year of Nabopolassar, or 'Nabuchodonosor, who reigned at Nineveh,' in which twelfth year we read in the Book of Judith," etc. (p. 499). Thus Nabopolassar, the father of Nebuchadnezzar, is to be identified with the Assyrian king Nabuchodonosor of the Book of Judith, and we are to suppose that the expedition of Holofernes occurred about the fifth or sixth of Josiah, although Scripture is altogether silent, and the author of Judith expressly tells us that from the death of Holofernes until the death of Judith—*i. e.*, during a space of *fifty-five* years—"none made the children of Israel afraid!" It would also appear to follow from your correspondent's view that Nabopolassar, the father of Nebuchadnezzar, the Assyrian Nabuchodonosor of Judith, and the Nabuchodonosor of Tobit, who assisted in the final overthrow of Nineveh, were one and the same king. (4.) "It is no violation of most ancient and authentic records, but in conformity with them, to suppose that Sardanapalus (who reigned twenty years in Nineveh), and Nabopolassar (the father of Nebuchadnezzar), who reigned together over the same, or parts of the same, united kingdom, may have been the same king. Alexander, the Polyhistor, who professes to have copied from Berosus, asserts that Sardanapalus and Nabopolassar were one and the same" (*J. S. L.*, Jan. 1856, p. 398). It seems to me incredible that Berosus should have made such a statement; as, according to Josephus, he wrote that Nabopolassar died after a reign of about twenty-one years over Babylon, shortly after having associated his son with him in the sovereignty. This Nabopolassar is by many identified (and, perhaps, correctly) with that Babylonian Labynet, whom Herodotus describes as contemporary with, and inferior in power to, the first Median Cyaxares.

Your correspondent assumes that Josiah began to reign about 613 B.C., hence (as he reigned thirty-one years) he would thus have been mortally wounded at Megiddo cir. 582. Again, he assumes that the Book of Judith is an authentic historical document. Its writer states that the heroine lived to be one hundred and five years of age, and that during the remainder of her life, from the death of Holofernes onward to the death of Judith, *and a long time after*, no one made the children of Israel afraid. Supposing Judith to have been fifty years of age when her beauty captivated Holofernes (and twenty-five would be a more probable conjecture), and "the long time after" her death to be about ten years, we shall have to date the

ceased to reign, and his son Nebuchadnezzar began to reign alone at Babylon in 578 B.C.: (2.) eighty-eight years intervened between the death of Sennacherib and the beginning of the sole reign of Nebuchadnezzar: (3.) the shadow receded on the dial of Ahaz on the 11th of January, 689 B.C., during a solar eclipse.

(1.) We again notice the ascertained historical facts that the Coresh of Daniel and Ezra was no other than the Great Cyrus of Herodotus and Xenophon, and that the death of Coresh or Cyrus cannot be dated earlier than 530 B.C. (which Dr. E. Hincks considers to be the true date), or later than 529 B.C.

We are to bear in mind that the canon of Ptolemy, which makes no mention of Darius the Mede, assigns about eight years to the reign of Cyrus at Babylon, which is equivalent to asserting that eight years intervened between the fall of the Babylonian dynasty and the death of Cyrus. According to the scriptural narrative, we might suppose that Darius the Mede reigned about one or two years at Babylon, and Coresh, his successor, about five or six.

Now let us gather from the Scriptures (with some slight help from secular history) the least number of years which can be supposed to have elapsed from the commencement of Nebuchadnezzar's sole reign to the death of Cyrus.

Jeconiah was carried away captive to Babylon in the *eighth* year

expedition of Holofernes at least sixty-five years earlier than the battle of Megiddo, of which event the supposed date, according to your correspondent, is cir. 583 B.C. The death of Holofernes and the eighteenth year of Nabuchodonosor must thus be placed at least sixty-five years earlier, i. e., not later than cir. 648 B.C., and Nabuchodonosor must have begun to reign in Nineveh about seventeen years before this date, cir. 665 B.C. And even if we suppose Judith to have been sixty years old when she slew Holofernes, and "the long time" after her death to be only five years, and thus reduce the period of national peace and security which followed the death of Holofernes to fifty years; we cannot, in this case, date the accession of Nabuchodonosor to the throne of Nineveh later than cir. 650 B.C. If, then, we follow your correspondent in dating the accession of Josiah cir. 613 B.C., and in regarding the Nabuchodonosor of Judith, the Sardanapalus of Polyhistor, and the Nabopolassar of Berossus, to be, all three, one and the same king, how can this triple-named Assyro-Chaldean king have begun to reign in Nineveh, or Babylon, or in both, cir. 650 B.C., and have closed his reign there of twenty-one years in 606 B.C.? Or where are we warranted, in authentic ancient records, to believe that this Assyro-Chaldean Sardanapalus or Nabopolassar (supposing him to have been twenty years of age at the time of his accession) began to reign cir. 650 B.C. in Nineveh and Babylon, and that after assisting Cyaxares I., the great Median king, in the final overthrow of Nineveh, died in Babylon at the age of ninety-two, leaving his dominions to his son Nebuchadnezzar, by whom Jerusalem was afterwards destroyed and the temple burned?

It is very easy to reject the statement of Judith's dying at such an advanced age as one hundred and five years, and the assertion that the children of Israel enjoyed unbroken tranquillity from the death of Holofernes until a long time after the death of Judith. But would it be candid to stop here? If we advance thus far, we ought also to reject the twelfth and eighteenth of Nabuchodonosor, and the whole history—for the very name and existence of the Holofernes and Nabuchodonosor of this apocryphal book, like the advanced age of Judith, and the long period of the national tranquillity of the children of Israel, rest, I believe, solely and entirely on the testimony of the anonymous author of the apocryphal Book of Judith.

(2 Kings xxiv. 12) of Nebuchadnezzar's reign. The Scriptures, however, are believed to date from the time at which Nebuchadnezzar was associated with his father Nabopolassar in the sovereignty. The captivity of Jeconiah or Jehoiachin may thus be considered as having occurred in the *sixth* year of Nebuchadnezzar's sole reign.

In the *thirty-seventh* year of Jehoiachin's captivity, Evilmerodach, in his first year (doubtless the year in which Nebuchadnezzar died), released the Jewish king from prison. Let us suppose that Evilmerodach reigned only one year, and thus we cannot allow less than *forty-three* years to have elapsed from the commencement of Nebuchadnezzar's sole reign to the death of Evilmerodach.

Again, let us assume that Belshazzar immediately succeeded Evilmerodach, and that he reigned at least *four* years—which is not an unreasonable assumption, as Daniel describes himself as engaged in the service of this king in the third year of his reign (viii. 1 and 27).

And, allowing only *six* years to the united reigns at Babylon of the Median Darius and Coresh, we shall thus obtain fifty-three years as the *least* assignable interval between the commencement of Nebuchadnezzar's sole reign and the death of Coresh or Cyrus. Hence, we cannot possibly assign a later date than 583-2 B.C. to the termination of Nabopolassar's reign, and the commencement of his son's sole reign. What then becomes of the authority of the historian Demetrius, and the supposition that Nabopolassar's reign terminated B.C. 579-8?

But the Scriptures afford additional data. Jehoiachin was carried to Babylon when about eighteen years of age. After his arrival there, his son Salathiel was born; and, during the captivity, Zerubbabel was born to Salathiel. It was this Zerubbabel who led back the Jews to Judea in the first year of Coresh. Let it be assumed that Salathiel was born when his father was twenty-one years of age, this would be about the *ninth* year of Nebuchadnezzar's sole reign. Let it be also assumed that Zerubbabel was born when his father Salathiel was twenty-one years old, and this would be about the thirtieth of Nebuchadnezzar. If we suppose that he was not less than twenty-five years when he became the leader of his countrymen in the first year of Coresh, this will bring us to about the fifty-fifth year from the beginning of Nebuchadnezzar's undivided sovereignty. Add to this five years for the reign of Coresh at Babylon, and we have not less than an interval of sixty years between the death of Coresh and the year in which the son of Nabopolassar began to reign alone. I think, then, that it is not an unreasonable assertion to say that the combined testimony of the Scripture and Ptolemy's canon, does not allow us to date the termination of Nabopolassar's reign, and the commencement of Nebuchadnezzar's undivided sovereignty, a single year later than B.C. 590-89.

Let us now confine ourselves to Berossus and other *secular* sources of information. According to these, Nebuchadnezzar reigned alone forty-three years—not less than four years came between his death, and the first year of Nabonidus, the last king of the Chaldean dynasty. Colonel Rawlinson has found, on recently-discovered monuments, a notice of the sixteenth year of this king; and as this notice was probably made before

the advance of Cyrus, we may, with reasonable probability, assign eighteen years to the reign of Nabonidus. Adding to these sums seven years for the period of the reigns of Darius the Mede and of Coresh or Cyrus at Babylon, we have seventy-two years for the interval between the beginning of Nebuchadnezzar's reigning alone and the death of Coresh. And that this estimate is rather too low than too high may be inferred from the fact that the Scriptures do not appear to assign less than seventy years to the interval between the first of Coresh and the first capture of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, shortly before his father's death. Our reference, then, to *secular* sources of information results in this conclusion—that we cannot assign to the termination of Nabopolassar's reign, and the consequent commencement of Nebuchadnezzar's undivided sovereignty, a *later* date than B.C. 602-1—twenty-three years earlier than that which your correspondent, relying on the authority of Demetrius, considers to be the true date.

Your correspondent allows that an eclipse recorded at Babylon in B.C. 621, fixes the date of the fifth year of Nabopolassar to that year. Secular authorities assign twenty-one years to his reign, which, therefore, commenced 625 B.C., and terminated 604-3 B.C. We thus learn that we cannot reasonably assign a later date than 604-3 B.C. to the close of Nabopolassar's reign, when his son began to reign alone.

One of the fundamental points of your correspondent's system is that eighty-eight years elapsed from the death of Sennacherib to the commencement of Nebuchadnezzar's sole sovereignty. According to this view, Sennacherib died 692-1 B.C., and, therefore, it is thus impossible that the shadow should have receded on the dial of Ahaz in answer to the special wish of Hezekiah, and the earnest prayer of Isaiah, during the solar eclipse which occurred on the 11th of January, 689 B.C.

In *J. S. L.*, July, 1855, p. 408, your correspondent conjectures that Sennacherib reigned twenty-five years, and proceeds to assume (on the strength of this conjecture) that he died 668 B.C.* The researches of Dr. E. Hincks and Colonel Rawlinson seem to prove, that it was in his third year (or certainly, at the latest, in his fourth) that Sennacherib's disastrous campaign occurred in Judea, in which year (as would appear to be plain from the scriptural narrative) was the dangerous sickness of Hezekiah, and the recession of the shadow upon the dial. And thus, even were we to allow that the sole sovereignty of Nebuchadnezzar did not commence until 590 B.C., and eighty-eight years after the death of Sennacherib, we should have 700 B.C. as the date of the third year of this Assyrian king.

Colonel Rawlinson believes that he has found a notice of Sennacherib's twenty-second year in the Assyrian monuments. If we suppose the

* "The first link of the chronological chain consists of the reign of Sennacherib, comprising twenty-five years, from B.C. 692 to B.C. 668, both inclusive. . . . Colonel Rawlinson seems to consider that Sennacherib reigned no more than twenty-two years. But I think we may venture to conclude that he reigned three years longer, *i. e.*, to B.C. 668" (*J. S. L.*, July, 1855, p. 408). If the remaining links of the chain are not stronger than the first, it is to be feared that much dependence cannot be placed on the trustworthiness of the chain itself.

Assyrian to have reigned twenty-two years, and Nebuchadnezzar's sole reign to have commenced in 600 B.C., we shall have (conceding the truth of the supposed interval of eighty-eight years) the year 707 B.C. as more or less coincident with Sennacherib's third year.

So long as we hold that Coresh or Cyrus died, and was succeeded by his son Cambyses, B.C. 530-29, so long must we reject a chronological system, according to which Cyrus was living and reigning in 511 B.C.; Darius the Mede in 490 B.C., took possession of the realm of the Chaldeans, being then about sixty-two years of age; and Nabopolassar ceased to reign, and his son Nebuchadnezzar began to reign alone, in 579-8 B.C.

I purpose adding in a postscript a few remarks on the miraculous recession of the shadow on the dial of Ahaz; and now take my leave of this discussion, not without offering an apology to yourself and the reader for having trespassed so largely upon your valuable pages.

Jan. 29, 1856.

G. B.

P.S. Your correspondent writes, "It is not my intention to offer any objections to the remarks which relate to the subject of the shadow on the dial (of Ahaz), which I am content to leave to the judgment of your readers, more especially of those skilled in astronomy, within whose province it lies to determine the physical possibility, or otherwise of the suggested solution, of the phenomenon."^y

My words were: "If it should prove, upon investigation, that the latter view (viz., a temporary change in the direction of the earth's diurnal revolution upon its axis) is the only possible way of accounting for the phenomenon in question at the time of Hezekiah's dangerous sickness, the devout and humble believer in the divine revelation would reverently receive it." While I grant that skilful astronomers are the proper persons to decide upon what may be designated the physical possibility or impossibility of any proposed solution of an astronomical difficulty, I cannot also grant that they are more competent than are many others to decide how far it is possible or impossible for the Omnipotent Creator and Upholder of the universe to change, for a brief space, the direction of the earth's diurnal rotatory movement, causing it to revolve from east to west, and then restoring it to the direction originally appointed by his sovereign will; or to determine whether or not it was worthy of Infinite Wisdom, and consistent (according to the analogy of the Scriptures) with the purposes of the God of Israel towards his chosen people in Jerusalem and Judea, to will the miraculous recession of the shadow on the dial of Ahaz, as a sign to the apparently doomed and dying Hezekiah that he should recover, and that Assyria should not triumph over the city, temple, and people of the Most High God. A sceptical astronomer (I am not here speaking of truly Christian men of science) would smile with incredulous pity and contempt if assured by a devout Christian peasant, that, in the days of Elisha, an iron axe-head, which had accidentally fallen into the water, spontaneously (so to speak) rose and floated upon the surface, in order that its owner, an obscure son of the prophets, might recover his

^y *J. S. L.*, Jan., 1856, p. 393.

lost property. The Christian receives the narrative of this so-called physical impossibility with undoubting faith. The natural direction of the motion of iron in water (*i. e.*, the direction originally appointed by the sovereign will of the Creator) is to descend, and the Christian learns that this sovereign original arrangement was once reversed, perhaps for the space of a minute. The iron axe-head ascended (at the divine volition) from the bottom to the surface, floated there so long as was necessary for the divine purpose, and, if dropped into the stream after that purpose had been accomplished, would sink as before and remain at the bottom. The Christian who reads this and other instances of the miraculous interpositions of the divine power, finds his mind insensibly impressed with the conviction that what are called the laws of nature, although they bind the material system of the universe, and all which we call nature, do not also bind and fetter the God of nature. To the devout Christian, a miraculous temporary change in the direction of the earth's diurnal revolution, would bear, in some points of view, no slight resemblance to the rising and floating of the iron axe-head; in either case there would be a miraculous temporary reversing of the direction of movement originally appointed by the Creator's sovereign will—a miracle inconceivably more grand and sublime in the case of the change in the direction of the earth's rotatory motion, but not one whit more difficult than in that of the iron axe-head. Nay, it may be said of the latter miracle, what, perhaps, cannot be said of the former, that what is called one of the essential properties of a heavy metal, was, for a short space of time, exchanged for that which was the very opposite to it.

A sceptic may pity and condemn my credulity, if I seriously profess to believe that the waters of the Red Sea parted asunder, standing, like solid walls, on the right hand and on the left, in order that the fugitive Israelites might pass over as on dry ground,—and think that I am guilty of the absurdity of believing what is in itself manifestly a physical impossibility. Yet such a sceptic, if candid, will surely allow that, if I am not deterred from believing this miraculous scriptural fact, by its alleged physical impossibility, I ought not to refuse to believe that, in the days of Hezekiah, the direction of the earth's diurnal revolution experienced a sudden and brief change,—should I be altogether unable to discover any other way of explaining the phenomenon of the going back of the shadow on the dial of Ahaz. They who believe, on the authority of the Sacred Scriptures, that the waters of the Red Sea were miraculously separated—that the iron axe-head rose from the bottom, and floated on the surface of the stream—that the waters of the Jordan were miraculously arrested—that our Lord multiplied, surely by a creative volition, the five barley-loaves and two fishes, until they sufficed for the hunger of five thousand persons, while the baskets of fragments, which remained, exceeded the original materials of the feast—that Jesus (and Peter for a few steps by the permission of Jesus) walked on the surface of the sea of Tiberias as on firm ground—will not be restrained (should they see no other possible way of explaining the phenomenon) from believing that the direction of the earth's diurnal revolution was changed for a brief space of time in the days of Hezekiah, by the special interposition of the omnipotent volition

of the Creator, even should the ablest astronomers smile at such a supposition, as involving a physical impossibility. Christians are certainly not to abuse absurdly and fanatically, neither are they practically to forget and set aside, the words of our Lord: "the things that are impossible with men, are possible with God."

And even, if it could be satisfactorily demonstrated that the eclipse of the 11th January, 689 B.C., occurred so near the hour of noon as to cause the shadow to recede on any dial (or steps) such as that of Ahaz—could it be clearly proved, from authentic Assyrian records, that Sennacherib did not retreat, from Judea, in his third year (whatever be the date of that year) until the end of February, or the beginning of March; these facts could not alter the character of the divine message delivered to the sick king Hezekiah, through the prophet Isaiah: "And Isaiah said, This sign shalt thou have of the Lord, that the Lord will do the thing that he hath spoken; shall the shadow go forward ten degrees, or go back ten degrees? And Hezekiah answered, It is a light thing for the shadow to go down ten degrees; nay, but let the shadow return backward ten degrees. And Isaiah the prophet cried unto the Lord; and he brought the shadow ten degrees backward, by which it had gone down in the dial of Ahaz" (2 Kings ix. 11). And if we grant that "the going backward of the shadow" was caused by an eclipse, occurring in the ordinary course of nature, and that the phenomenon in question would equally have occurred, if Hezekiah had been at the time in full health and perfect security from all enemies, the believer in Holy Writ cannot help seeing that the language of Isaiah absolutely and unconditionally left it to the will and choice of Hezekiah to decide, whether the shadow should recede or advance on the face of the dial. There would be, indeed, a perilous way of escape from the apparent difficulty, which, for myself, I must utterly reject; it would be to set aside, arbitrarily, the narrative as found in the Book of Kings, as if it were interpolated and incorrect, and to resolve to adhere to the letter of that which is found in Isaiah xxxviii. 7, 8, where it is not said that the Lord offered any choice to the sick and apparently dying king.

And what could be more natural than the choice which Hezekiah made. The day of his mortal existence seemed to be hurrying onward into the shades of night—to see the shadow go forward would rather seem to signify that the hour of death would be hastened. He wished the sun of his earthly life to go backward, as it were, that the day of his continuance upon the earth might be prolonged. The going backward of the shadow, and the lengthening of the natural day, would seem to him to be a far more suitable sign and token that his dangerous malady would be removed, and his life prolonged.

If we suppose the recession of the shadow to have been apparent rather than real—to have been, in fact, a miraculously produced optical delusion (so to speak), sufficient to produce the same mental impression or conviction as if the shadow had really receded—we should still have a certain degree of difficulty, at least if we suppose that it was in consequence of the occurrence of a similar phenomenon on the same day at Babylon, that ambassadors were sent from the Chaldean metropolis, to

inquire concerning "the wonder that had happened in the land." Is there less difficulty in supposing that the brief change in the direction of the earth's diurnal revolution caused the shadow to recede both at Jerusalem and Babylon, than in believing that there were two separate instances of miraculous optical delusion, the one occurring at Jerusalem and the other at Babylon?

ON THE ASSYRIAN INSCRIPTIONS.—No. IV.

Translation of part of the Inscription on an ancient Assyrian Cylinder.

IN the first number of a work called *Oriental Antiquities*, published by Dr. Dorow at Wiesbaden in 1820, is found the representation of a cylinder of red jasper, about two inches long, engraved with the figure of a deity with four wings, who is strangling two ostriches. On the back is an inscription of seven lines, but indistinctly engraved, and therefore difficult to read with certainty.

However, on examining this inscription with attention, I was enabled to decipher the meaning of the first two lines, and as I consider the results to be very interesting, I beg to communicate them to you. The following is an enlarged copy of the writing:—



The inscription may be thus interpreted;

"The seal of Urzana, king of the city of Muzashir."

On reading this name I felt almost sure that I had met with an account of this monarch somewhere or other in Botta's numerous inscriptions which are contained in his great work on the antiquities of Nineveh; and after a short search I discovered in plate 147, last line of the plate, the passage I was looking for. We there read the name of Urzana, king of Muzashir, exactly the same as on the cylinder of red jasper. And if we refer to the commencement of the next plate, 148, we there read the following remarkable historical statement, of which I give a literal translation. These are the words of the record:—

"Urzana, king of Muzashir, had made an alliance with Ursa, king of the land of Urarda [who, it should be observed in passing, was the enemy of Sargina, king of Assyria].

"Therefore," continues the account, "at the head of my army I utterly destroyed the city of Muzashir: Urzana himself fled ignominiously to his distant strongholds. I took possession of his country; I completely stripped and plundered the city of Muzashir. His wife, his sons, his daughters, the goods, the vessels, and the whole of the treasures of his palace, with 20,160 men and their families, and the god Mazdia, and the god Bakmastu, his gods, and their immense wealth, I captured, and I distributed them as plunder. Ursa, king of Urarda, hearing of the capture of Muzashir, and of Mazdia his god."

At this point the Assyrian text becomes obscure to me, and I am.

unable to follow the fortunes of the city of Muzashir any further. But before quitting it I will permit myself a conjecture.

Sargina says, "I completely stripped and plundered the city of Muzashir." It is very possible, and indeed very probable, that this identical seal of red jasper, the royal signet of king Urzana, was part of the plunder obtained on that occasion.

The date of these events was about the year 720 B.C.

With respect to the inscription itself, I must observe, that the first sign is the generic sign for *stones* in general. The second sign, I cannot doubt, means "a seal." The proof is to be found in plate 77 of Ker Porter's travels, in which a contract is found between a great many private individuals, each of whom has affixed his seal, and to each is appended the words, "Seal of the man A, son of the man B." The word for "*seal*," consisting always of the same two signs, the first implying "*a stone*" in the cursive character, and the second implying "*a seal*," and identical with that found on our jasper cylinder; of which it therefore affords a strong confirmation.

The emblematic representation on the monarch's seal of the deity destroying the wicked, symbolized by two ostriches, is probably to be explained as an assertion of the truth of those statements to which the monarch set his seal.

With respect to the name of Urzana, I have to observe that according to Mr. Norris (*Journal of the Asiatic Society*, vol. xv., p. 204), *Irsanna* in the Scythian language means *great*: an excellent name for a monarch. But although this coincidence is very curious, I am in doubt whether it is not purely accidental; for the monarch can hardly have belonged to a Scythian family, seeing that the characters of his seal are so purely Assyrian.

Before concluding these brief remarks, I must advert to an extremely interesting fact, namely, that on referring to the best modern maps I found that the city of Muzashir still exists, and, after the lapse of nearly twenty-six centuries, still retains its ancient name. The modern town or village of Mushakshir, which probably occupies its site, is situated to the west of the lake of Van, about ten miles from the lake, and distant about 170 miles in a direct line from Nineveh. It is to be hoped that some traveller will search for antiquities on this spot.

This valuable and remarkable cylinder was purchased in Constantinople by Count von Schwachheim, who was during eight years Austrian Ambassador to the Porte.

I need hardly mention that the interpretation of the inscription given by Grotefend at p. 40 of the original memoir which accompanies the figure of this cylinder, and was published in 1820, has not the slightest resemblance to the truth. According to him, the whole of it is a mystical prayer to some deity. However, we must excuse his errors, since at the time he wrote the materials were entirely wanting for a true interpretation.

Observations on the ancient Assyrian Geography.

The geography of the Assyrian inscriptions is a subject of immense extent, and I wish to advert at present only to one point connected with

it, viz., the argument for truthfulness derived from undesigned coincidence.

If what we read at the beginning of an ancient inscription agrees with what we find stated at the end of the same, this is no more than might be expected, and the argument in favour of its authenticity thence derivable is not a strong one. But it is quite otherwise when the inscriptions which are compared together differ in age and country and in the nature of the subjects treated of. Any coincidences which can be pointed out between such inscriptions, especially if relating to obscure places or individuals, tend to impress on the mind an opinion of the truth of those statements, since they are found to stand the test of such a comparison. Such undesigned coincidences are numerous in the Assyrian inscriptions, but I will confine myself at present to a notice of two instances as a specimen where geographical facts brought together from remote quarters are found to coincide.

In one of the Khorsabad inscriptions we read that Sargina, king of Assyria, fought a battle with the two sons of the king of Illipi, and defeated them in the neighbourhood of their strong city of Marupishta. One of the brothers fled to the court of the king of Susa, and obtained his protection; but the other, whose name was Ispabara, came repentant to the presence of Sargina, who pardoned him and placed him on the throne of Illipi.

Such is the statement in Sargina's inscriptions. Now, if we examine the annals of his son and successor Sennacherib, contained in Bellino's cylinder in the British Museum, which is an entirely independent document, we find that in the second year of Sennacherib, Ispabara was still on the throne of Illipi. He rose in rebellion in that year. Sennacherib advanced against him, and captured and destroyed the identical city of Marupishta mentioned in the former document.

Here is a close agreement between independent authorities. But the historical account on the cylinder adds some very remarkable words: for it says, if I translate correctly, "I destroyed Marupishta, the metropolis of his kingdom, or his royal residence, *a city which was situated on the banks of a lake.*" Upon considering this passage, it occurred to me that possibly Marupishta might be identical with the modern city of Maru, or Merve, and accordingly I turned with some curiosity to a map of Persia in order to see whether Maru was situated on the borders of a lake. I found in the map attached to Rees's *Cyclopædia* that it was in fact situated on the banks of the lake of Babacamber. The map in Malcolm's *History of Persia*, probably a better authority, calls it the lake of Balacander. This coincidence appears to me very remarkable. I do not give it as certain, but as deserving of further inquiry. The chief difficulty is the distance from Nineveh; but it is less distant than Chorasmia and Sogdiana, which are named on the Behistun monument as subdued by Darius. If we could establish the identity, it would enable us to fix the position of the great country of Illipi so often mentioned in the inscriptions. Maru, or Merve, is certainly a very ancient city. Antiochus, the successor of Alexander, built there a city called after his own name, Antiocheia ad Margum: it was the capital of Margiana, and in earlier

times that district was well known to Darius, who calls it Marguva in Assyrian, and Margush in Persian, in the Behistun inscriptions.

I will now mention another geographical coincidence of great interest between two independent inscriptions. In the British Museum are two hexagons inscribed with the annals of Esarhaddon, both of which are published in the British Museum series of plates. One of them is pretty legible; the other in a miserable state, if we may judge from the published copy of it, but nevertheless legible in some parts. On the hexagon No. 1, I read the following remarkable statement, namely, that upon one occasion Esarhaddon collected together in his palace no less than twenty-two kings of the sea coast of the Mediterranean and of the islands in that sea, and reviewed them or inspected them, as I render the phrase employed. In modern language we should say, he held a brilliant court, and they were there admitted to his presence. This was indeed to shew himself, in Scripture phrase, "the great king, the king of Assyria."

After this there follows a statement of great interest, an account of the presents which these Syrians, Phœnicians, and Greek islanders brought with them; namely, first of all, precious woods of many kinds from Mount Lebanon and the mountainous region of Serar, which is named in the Song of Solomon and elsewhere; after these follow apparently the presents of the Greek islanders, among which are particularly mentioned certain "*false deities*" or idols of marble and of many other rare and curious kinds of stone, which the inscription says they brought with them "from the cities in the land of their birth."

Esarhaddon says, "I brought them back with me to Nineveh, to be the splendid ornaments of my palace."

As the Ægina marbles must belong nearly to this period, I think the Greeks may very well have presented to Esarhaddon images of their deities, worthy of his capital and of his palace.

Such is the account in hexagon No. 1.

Twenty-two kings are said to have assembled, but no names are given.

The account which is given in hexagon No. 2 confirms this in the most curious manner. It says that Esarhaddon assembled in one place the twelve kings of the sea coast, and it proceeds to name them. The first name appears to be that of Necho, king of Egypt, written Nahaku in the inscription. To him belonged the sea coast furthest to the west. Among the other kings I can only make out the names of Edom or Idumæa, Gaza and Ashdod. The rest are more or less effaced. But the first name, if really that of Necho, king of Egypt, is very important. It must be Necho I., who was father of Psammetichus I. The time agrees very well, for Psammetichus ascended the throne in the days of Esarhaddon. If he succeeded his father, Necho I., all is right, but if it be true, as some authors assert, that Necho had been slain several years before by Sevechus the Ethiopian, there arises a chronological difficulty. Leaving this, I return to the account on the hexagon. After naming the twelve kings of the sea coast, it proceeds to name the ten kings of "the Ionians who dwell in the islands of the sea." Now you will observe that these *ten* added to the preceding *twelve* make up precisely the twenty-two kings of the former statement; and this agreement must be perfectly

undesigned. In the former statement they were said to be twenty-two kings of the sea coast and islands, the numbers of each not being separated, and no names being given. On the second hexagon they are classified as twelve kings of the sea coast and ten of the islands in the sea, and the name of each king is given, with that of the country he ruled over. The two accounts essentially agree.

To revert once more to the subject treated of in the earlier part of this paper, the possible identity of the ancient Marupishta with the modern Meru, I would observe, that I have found mention in one of the inscriptions of "the country of the sun," by which I think Khorassan is indicated, as it is in modern times, and I will conclude with bringing to your recollection the words of Moore in *Lalla Rookh*, in praise of the province, the river, and the city:—

"In that delightful Province of the Sun,
The first of Persian lands he shines upon,
Where, fairest of all streams, the MURGA roves
Among MERU's bright palaces and groves."

On the inscription of Nebuchadnezzar.

At p. 424 of the last volume of this Journal, I translated a portion of the prayer which the king offers up to Marduk his god—namely, the planet Mars.

"O Marduk, I have exalted thy star, and it shines brightly over thy city Babylon."

I have since found that the phrase I translated "brightly" is, in the original, *kima napshati agarti*, that is, "like a living carbuncle stone." *Napshati*, living, or vivid, is the Hebrew נָפֶשֶׁת. The carbuncle is so called from its colour, glowing like "a live coal," to use a familiar expression. The precious stone called the *agarti* is frequently named in the Assyrian inscriptions, and was evidently a favourite with them. I believe it is the *akaddah* of the Hebrews אֲכַדָּה (in which word the D is doubled), see Gesen. *Lex.*, who derives it from *kadah*, to burn, כָּדָה. The word occurs in Is. liv. 12, and is rendered "carbuncle" both by Lowth and the common translation. No comparison could be more fortunate than that of this precious stone to the ruddy light of the planet Mars.

Nebuchadnezzar's Temple.

With respect to the temple built in fifteen days, the evidence is stronger than I at first thought. The account says (see p. 418 of last volume):—

wesharsitu risu su	I commenced its beginning
wezakkir khursanish	I built it completely
ina 15 tamu	in 15 days
sibir su weshaklilu	its roof I covered in.

Such is the translation which I would now prefer to give of it. For I find that *wesharsitu* is used in other passages, of laying the foundation stone of a building; and I would therefore derive it from נָשַׁת *resith* (the beginning), a well-known Hebrew word. I have explained in p. 421, that the *causative* conjugation inserts the syllable *sha*. Thus *weshasib*,

I caused to dwell, from *sib*, to dwell. So here, *wesharsit*, I caused to be begun, from *resit*, a beginning. If this translation is correct, the king says, "I began this temple at the very foundations, and yet finished it in fifteen days."

Amended translation.

In p. 423 I have translated, "the shrines of the supreme deity *daily* I adored." But I now think it ought to be, "the shrines of the supreme deity I made splendid *as the day*," that is, as the sun, the god of day. I observe that Dr. Hincks in your Journal renders the passage in that manner, doubtless correctly.

On the Queen of the Arabians.

In your last Number I shewed that Samsi, queen of the Arabians, paid tribute to Sargina. I have since found her name in another inscription, pl. 72 of the British Museum series, line 16, as follows; "Samsi, queen of the Arabians, who worship the god Shamash," that is, the sun. These words form an interesting addition to what was known before. I think it probable that the name of the queen herself is a feminine form of this deity, the object of the national worship. We know that some of the very earliest of the Egyptian monuments were erected by sun-worshippers. When the late Pasha of Egypt destroyed a massive doorway at Karnak, there were found in the interior of it, used merely as building materials, broken slabs that had belonged to a very ancient dynasty, on which were portrayed kings worshipping the sun, each of whose rays terminates in a human hand holding the symbol of life (figured imperfectly in Nestor l'Hôte's *Letters from Egypt*, p. 93, and better elsewhere). These ancient kings may have belonged to an *Arabian* dynasty that once ruled over Egypt.

On the History of Egypt.

Allow me here to mention a beautiful confirmation of the truth of history which I have met with in the Assyrian annals. It was their custom, when naming different countries which were not independent, occasionally to say to whom they belonged. We read, for example, "The city Til-khumba, which belongs to the Susians." Certain cities on the shore of the Persian Gulf are said to belong to the king of Elamti, the Elamitis of the Greeks. Certain cities of Media are said to belong to the Arabians of the rising sun,—a very curious fact indeed, since these eastern Arabians were previously unknown.

But the most remarkable fact of this kind, is, that Sargina in several of his inscriptions when naming Egypt uses the following expression,—*"Egypt which belongs to Ethiopia."* Now it was precisely at that time that, by the consent of all historians, an Ethiopian conqueror, So, or Sabaco, subdued Egypt, and with his two successors, Sevechus and Tirhaka, held the dominion of it during many years.

On the name of Eve.

We read in Genesis iii. 20, "And Adam called her name Eve, because

she was the mother of all living." Remembering this well-known passage, it was with peculiar satisfaction that I found, in reading the Assyrian inscriptions that their name for "a living creature" was *Eva*, plural *Evam*.

This is a general term, which they apply to all the animals of creation.

On referring to Gesenius's *Lexicon*, p. 334, I find that the Hebrew word is *Hiya* חיה, plural *Hivath*, taking a *Vau*. It is used of all animals of earth and sea (Gesenius). But the Chaldee term is *Hiva* or *Heva* חיה being exactly the same as the Assyrian in sound; and the Chaldee plural is *Hivan*, or *Hevan* (animals); Assyrian, *Evam*.

Now if we refer to Vanderhooght's *Hebrew Bible*, Gen. iii. 20, we find that in his margin he alters the name of Eve into Havva. This error is due to the Masoretic punctuation, and is an example of the errors into which we should fall by trusting too much to it. The authority of the Assyrian inscriptions, which are of about 720 B.C., seems conclusive in favour of the sound of *Heva* or *Eva*.

On the Assyrian term for "Night."

In a most interesting paper recently published by Dr. Hincks in the *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy*, he has interpreted an inscription which appears to be an observation of the Equinox. It says, that on a certain day of the year the day and night were observed to be equal. In this inscription the word which expresses "night" is *mushi* or *vushi*, a term which was previously unknown.

Dr. Hincks says in his note, that the word is in the nominative case. So that the final vowel *i* is not a case-ending but part of the word itself. And he inclines to the opinion that it is a word of some foreign language which the Assyrians have borrowed.

All this appears to me to be verified by the remark which I have fortunately been able to make, that this word is nothing else than the Egyptian term for "night," *Ushi* or *Oushi*, and in another Egyptian dialect *Eushi*.^a

Allow me to add another trifling conjecture which has occurred to me in reading Dr. Hincks's paper. In the Khorsabad inscriptions there is an elaborate account of the siege of a fortress which was defended by Merodach Baladan against the army of Sargina, king of Assyria. In the course of this narrative the words *ashlat an* occur, apparently a measure of distance which Dr. H. would render *three* lengths of the unit of measure called the *an*. I am not satisfied with the translation "*three*" for *ashlat*, and I propose to translate it "*ten*" for the following reason. The letters L and R are often permuted by the Assyrians; for instance, Lebanon is often written Rebanon. The term for "*ten*" is *ashrat*, now I think that in this instance the sculptor has used *ashlat*, being the same word with a mere difference of pronunciation.

Lacock Abbey, August, 1856.

H. F. TALBOT.

^a See Tattam's *Egyptian Dictionary*, p. 368, who observes that the word occurs in a slightly different form in the Arabic language also.

MR. SHEPHERD AND THE QUARTERLY REVIEW.

To the Editor of "The Journal of Sacred Literature."

SIR,—The accompanying remarks on a portion of Mr. Shepherd's Fifth Letter to Dr. Maitland were written three years ago, with the intention of prefixing them to a volume of Church history which I was then about to publish. On consideration, I thought it better to refrain from encumbering my book with a controversy—more especially with a controversy which my opponent had rendered very unpleasant in tone. But I should be glad to put my defence on record, and as an article in your last number has recalled attention to Mr. Shepherd's work, I venture to beg that you will do me the favour of printing the paper in your Journal.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

Bekesbourne, Sept. 1856.

J. C. ROBERTSON.

Early in the year 1851 appeared a *History of the Church of Rome to the end of the Episcopate of Damasus, A.D. 384*, by the Rev. E. J. Shepherd, Rector of Luddesdown. On procuring the volume, I found that Mr. Shepherd denied the genuineness or the integrity of a large proportion of the writings which are usually attributed to the second, third, and fourth centuries; that he threw indefinite suspicions over the rest, and, in short, that he went far towards annihilating the ecclesiastical history of the period. I felt that this publication seriously affected my undertaking, and, after a consideration of the various courses which were open to me, I resolved to test the value of the writer's opinions by carefully examining one portion of his work—the dissertation as to St. Cyprian, which he appeared to regard as especially conclusive. The result was a conviction that I need not scruple to tell the story of the Early Church as it is usually told; and some of the grounds on which this opinion had been formed were stated—assuredly without any intentional unfairness or discourtesy^a—in the *Quarterly Review*, No. clxxxv. (July, 1853).

In addition to his *History* Mr. Shepherd has printed a series of letters on the Cyprianic writings, addressed to the Rev. Dr. Maitland. In the fifth of these letters, which appeared in October, 1853, my review is made the subject of an appendix, written in a style now happily unusual, and displaying, even in an exaggerated form, characteristics which had before led me utterly to distrust the author's judgment. As I should never have entered into the Cyprianic question but for the almost compulsory reason which has been stated, I have no wish to carry the inquiry farther, and shall not take the trouble to reply to Mr. Shepherd's arguments, more especially as I see no cause to be dissatisfied with the present position of the case. But it would seem that Mr. Shepherd supposes it impossible to differ from him without some sort of moral delinquency, and hence he has cast on me imputations which it may be well to dispose of, in order that by so doing I may establish a right to disregard any further charges

^a I ought to state that some rather disrespectful words in the last paragraph were introduced after the article had passed out of my hands.

of a like kind which may hereafter be brought against me from the same quarter.

1. It is mentioned, as implying a kind of criminality, that in the review "even the existence of" the "four letters to Dr. Maitland is (with the exception of a cursory mention of the first) absolutely ignored." Mr. Shepherd adds in a note,—

"The review was published in July, 1853. My letters to Dr. Maitland were respectively published in September, 1852, January, February, and May, 1853" (p. 28).

The history of the article will serve as a reply to this charge. It was written in November, 1851, and was seen by me for the last time before publication in October, 1852, when I added to it such notice as appeared necessary of the *first* letter to Dr. Maitland, stating at the same time the reasons why the notice must be slight—viz., that the article had been in type before the appearance of the letter (*Q. R.*, No. clxxxv., p. 88). Months passed away before the editor of the *Review* found a convenient opportunity of publishing the paper. In the meantime, advertisements informed me that Mr. Shepherd was pouring forth pamphlet after pamphlet; but the same reason which had obliged me to be "cursory" in my notice of the first led me to leave the others unexamined and unnoticed—more especially as the first letter had not appeared to promise any important novelty in its successors. I never saw the second, third, or fourth letters, until the publication of the fifth induced me to send for them.

2. The reviewer is accused of indulging in "personalities," "which," Mr. Shepherd is pleased to say, "I regretted to see" (p. 29).

I am altogether unable to imagine what this means, and the friends whom I have questioned on the subject assure me that they do not remember anything in the article which could give the slightest pretext for such a charge.

3. "It is," says Mr. Shepherd, "the marvel of [the common Cyprianic] story, that, *during the very heat of the persecution*, thousands of the lapsed were *daily* receiving the martyr's letters readmitting them to church communion. I have called such conduct a surprising inconsistency. His [the reviewer's] comment is a fair sample of the *tone* of the critique:—'*When the danger was over*, those who had disowned their faith wished to be readmitted to the communion of the Church; and this Mr. Shepherd speaks of as a 'surprising inconsistency.' The Rector of Luddesdown must have been unusually happy in his experience of mankind if any such inconsistency appears incredible to him'" etc. (p. 29).

I have declared my intention of leaving Mr. Shepherd's arguments unanswered, and shall confine myself to the charge of unfairness.^b Without, therefore, going into any question as to the state of the persecution, it is enough for my justification to say that the danger *was* over for those who had obtained certificates of compliance with the requirements of the heathen magistrates, and that, consequently, their conduct in desiring to be readmitted into the Church is not unfairly illustrated by the parallel

^b It would appear that I was mistaken in supposing Mr. Shepherd to apply the word "inconsistency" to the *conduct* which is described, whereas he meant to say that the *story* was self-contradictory. But this does not touch the merits of the question. Inconsistency of conduct does not make an inconsistent narrative.

which I drew with that of persons who wished to secure the benefits of both sides in the changes of our own Reformation.

4. With respect to his omission of a word in a quotation from St. Jerome (*Q. R.*, p. 108), Mr. Shepherd says:—

“How the omission arose, I do not know; but I discovered it more than two years ago, and have openly spoken of it. I have corrected all, or nearly all, the copies of my *History* that have since passed through my hands, and if the reviewer had ever heard of such a correction, he must, while making his charge against me (p. 90), have been fully aware that I was incapable of the conduct which he was ascribing to me” (p. 30).

I never saw or heard of the correction until I read this passage in the fifth pamphlet; it is not on me, therefore, that the discredit of groundlessly imputing dishonourable conduct must rest.

5. It is said that I have taxed Mr. Shepherd with “dishonesty” (p. 31),

In answer to this I may quote the beginning of the review:—

“We trust that in speaking of Mr. Shepherd, we shall not use any language inconsistent with the respect due to a man of ability and learning, who has investigated a difficult subject with perfect honesty of intention and in entire independence of party” (*Q. R.*, p. 83).

This does not look much like an imputation on Mr. Shepherd’s honesty; and a like acknowledgment is made in another place (p. 90), where I (very sincerely) attempted to account for the frequent unfairness of his book by referring it, not to any wrong intention, but to the mastery which his theory had gained over him.

6. The reviewer is charged with “relying on the *insouciance* of his reader,” and so giving a reference to Gieseler which will not bear examination:—

“I had so high an idea of Dr. Gieseler’s learning and sagacity, that I immediately placed him, in my own mind, among the reviewer’s victims. On looking at Dr. Gieseler’s history, my suspicions were verified. Instead of his saying that Basilides went to Stephen for an acknowledgment of him as being in communion with Stephen—for which statement the reviewer refers to Dr. Gieseler—he says (I use the version of his learned and able translator, Dr. Davidson), ‘In the matter of the Spanish bishops Basilides and Martial, Cyprian, called upon to interfere, declares *the interposition of Stephanus, bishop of Rome, in favour of those deposed bishops,*’ to be exceptionable;’ and—what exhibits the character of the reviewer’s critique—Dr. Gieseler, to confirm his text, quotes two passages from Cyprian; one, that which I have given to support my view, and the other, that which the reviewer has quoted in his note. The one which markedly supported my view was not ‘very suitable for the reviewer’s purpose;’ he has *omitted* it, and given only the other” (p. 35, *note*).

It would, I hope, be difficult to find better examples of “reliance on the reader’s *insouciance*” than the references here made both to Gieseler and to the review, although here again I ascribe Mr. Shepherd’s unfairness not to dishonesty, but to the strength of his prepossessions. To my statement as to the object of the application by the Spanish bishops to Stephen (*Q. R.*, p. 106) was annexed a note beginning, “This appears

^c By putting these words in italics, Mr. Shepherd seems to imply that he regards them as favourable to his own view. But this is a misconstruction of the word “interposition.”

from Cyprian's words;" and, after a quotation, followed, "See Dupin, Casaubon...Gieseler." To any person less unreasonable than Mr. Shepherd, it must have been clear that I regarded the passage from Cyprian as the sufficient warrant for the statement in my text; and that the three modern writers were referred to, not as each saying precisely all that was there said, but as generally throwing light on the point in question.

Gieseler's view of the relations between Cyprian and Rome (I., i., 366-7), is entirely the same with my own, and opposite to Mr. Shepherd's—a fact which the "*insouciant*" reader would hardly infer from Mr. Shepherd's notice of the matter.^d The charge as to omitting a part of his quotations will be best met by a citation of the whole—the sentence which was omitted in the review being here enclosed in brackets:—

"[Nec rescindere ordinationem (Sabini) jure perfectam potest, quod Basilides post crimina sua detecta et conscientiam etiam propria confessione nudatam, Romam pergens, Stephanum collegam nostrum longæ positum et gestæ rei et veritatis ignarum fefellit ut exambiret reponi se injuste in episcopatum, de quo fuerat jure depositus]. Etsi aliqui de collegis nostris exstiterint [*namely, Stephen, says Gieseler in a parenthesis*] fratres dilectissimi, qui deificam disciplinam negligendam putant, et cum Basilide et Martiale temere communicant, conturbare fidem nostram res ista non debet, etc."

The passage in brackets was omitted, not as being adverse, but as being irrelevant. It is, as the reader will see, really *neutral*; *i. e.*, it may be interpreted agreeably to either of the opposite views as to the transactions between the Spanish bishops and the bishop of Rome, and every one will understand it according as he may understand the rest.

7. It is said that the reviewer "even ridicules" Mr. Shepherd "in imagining" the histories which pass under the names of Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret to be "interpolated or rewritten" (p. 36).

I simply mentioned the works as being among those which Mr. Shepherd suspects, but without the slightest attempt at ridicule, and without pretending to have (at the time when the article was written) any opinion of my own on the subject (*Q. R.*, p. 84).

8. "It is," says Mr. Shepherd, "a main feature in the critique (to prejudice readers) to shew that I am more papal than the papal advocates" (p. 39).

I cannot suppose Mr. Shepherd seriously to deny that his interpretation of the Cyprianic writings is more favourable to Rome than that given by Baronius himself. If to the proof of this I had added any hint that his own opinions were favourable to Rome, it would indeed have been invidious and unjustifiable. But, on the contrary, I have repeatedly stated that he is strongly opposed to the papal claims, and have rested my remarks as to the dangerous tendency of his book (*Q. R.*, p. 116) on the very fact that the author is not a friend, but an adversary, of Rome.^e The insinuation with which Mr. Shepherd concludes as to my own motives

^d Without meaning to impugn the general merits of Dr. Davidson's version, with which I am unacquainted, I may remark that, in the extract from it, "exceptionable" is a very faint rendering of "verwerflich."

^e These remarks have since been borne out by the use to which the *Dublin Review* has turned Mr. Shepherd's work (1856).

for defending the Cypriatic writings, is therefore as unprovoked as it is unfounded and malicious.

9. A great deal is said about my want of "scholarship" and of "widespread knowledge;" and this involves the moral charge of attempting to impose on the readers of the *Quarterly* by taking up a subject which I ought to have known that I was unqualified to discuss.

I beg to assure the reader that I have never pretended to the acquirements which Mr. Shepherd so magisterially denies to me. Had I been writing in my own name, I should have expressly disclaimed all such pretensions. As it was, I went as near to doing so as was possible for a writer in a periodical, who, while his contribution is necessarily anonymous, is obliged to consider himself as one of a body (see *Q. R.*, pp. 87, 111). All that I professed was, to give the result of such an examination as it was in my power to make; if the writer's theory failed under this test, it was enough for my own conviction, and I am not aware of any reason why, although my inquiries were far from having exhausted the subject, the substance of them might not be set before the public. I must, however (although without any view to further controversy on my own part) take the liberty of reminding Mr. Shepherd, that no scholarship has as yet been required of his opponents, beyond the very slender quantity which is sufficient for correcting his translations. He has, indeed, told us that, on the ground of "lingual peculiarities," he believes the Cypriatic correspondence to be all the work of one hand (*History*, p. 179); but, until the reasons of this opinion shall have been stated, there is nothing of a philological kind to be examined or to be answered—nay, Mr. Shepherd's own claims to philological skill remain (in so far as I am aware) to be justified by some public evidence. Very possibly the assailant of St. Cyprian may resemble the demolisher of Phalaris in other things as well as in manner; but it is only in the article of manner that any likeness has yet been displayed.

1.

SIR,—Allow me to correct an error in the paper on the Book of Judith, inserted in the last number of the Journal.

The author of this apocryphal work writes that "Judith died at the age of one hundred and five years, . . . and there was none that made the children of Israel any more afraid in the days of Judith, nor a long time after her death."

I observed upon this that we cannot well interpret the terms, "*a long time after her death*," to mean fewer than ten years. At the battle of Megiddo, when Josiah was mortally wounded, the security and prosperity of Judea finally ceased." Judith must, therefore, be supposed to have died at least ten years before that disastrous conflict with the Egyptians.

The twofold error which I here wish to correct occurs in the following passage:—

"If we suppose Judith to have been only sixty years of age when she captivated Holofernes by her beauty (and certainly thirty would be a more probable age), and if we add these to the ten years (the 'long time after') of national security after her death, we have seventy years of continued national security. If from these we subtract thirty-three years (the united reigns of Amon and Josiah), there will remain twenty-seven years, which would, of course, comprehend nearly the second half of Manasseh's long reign."^a

The '*seventy*' should have been '*fifty-five*;' and, if the number seventy had been correct, the 'twenty-seven' should have been *thirty-seven*.

I would rewrite the above as follows:—

"If we suppose Judith to have been only fifty-five years of age when she captivated Holofernes, . . . and if we add the remaining fifty years of her life to the ten years (the 'long time after') . . . we have *sixty* years of continued national security. If from these we subtract thirty-three years (the united reigns of Amon and Josiah), there will remain twenty-seven years, etc. . . . Hence, if the siege of Bethulia, and the death of Holofernes, occurred twenty-seven, or even twenty, years before the death of Manasseh (and we cannot possibly think them to have happened at a later date), we have no right, in order to save the credit of the anonymous writer of Judith, to suppose that this king was at that time unequal to take the lead in the defensive measures required by the Assyrian invasion under Holofernes."

2.

In the last number of this Journal is a letter entitled, 'A Second Argument for the Neronic Date of the Apocalypse, drawn from Internal Evidence.' In the introductory part are some remarks on a letter inserted in the Journal for July, 1855, in which I endeavoured to shew that the evidence in favour of the Domitianic, is much stronger than that in favour of the Neronic date.

Your correspondent, P. S. D., speaking of my paper, says, "In his opinion the testimony of Irenæus, Eusebius, and Victorinus, so far outweighs the conflicting statements of Epiphanius, Andreas, Arethas, and Tertullian, that not only is the degree of truthfulness to be attached to the defenders of the Domitianic date greatly above that to be given to the advocates for the Neronic date, but the superiority of the one over the other is so complete and decided, that all appeal to internal evidence is entirely precluded."

This is not quite correct. The following is the concluding sentence of my letter:—"I hope it will appear from all that has been advanced, that, if the Neronic date of the Apocalypse be possible, it is not probable; and that the Domitianic date is not only possible, but also highly probable." And so far was I from wishing to set aside all appeal to internal evidence, that the sentence just quoted was immediately preceded by a somewhat long extract from Canon Wordsworth's pamphlet on M. Bunsen's

^a *J. S. L.*, July, 1856, p. 353.

work on Hippolytus. Of the statements in that extract, I believe that neither M. Bunsen nor your correspondent, P. S. D., will be able to offer a satisfactory refutation.

As a communication from me on the subject of Mr. Bosanquet's chronology is to appear in the October Journal, I must take another opportunity of replying to P. S. D.'s last letter. I make only two observations connected with it here. (1.) I find it impossible to believe that "the great city which reigneth over the kings of the earth," ἡ ἔχουσα βασιλείαν ἐπὶ τῶν βασιλέων τῆς γῆς, can be only Jerusalem.^b (2.) Believing fully that the fearful things predicted of Jerusalem in Zech. xiv. 1—3, are yet to be fulfilled, I cannot agree with the view of P. S. D. who says that "even on the supposition that the holy city and people should be once more restored, the whole foundation of such restoration proceeds on the principle, *not* of their being subject to such woes as are predicted in the Apocalypse, but of their being once more the favoured people of God."^c I believe that the Jews are yet to be the favoured people of God, but that they are previously to pass through very great distress and tribulation.

July 8.

G. B.

To the Editor of "The Journal of Sacred Literature."

SIR,—As bearing upon questions of some interest which have lately been discussed in your Journal, will you allow the insertion of the following propositions clearly deducible from the statements of Herodotus, and of course depending for their truth upon his accuracy.

1. The eclipse of Thales must have happened *after* the period of the Scythian domination.

For if *not*, then the forty years of Cyaxares would necessarily be divided in *nearly* the following manner:—

		years.			
War with Lydia		5½			
Attack on Nineveh		2			
Scythian domination.....		28			
Conquest of Assyria and destruction of Nineveh, extending to death of Cyaxares....		4½			
		40			
		yrs.			yrs.
We have therefore from the eclipse to the end of reign of Cyaxares..		34½	But by the Lydian history, even supposing the war with Cyaxares to have begun in the first year of Abyattes, there will remain from its conclusion to the end of his (Abyattes') reign only		51½
Reign of Astyages		35	Cræsus' reign to the taking of Sardis		14
So much of the reign of Cyrus as preceded the taking of Sardis, commonly reckoned at about ..		10½			
		80			65½

^b J. S. L., April, 1855.

^c J. S. L., April, 1855, p. 193.

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The discrepancy of these two sums, which ought to coincide, shews that the eclipse could not have preceded the Scythian rule of twenty-eight years.

2. Supposing Sardis to have been taken in the eleventh year of Cyrus, the eclipse of Thales must have occurred within a year or two of the twenty-first year of Abyattes and the thirty-sixth of Cyaxares.

	years.
For according to the history, Cyaxares (as shewn in No. 1) must have lived somewhere about	4½
After the eclipse Astyages reigned	35
Cyrus to taking of Sardis	10½
	<hr/>
	50

Counting back fifty years from the taking of Sardis (recollecting that fourteen belong to the reign of Cræsus), we come to the beginning of the twenty-first year of Abyattes, which therefore synchronizes with the thirty-sixth of Cyaxares—four and a half years before the death of the latter.

3. If the eclipse, which occurred in the seventh year of Cambyses, is correctly determined to have taken place B.C. 523, then that of Thales cannot be dated either in 585 B.C. or 610 B.C., which are the two dates chiefly contended for.

	years.
For from the eclipse to the death of Cyaxares we have (about)	4½
Reign of Astyages	39
„ Cyrus	29
„ Cambyses before the eclipse, say ..	6½
	<hr/>
Total number of years between the two eclipses	79

But seventy-nine from 585 leaves 506, and seventy-nine from 610 leaves 531, instead of 523, the date of the eclipse of Cambyses.

Cor. Supposing the eclipse of Cambyses rightly determined, then (according to the history) that of Thales must have occurred within a year or two of B.C. 602. By Montuela and others it has been fixed to May 18, B.C. 603, and by Usher to September 19, B.C. 601.

J. F.

THE SECOND COMING OF CHRIST.

To the Editor of "The Journal of Sacred Literature."

SIR,—I have read with astonishment and alarm the letter of your correspondent, P. S. D., on the "Neronic Date of the Apocalypse as demonstrated by Internal Evidences." He, and those who think with him, ought to take care that in defending Christianity from the attacks of infidelity on the one side, they do not expose it to far more fearful danger on the other.

His position is, that the second coming of Christ, spoken of in the Apocalypse and the other books of the New Testament, is his coming to destroy Jerusalem, and that no third coming is even promised. The Church is, therefore, according to him, left now without any hope of the return of her Lord at all. The heavens have received him for ever!

But let us take some of the prophecies of Christ's second coming, and see how they suit this theory:—"He was taken up, and *a cloud* received him out of their sight. And behold, two men stood by them in white apparel, which also said, this same Jesus who is taken from you into heaven, *shall so come in like manner as ye have seen him go into heaven*" (Acts i. 9—11). And in conformity with this we read, "Behold, *he cometh with clouds*" (Rev. i. 7). "Ye shall see the Son of man sitting on the right hand of power, and *coming in the clouds of heaven*" (Mark xiv. 62). Was this fulfilled then when Jerusalem was destroyed? Did the Son of man then come *with clouds*?

Again, we read, "When the Son of Man shall come in his glory, *and all the holy angels with him*" (Matt. xxv. 31): "at the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ *with all his saints*" (1 Thes. iii. 11): "the Lord my God shall come, *and all the saints with thee*" (Zech. xiv. 5). Was this fulfilled then when Jerusalem was destroyed? Did the saints and angels on that occasion attend their Lord?

Again, we read, "the Lord himself shall descend from heaven with a shout, with the voice of the archangel and the trump of God, and the dead in Christ shall rise first. Then we which are alive and remain, shall be caught up together with them in the clouds, to meet the Lord in the air" (1 Thes. iv. 16, 17). Were these things then fulfilled when Jerusalem was destroyed? Was there any shout, any voice of the archangel, any trump of God, any resurrection of the sleeping saints, any taking up of the living?

Once more, we read, "when the Son of Man shall come, he shall sit on the throne of his glory. And before him shall be gathered all nations" (Matt. xxv. 31, 32). Was this fulfilled then when Jerusalem was destroyed? Did the Son of Man then set up his glorious throne? Did he then gather all nations before him?

How then stands the case between the prophecy and the assumed fulfilment? The Bible assures us that the Son of God shall come with clouds, attended by saints and angels, saints raised in glory to meet him as he comes, and swell his train, and that having come, he shall sit on the throne of his glory, and summon the nations to his judgment. And all this was fulfilled, your correspondent tells us, without any clouds, without either saints or angels, without any resurrection, without any throne of glory, without any summoning of the nations to judgment. How was it fulfilled then? In the simplest manner possible. A Roman general named Titus, led a Roman army into Palestine and destroyed Jerusalem!! Except that the time does not suit, the destruction of Carthage would answer as well.

But you must acknowledge, it may be said, that the destruction of Jerusalem is called a coming of the Lord. I have no wish to deny it. I find in the New Testament a spiritual, a providential, and a per-

sonal coming. "I will not leave you comfortless; I will come to you" (John xiv. 18), is a spiritual coming; "Ye shall not have gone over the cities of Israel till the Son of man be come" (Matt. x. 23), is a providential coming; "The Lord my God shall come, and all the saints with thee" (Zech. xiv. 5), is a personal coming. The principle of distinction is marked and evident. When Christ comes in his spirit or in his providence, he comes **ALONE**; whenever saints and angels are spoken of **AS ATTENDING HIM**, the coming announced is personal.

The taunt of Gibbon, of which your correspondent stands in such awe, has been answered again and again. The "little whiles" of him to whom a thousand years are as one day, are not the little whiles of man. That portion of the world's history which shall elapse before Christ comes is called in the New Testament a little while, as compared with the vast eternity that shall follow; and his people are exhorted to live as strangers and pilgrims, looking for that which may at any time be realized. But so far from the apostles encouraging the idea that their Lord's return was so near that it must certainly occur within the then living generation, St. Paul wrote an entire epistle to warn the Thessalonians against such a notion. Let that epistle only be read dispassionately, and Gibbon's taunt falls harmless to the ground.

But I have no intention of entering at present on this subject at large, I only feel constrained to lift my solemn protest against the principle of interpretation advanced by your correspondent. In my judgment, *it shakes the foundations of Christianity*. I have always been accustomed to believe that God *overfulfils* his promises; but your correspondent exhibits *underfulfilment*, and that to an extent so alarming, that I dare no longer maintain against the infidel that the Bible is the Book of Truth. Nay, I dare no longer commit to it my own eternal hopes. For its largest promises, *e.g.*, of resurrection to life, of thrones of glory, of Christ coming to receive us to himself, turn out, when the day of fulfilment arrives, to mean just nothing at all.

Rugby.

Yours, etc.,

W. T.



NOTICES OF BOOKS.

The Greek Testament: with a critically revised text: a digest of various readings: marginal references to verbal and idiomatic usage: Prolegomena: and a critical and exegetical Commentary. For the use of Theological Students and Ministers. By HENRY ALFORD, B.D., Minister of Quebec Chapel, London, and late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Vol. III. London: Rivingtons. 1856. 8vo. pp. 536.

WE are glad to be able to bring before our readers another portion of the results of Mr. Alford's labours upon the New Testament. It was expected that the third volume would be the last, but "it has been thought better to extend the number of volumes of this work to *four*, partly on account of the great size to which the third volume according to the former plan would have extended, and partly because the publication of this portion would thereby have been so long delayed." We think this is a justifiable and satisfactory arrangement, the only inconvenience being a matter of taste of minor importance, namely, the want of uniformity in the size of the volumes. The one now before us however is as large as we could wish any books of constant reference to be, and considering the extent to which abridgment is carried by the editor, it really contains a vast amount of matter. Mr. Alford uses a kind of stenography even in his commentary, but in the critical notes this curtness is carried so far as to prevent many readers using them with any degree of satisfaction. It takes more time than ordinary students will give to the subject to master such *formulae* as the following:—"80 al Syr ar-erp copt sah all Clem (in Eus) Chron-alex Dam Pel Ambrst;" or "DEFGJK, etc., lat-ff nearly: txt ABC 10. 17. 67² v Syr ar-erp copt sah æth arm Eus Pseud-Ath Did Thdrt Pel al." In a few years we hope to see a new edition of the whole work, with the improvements which we hope the learned author will live to introduce, and then probably these enigmas will be resolved in fuller language. We need scarcely say that these algebraic signs speak intelligibly enough to the initiated, or to those who make use of Mr. Alford's explanatory key.

The present volume contains the epistles to the Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, Thessalonians, Timothy, Titus, and Philemon. The Prolegomena occupy one hundred and eighteen pages, and enter very fully into all matters of interest, whether conceded or disputed. The recent commentaries of Mr. Jowett furnish Mr. Alford with many opportunities of alluding to the views which have been so much criticized and condemned, and this circumstance adds much to

the interest of the work. The passages in the epistles to the Thessalonians and to Timothy, relating to the apostasy, call forth a very explicit statement of opinion, at variance with the common and popular interpretation which refers them to Rome. We shall give extracts on these distinct topics, both as being interesting in themselves, and as putting before our readers the means of judging of Mr. Alford's manner.

On the language and style of the epistle to the Colossians, and on its connexion with the epistle to the Ephesians, very valuable observations occur. It is conceded that both in language and style the epistle is peculiar, but it is maintained that the peculiarities are not greater than might well arise from the fact that the subject on which the apostle was mainly writing was one requiring new thoughts and words. A list of the *ἄπαξ λεγόμενα* is then given, and it is shewn that the nature of the subject introduced the greater number. It is not denied however that St. Paul does here express some things differently from his usual practice, but such anomalies are attributed to "the peculiar frame and feeling with which the writer was expressing himself, which led to his using these usual (unusual?) expressions rather than other and more customary ones." The argument is summed up as follows :

"Thus both epistles sprung out of one inspiration, one frame of mind. That to the Colossians first, as the task to be done, the protest delivered, the caution given : that to the Ephesians, begotten by the other but surpassing it ; carried on perhaps in some parts simultaneously, or immediately consequent. So that we have in both, many of the same thoughts uttered in the same words : many terms and phrases peculiar to the two epistles ; many instances of the same term or phrase, still sounding in the writer's ear, but used in the two in a different connexion. All these are taken by the impugnors of the Ephesian epistle as tokens of its own spuriousness ; I should rather regard them as psychological phenomena strictly and beautifully corresponding to the circumstances under which we have reason to believe the two epistles to have been written : and as fresh elucidations of the mental and spiritual character of the great apostle."

In the Prolegomena to the first epistle to the Thessalonians, Mr. Alford thus alludes to the work of Professor Jowett :—

"There is a very good statement of Baur's adverse arguments, and refutation of them, in Jowett's work on the Thessalonians, 'Genuineness of the first Epistle,' vol. i., pp. 15—26. In referring to it, I must enter my protest against the views of Professor Jowett on points which lie at the very root of the Christian life ; views as unwarranted by any data furnished in the Scriptures of which he treats, as his reckless and crude statement of them is pregnant with mischief to minds unaccustomed to biblical research. Among the various phenomena of an awakened state of apprehension of the characteristics and difficulties of the New Testament, there is none more suggestive of saddened thought and dark foreboding than the appearance of such a book as Professor Jowett's. Our most serious fears for the Christian future of England, point, it seems to me, just in this direction : to persons who allow fine æsthetical and psychological appreciation, and the results of minute examination of spiritual feeling and mental progress in the epistles, to keep out of view that other line of testimony to the fixity and consistency of great doctrines, which is always discoverable in them."

On the apparent vacillation of opinion, or, as some would express it, the mental and spiritual growth of the apostle as to the coming of

Christ, supposed to be visible in his epistles, some valuable remarks occur. Mr. Alford states that the time of our Lord's coming was hidden from all created beings, and that therefore even inspiration would leave the matter in uncertainty, in accordance with the divine economy in relation to the matter.

“ Here then is a plain indication, which has not, I think, been sufficiently made use of in judging of the epistles. The Spirit was to *testify of Christ*: to take of the things of Christ, and shew them unto them. So that however much that Spirit, in his infinite wisdom, might be pleased to impart to them of the details and accompanying circumstances of the Lord's appearing, we may be sure that the truth spoken by our Lord, ‘ Of that day and hour knoweth no man,’ would hold good with regard to them, and be traced in their writings. If they were true men, and their words and epistles the genuine production of inspiration of them by that Spirit of Truth, we may expect to find in such speeches and writings tokens of this appointed uncertainty of the day and hour; expectations true in expression and fully justified by appearances, yet corrected, as God's purposes were manifested, by advancing experience, and larger effusions of the Spirit of prophecy. If then I find in the course of St. Paul's epistles, that expressions which occur in the earlier ones, and seem to indicate expectation of his almost immediate coming, are gradually modified,—disappear altogether from the epistles of the imprisonment, and are replaced by others speaking in a different strain of dissolving, and being with Christ, and passing through death and the resurrection, in the latest epistles,—I regard it, not as a strange thing, not as a circumstance which I must explain away for fear of weakening the authority of his epistles, but as exactly that which I should expect to find; as the very strongest testimony that these epistles were written by one who was left in this uncertainty—not by one who wished to make it appear that inspiration had made him omniscient.”

On the prophetic import of 2 Thess. ii. 1—12, Mr. Alford supplies a valuable summary of the opinions which have been entertained respecting it, both in ancient and more modern times. Their name is Legion, and we cannot now further allude to them. On the application of the prophecy to the Pope, the author says that while there are many striking points of correspondence, in several important particulars the prophetic requirements are very far from being fulfilled. He mentions two, one subjective, the other objective. The subjective objection is that in regard to verse 4, “ the Pope does not, and never did, fulfil the prophecy.” “ It never can be shewn that he fulfils the former part of the verse, nay, so far is he from it that the abject adoration of, and submission to, λεγόμενοι θεοί and σεβάσματα (‘ all that is called God, or that is worshipped,’ E.T.), has ever been one of his notable peculiarities.” The second objection of an external or historical kind is even more decisive. “ If the Papacy be Antichrist, then has the manifestation been made and endured now for nearly 1500 years, and yet that day of the Lord is not come, which by the terms of our prophecy such manifestation is immediately to precede.” Mr. Alford then gives his own view as follows:—

“ We are thus directed to a point of view with regard to the prophecy of the following kind. The *άνωμος*, in the full prophetic sense, is not yet come. Though 1800 years later, we stand, with regard to him, where the apostle stood: the day of the Lord not present, and not to arrive until this man of sin be manifested; the *μυστήριον τῆς ἀνομίας* still working, and much advanced in its working: the *κατέχον*

still hindering. And let us ask ourselves, what does this represent to us? Is it not indicative of a state in which the *δυσμία* is working on, so to speak, underground, under the surface of things,—gaining, throughout these many ages, more expansive force, more accumulated power, but still hidden and unconcentrated? And might we not look, in the progress of such state of things, for repeated minor embodiments of this *δυσμία*,—*ἀνομοί*, and *ἀντίχριστοι πολλοί* (1 John ii. 18), springing up here and there in different ages and countries,—the *ἀποστασία* going onward and growing,—just as there were of Christ himself frequent types and minor embodiments before he came in the flesh? Thus in the Papacy, where so many of the prophetic features are combined, we see as it were a standing embodiment and type of the final Antichrist—in the remarkable words of Gregory the Great, the '*precursor Antichristi*;' and in Nero, and every persecutor as he arose, and Mahomet, and Napoleon, and many other forms and agencies of evil, other more transient types and examples of him. We may, following out the parallelism, contrast the Papacy, as a type of Antichrist, having its false priesthood, its pretended sacrifices, its 'Lord God' the Pope, with that standing Jewish hierarchy of God's own appointing, and its high-priesthood by which our Lord was prefigured; and the other and personal types, with those typical persons who appeared under the old covenant, and set forth so plainly the character and sufferings and triumphs of the Christ of God. According, then, to this view, we still look for the man of sin, in the fulness of the prophetic sense, to appear, and that immediately before the coming of our Lord. We look for him as the final and central embodiment of that *δυσμία*, that resistance to God and God's law, which has been for these many centuries fermenting under the crust of human society, and of which we have already witnessed so many partial and tentative eruptions. Whether he is to be expected personally, as one individual embodiment of evil, we would not dogmatically pronounce: still, we would not forget that both ancient interpretation and the world's history point this way. Almost all great movements for good or for ill have been gathered to a head by one central personal agency. Nor is there any reason to suppose that this will be otherwise in the coming ages. In proportion as the general standard of mental cultivation is raised, and man made equal with man, the ordinary power of genius is diminished, but its extraordinary power is increased; its reach deepened, its hold rendered more firm. As men become familiar with the achievements and the exercise of talent, they learn to despise and disregard its daily examples, and to be more independent of mere men of ability: but they only become more completely in the power of gigantic intellect, and the slaves of pre-eminent and unapproachable talent. So that there seems nothing improbable, judging from these considerations, and from the analogy of the partial manifestations which we have already seen, that the centralization of the Antichristian power, in the sense of this prophecy, may ultimately take place in the person of some one of the sons of men. The great *ἀποστασία* again will receive a similar interpretation. Many signal apostasies the world and the Church have seen. Continually those are going out from us who were not of us. Unquestionably the greatest of these has been the Papacy, that counterfeit of Christianity, with its whole system of falsehood and idolatry. But both it and Mohammedanism and Mormonism, and the rest, are but tentamina and foreshadowings of that great final apostasy (*ἡ ἀποστασία*) which shall deceive, if it were possible, even the very elect."

As far as we have been able to examine and form an opinion, this volume will fully sustain Mr. Alford's reputation, and we hope nothing will prevent the early appearance of the last.

Interpretatio Epistolæ Pauli ad Romanos, primum in Sectionibus Academicis proposita, nunc novis curis ad editionem parata, auctore
W. A. VAN HENGEL. (An interpretation of the Epistle of Paul to

the Romans, first delivered in Academical Lectures, now carefully revised and prepared for publication, by W. A. VAN HENGEL.) Parts I. and II. Bois le Duc: Muller. Leipsic: Weigel, 1854. pp. 351.

THE circumstances in which this work is published are interesting. Dr. Van Hengel, a much esteemed Professor of the once famous University of Leyden, in his seventy-fifth year, had been earnestly requested to give to the world some of the fruits of his long and valuable labors. He had for some time been lecturing on the Epistle to the Romans, and he was inclined to examine his papers on this subject with a view to their publication. But in doing so, he found that to connect the several lectures into a whole, to supply what he considered wanting, and to modify in some things what he had written so as to adapt them for publication, would be a task of difficulty and not quite satisfactory. He therefore set down to write a continuous commentary on the first parts of the Epistle with the hope of being able to finish the work, resolved to employ his last days in giving to the public his most matured views as far as he might be able on this Epistle, which he speaks of as "holding a distinguished place among the writings divinely given for the salvation of man." In the event of his not being able to complete his plan personally, his papers contain materials for doing so which the Professor modestly hopes will not be thought without value. We are glad that the venerable Professor was able in 1854 to say that he was not conscious of being unequal to the task, "*Singulari Dei favore me vires huic labori necessariæ nondum defuisse,*" and we trust that his life and powers may still survive the completion of the work. The two *fasciculi*, published in 1854, include his discussions on the first three chapters in which some of the most important points occur, and which therefore occupy a larger proportionate space than the remainder is likely to do.

With regard to the theological position of the author, it is that which we believe to be the now prevailing one in Holland. Far removed from the "rationalism" of a bygone school in Germany, and still further from the so-called "modern speculation;" yet also considerably removed from the orthodoxy in doctrine which once was strong in Holland—the venerable Professor thinks it no part of his task to sit in judgment on the sacred writers. He takes what they say to be divinely true, and is only concerned to ascertain by the rigid application of legitimate means what the truth is which they have recorded. On some most important points we should not agree with his conclusions for reasons which appear plain to us, but we are bound to express our admiration of the spirit and manner with which he pursues his enquiry, as well as the learning and sagacity which he has brought to bear upon it.

The following *analysis* of the contents of the Epistle is given in order to shew the Professor's view as to the scope of it. The preface (chap i. 1—7) states the call of the Gentiles to the fellowship of Christ, and is followed by the *exordium* which sets forth a divine and

saving righteousness, of which foreigners, no less than Jews, may by faith in the Gospel be, by God's favour, partakers (i. 8—17). Having laid this as the foundation of his discourse he thus proceeds. He declares that the Gentiles had, in the righteous judgment of God, universally sunk to a condition of great wretchedness by being alienated from God and depraved (i. 18—32). But the Jews also, long enslaved to false opinions and bad passions, were oppressed by an equal amount of misery (ii. 1 ; iii. 20). But in mercy, extended to both without distinction, God interposed to deliver them by Jesus Christ, and ordained that they should equally be called to faith in his Son, and thus obtain salvation (iii. 21—31). He shews, by the example of Abraham, that nothing else than faith, of which Gentiles as well as Jews may be partakers, will bring men into the divine favour (iv. 1, 25). Thus it is by faith that men, of both parties, who turn to Christ who suffered on the cross for mankind, are reconciled to God (v. 1, 11). Hence it follows that as all died with Adam because all had been guilty with him ; so now all who have fellowship with Christ by faith, become partakers of the divine righteousness and of life eternal (vi. 1, 14). In order that their life may be such, all who are joined to Christ by faith are delivered from the yoke of the law, and have attained to liberty (vi. 15 ; vii. 6). The consideration of the Law of Moses will lead to no other conclusion, for that, though holy and good, has not efficacy to restore men's moral nature, but rather exasperates the evil in a depraved heart (vii. 7, 25). The followers of Christ while they are called out from the mass of men to the cultivation of godliness and virtue, enjoy the consciousness of being at one with God, so that in every trial they are confident of divine aid, and sustained by the assured hope of eternal life (viii. 1, 39). Since these things are so, the apostle, with increased intensity of style, expresses his grief that most of the Jews continue alien from God by despising the participation of Christ (ix. 1, 5). Yet it was not to be thought from this that God's promise had failed, this was not given to all the natural descendants of Abraham (ix. 6—13). Nor is there in this distinction any injustice, but only the divine liberty of action in arranging all things to shew the glory of his virtues, so that followers of Christ were to be gathered from all nations (ix. 14, 29). The rejection of the bulk of the Jews is due rather to their own contumacy, who refuse to accept that faith of Christ which alone can admit them to God's favour (ix. 30 ; x. 13). Yet none of them are excluded, but all are invited with others to the faith of Christ (x. 14 ; xi. 10). Nay, God had had this very contumacy in view, and by thus reconciling foreigners to himself, designed that by degrees the Jews should perceive how much damage they sustained by their obstinacy, and at length return to the way of salvation (xi. 11—28). In all this the unspeakable wisdom of God is to be adored who brings over a vast multitude of Gentiles to the communion of Christ, that he might include in his grace the Jews also when they should at length come to repentance (xi. 29—36). The remainder of the Epistle is occupied

chiefly in pointing out the conduct which became both Jews and Gentiles who had received the faith of Christ.

In this analysis the Professor naturally avoids any distinct reference to disputed points. Several of the most important of these occur in the portion of the Epistle thus far examined. First, the *δικαιοσύνη Θεοῦ*. This, according to him, is what is imparted to the believer, and is subjective in him; the absence of the article shews that it is a righteousness derived from God, and not the righteousness of God, either in the sense of an attribute of his, or in the theological sense of his mode of justification. On what we think more substantial grounds than the absence of the article, we fully agree with this result. The divine righteousness set forth and communicated by the Gospel is opposed to those human notions on the subject which were as much depraved as the morals of men. We fully believe in the Catholic doctrine of justification by faith. God does justify, *δικαιῶν*, believers, but this is not their righteousness. The latter is the result of the process by which "beholding as in a glass the glory of the Lord, they are changed into the same image;" and the word *ἀποκαλύπτεται*, as Van Hengel shews, in the present tense, implies that this divine idea is made clear to men's understandings in the Gospel, while *πεφανερωται* refers to the fresh revelation of it which was now made.

Again, the *ὁργή* (i. 18) *Θεοῦ* is, according to the Professor, an anthropathic expression for the divine *νέμεσις*, which appears, *ἀποκαλύπτεται*, in that condition of the world which the apostle describes; in which the crime of departing from God had led to crimes which had generated every form of moral death. It is no new doctrine now revealed and declared by the apostle, and no special divine infliction, but a state of ruin so marked and striking that it could no longer escape men's attention,—"*ita patifieri, ut omnium in oculos incurrat.*"

The Professor has not, however, succeeded in establishing his views on the important passage contained in iii. 24, 25. In the first place, his assertion that Jesus Christ is never mentioned *as the object of faith*, rests solely on the grammatical assumption that, when the prep. *ἐν* follows the word *πίστις*, it belongs not to *πίστις*, but to some preceding part of the sentence. In proof of this he has given a number of passages like that in 1 Cor. xii. 19, "that Christ may dwell by faith in your hearts," which obviously have no relation to the subject. But he asserts that the construction is the same in Eph. i. 15: "When I heard of your faith in the Lord Jesus, and of your love towards the saints;" where, according to him, *πίστιν ἐν τῷ Κ*: must be rendered your faith *in the communion* of Christ. But this is a mere assertion contradicted by the connexion here, and by the *usus loquendi* of the sacred writers; surely *πίστιν ἐν* here is connected with what follows in the same way as *ἀγάπην εἰς* in the same verse. And the construction is quite the same in ver. 12, where the apostles are spoken of as *προηλπιότες ἐν χριστῷ*, in whom, *ἐν ᾧ*, the Ephesians also are mentioned as *πιστεύσαντες*. The fact is, which the Professor has not noticed, the construction of *πιστεύειν* with *ἐν*, and of *ἐλπίζειν* more

commonly with ἐπὶ, are the constant rendering in Scripture Greek of corresponding Hebrew words with the prep. ׀, where the word which follows the preposition is always the object of the faith or hope. Thus in Psalm lxxviii. 22, they trusted not in God, οὐκ ἐπίστευσαν ἐν τῷ Θεῷ, nor hoped in his salvation, οὐδὲ ἤλπισαν ἐπὶ where we have the Hebrew ׀ in both cases. So in Psalm lxxii. 28 : It is good for me to place my hope in the Lord, τίθεσθαι τὴν ἐλπίδα ἐν τῷ Κυρίῳ. Now in the prevalence of a construction like this we require more than the Professor's assertion to shew that the cases before us are different, and require an unusual *ellipsis* to be supposed. But if Christ himself is not thus denoted as the object of faith, still less is the Professor disposed to allow this construction to the phrase διὰ τῆς πίστεως ἐν τῷ αὐτοῦ αἵματι. With all reverence we must say he explains away this phrase by the figure *rigmarole*,—"That God in order to be gracious required only faith in himself. But Jesus Christ by his death, as he had rendered a perfect obedience, so he had set a perfect example of this faith, therefore the apostle tells the Romans that he is set before men to bring them to faith by his death, by which (not *on account* of which) God would be gracious to them." This is the Professor's *theology*, but it is not *exegesis*,—though we have no other example of the phrase, we have other passages which shew that the usual construction is to be adhered to in this case. It is a further definition of faith in Christ, viz., faith in his blood-shedding, and must be rendered, as Grotius himself renders it, "Fides habenda sanguini Christi," i.e., says he, in the doctrine which had its sanction in the death of Christ. The same idea of faith in the death of Christ is surely conveyed in the apostle's language (chap. vi. 3), where Christians are said to be baptised into the death of Christ; i.e., as Grotius explains it, into the faith, "Christum ob peccata nostra esse mortuum, i.e., ad abstenda peccata;" and as Ignatius, quoted by him, says, "Ye live according to Jesus Christ who died for our sakes, that we believing in his death, may by baptism become partakers of his resurrection." The Professor refers to this passage in Ignatius and, because we have πιστεύσαντες εἰς, thinks it enough to remark that the notion has been exploded, that the prep. εἰς is put for ἐν. We believe with him that these prepositions are not used as identical, and it is sometimes important to distinguish them; but we have the same idea essentially, whether, as is always the case with St. John, εἰς is used with πιστεῖν, or as in other writers ἐν. In this case the Professor gives no hint of any other meaning which can attach to the words of St. Ignatius.

We repeat that in most cases where Professor Van Hengel's theology does not interfere, we find his *exegesis* soundly conducted, but when they do there is too much appearance of special pleading. The Socinian hypothesis is in truth not to be grammatically sustained by those who adhere as Professor Van Hengel does to Scripture testimony, and on this account most of that school have found it necessary to abandon the position which he maintains, and to assume that the sacred writers were in error when they found their language unmanageable.

Die drei Johanneischen Briefe. Mit einem vollständigen theologischen Commentare, von Dr. FRIEDR. DÜSTERDIECK, Studiendir. am Königl. Mediger-Seminar zu Hannover, der histor-theolog. Gesellschaft zu Leipzig orel. Mitgl. (The Three Epistles of John, with a complete theological Commentary, by Dr. FRED. DÜSTERDIECK, Director of Studies at the Royal Preacher-Seminary at Hanover, ordinary member of the Historico-theological Society at Leipzig.) Two Vols. 8vo. pp. cxii., 392 and 544. Göttingen. 1852, 1856. Dieterich. Leipzig: Vogel. London: Nutt.

WE hail with peculiar pleasure the appearance of a work like this from the University press of Göttingen. The school of which Baur has been the chief leader no longer, it appears, reigns with undisputed sway in that society. When things are wrong, it is sometimes true, as the Germans say, "the worse the better." The Tübingen results have been such as to manifest their own absurdity, and to send back the minds of men to find the *πρῶτον φέυδος* from which they took their rise. It is well known that in Tübingen itself a healthy reaction has been taking place, and Dr. Düsterdieck, who occupies an important public station there, is well qualified to give a powerful impulse to it. Partly with a view to this object he has taken up the epistles of St. John, subjecting them, and all questions relating to them, to a thorough and masterly investigation. It was the, so-called, "Johnian question" which especially marked the extreme to which the "new criticism" had gone. In discussing the "origin of the (first) epistle," Dr. D. remarks:—

"We have thus far taken for granted that this epistle was written by the apostle John, assuming also that the fourth gospel was by the same apostle, to whom it is ascribed by the universal Church. Both writings must stand or fall together. . . . It may be doubted which was the earlier work, and whether the apostle was the author of the two; but that our epistle had any other author than that of the fourth gospel cannot reasonably be asserted. It is at this point that the progress of the negative criticism is to be perceived. The older critics who contested the Johnian authorship of this epistle, either expressly assumed that the epistle was written by the author of the fourth gospel, . . . or if they entertained a doubt of this, yet the evidence for it appeared so strong that the alleged incongruities of the epistle were put to the account of interpolation, or in the case of those who thought them both authentic, to the feebleness of age on the part of the apostle."

Even the 'newest criticism,' it appears, while doubting or denying the genuineness of both, assumed and even elaborately proved the identity of the author of both. It was only by degrees that these critics came to doubt on this subject. But after they had made up their minds as to the spuriousness of the fourth gospel, what was first a mere conjecture, that the epistle was by a different hand, was developed into a declared opinion. They ruled, in fact, that the gospel was written late in the second century, and that the epistle was a slavish imitation of it by some still later hand.

Before entering directly on the proof of his assumption that both writings are genuine productions of the apostle, the author gives an instructive characteristic of the older and 'most recent' critical schools.

He shews that they differed in the character of their critical methods, and still more in their notions of revelation and their conceptions of the Deity. The rationalists assumed the being of a personal and overruling Deity, and that in a certain sense he had made known his will to man. But this revelation was agreeable with reason only as reason was commensurate with God. And they removed from the supposition of it whatever was immediate and supernatural; even the moral truth of the Scriptures was but a natural product of the understanding. But in the so-called 'modern speculation,' 'man is the true counterpart of God;' 'God and man are essentially one;' 'humanity is the union of the two natures. Hence a revelation of God to man as his creature is out of the question—there is no Deity apart from humanity to give it. The results of the modern speculation are then, that it is a mere theological prejudice to think that Christianity comes perfect from heaven, and that men cannot surpass the teaching of Christ and his apostles. Christianity in its rise and progress is a process which takes place according to the general laws of historic development: the real Holy Spirit which has inspired the Gospel is the phantasy of the Christian spirit: the Gospel is thus the original legend, of the same kind as that of the holy coat at Treves. We remark that these aphorisms are given in the words of their respective authors.

Now the author remarks, as long as even a single gospel was regarded as genuine, such a position was untenable, and that of St. John was the last to be degraded. A whole series of works was devoted by Baur and his school to put this book far down in history: they professed to be enquiring after a real historic representation of the apostolic and after times, but they arrived at a purely ideal picture, according to which they might be able to shew that history had really taken the course which their speculations prescribed, and according to this the Johnian writings could not have appeared earlier than the middle of the second century, as being so much in advance of history. The author by no means proposes to assail this position in the work before him, but he allows that no one who maintains that position can refuse to accept the results of the 'new criticism;' and he has no idea that his arguments will reach those who do. It is not for them he writes, but for those who by a process satisfactory to themselves have taken their stand on the faith of the Gospel as a divine bestowment; and he proposes to examine in detail, from his own position, the individual arguments of those who deny the authenticity of this epistle. He says:—

"By these investigations, made on the supposition of the inspiration of the author of the epistle, those who occupy the position of the speculative criticism will not feel themselves assailed. But 'believing' theologians, by means of believing criticism, may feel themselves established in what they have had living proof of, by the clear testimony of the Holy Spirit speaking in the epistle of John. . . . The testimony of the Spirit is a divine fact which gives to men nothing less than eternal life (1 John v. 11); and because this is brought about by means of the written Word, we conclude that this word of apostolic scripture is divine. In this conviction, it is not so much in our critical investigations in the introduction to this work that we rebuke the speculative critics as in the interpretation of the epistle itself. For if our

exposition does not impair the force of the apostolic word, but makes it more clearly understood and more fully entered into, every actually admitted truth must remove one support of the speculative hypothesis, and at the same time be effectual apologetically in making way for the theology of belief in revelation."

We have long felt the importance of the sentiment thus expressed. No one who has carefully studied the Sacred Writings can be anything less than astonished at the recklessness of the writers of this school in their manner of using the Sacred Writings. As it is not from the facts of history that they draw their historic picture, so it is a purely ideal representation which they give of the sentiments of a sacred writer, such as they could not have given without having *avoided* the obvious meaning of the writer of whom they speak. While they take their own assumptions for gospel, though St. John or an angel from heaven declared any other, he would have their critical anathema. Hence, as our author says, it is in a free and close investigation of these documents themselves, so as to enter into the spirit of the writer, that the results of the modern criticism are to be tested. In the work before us this task is elaborately performed, and every portion of ground contested and made good against those who impugn the Johnian Epistle.

Introduction to the study of the Old Testament. Part the First. By ALFRED BARRY, M.A., Head Master of the Leeds Free Grammar School, and late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. London: J. W. Parker and Son. 1856. Crown 8vo. pp. 286.

THE author of this work clearly states his design in the preface. He does not propose to furnish a complete Commentary on the Old Testament, nor to attempt any such "introduction as is common among German theologians." His object has been, "to give what might strictly be an introduction to the willing study of Scripture itself and to suggest a few leading principles, to indicate, where necessary, the bearing of the chief difficulties which perplex a thoughtful reader, but, most of all to trace the evolution of the great scheme which gives to the whole of the Bible so true an unity." Mr. Barry thinks that the great trial of Scripture in our day rests on the proof of its harmony with what is called "Natural Religion," or with the great principles of righteousness and love, rather than on metaphysical difficulties, or questions of internal evidence; and that it is the destitution of belief in this that many minds are, more or less consciously, imbibing infidel principles. Any effort to counteract this tendency must be praiseworthy, and we consider that this confessed design of Mr. Barry's volume recommends it strongly to our regard.

The author, further, is aware of a great defect in many Biblical commentaries, and purposes to avoid it in his own labours. This we will allow him to state in his own words:—

"The great bar to the usefulness of many commentaries, is their predominantly apologetic character. There has been a tendency, if not to deny difficulties, at least

to slur them over; a desire to prove the cause of truth by any arguments which come to hand, and a disinclination to acknowledge, an inability to solve, any conceivable difficulty. There has been, in some cases, even a refusal to admit, in judging of Scriptural doctrines, or characters, those plain principles of reasoning which not only the conscience but the Gospel itself command us to apply to our daily life. The effect has naturally been a distrust of the soundness, and even of the honesty of the authors; and, by the common retribution in every form of 'pious fraud,' that distrust has been extended to those who do not deserve it, and reflected back even on the Bible itself. There can be no need of such dealings on the part of those whose faith in the truth of the Bible itself, as distinct from their conceptions of it, is firm and sincere. Most of the difficulties vanish when they are steadily looked at, with a resolution to seek the truth and to follow it when discovered; and for those which remain, it is surely no great exercise of faith to believe in the existence of a solution which we do not see, and to confess that we do not yet 'know even as we are known.' It is, I trust, in this spirit that the following pages are published, with the hope and prayer that they may do something, though it may be only a little, to help thoughtful students of the Old Testament, by suggesting a few principles of study, by clearing away some prejudices which hinder it, and by shewing that Scripture in its own true and literal sense not only harmonizes with all right and goodness which the mind of man can see, but is indeed the key to the perplexities of its witness, and the dissipater of the clouds which bound its vision on every side."

The volume contains an introduction and six chapters. The latter treat of the following subjects:—the Creation; the state of man in Paradise, and the Fall; the Antediluvian period; the Anti-Abrahamic period; the Abrahamic or Patriarchal period; the Book of Job. In these portions of the work the difficulties which have been started at various times and by different minds are discussed with fairness, and in a way which will satisfy believers in divine revelation, though not those who are sceptically inclined. The introduction considers divine revelation as an organic whole, developing itself from the beginning until gradually perfected in Christianity, and treats of some of the great principles by which Holy Scripture is characterized, such as the unity of its various elements, its progressiveness, and its inspiration. With regard to inspiration, Mr. Barry supposes that the progressive nature of Holy Writ may be thought to militate against it; and he meets the objection. Inspiration is thus defined in what is, to us, a somewhat novel manner, as "that supernatural presence of the Spirit of God, which is the consequence of the supernatural union of the divine and human natures by the incarnation, even where it preceded in time the actual appearance in the flesh of him who was 'the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world.'" Its action on man is said to vary according to the object in view, which may be either instruction in what man's natural powers cannot conceive of, or the elevation of the affections heavenward. "Inspiration," it is further said, "is not identical with revelation, but is the correlative subjective action on the spirit of man, without which no objective revelation can be available to him." It cannot be represented as an overwhelming force, which makes its recipients mere passive instruments. Thus far Mr. Barry treats of inspiration which, he says, is "that gift of God which all his saints enjoy;" and he does not admit that this differs from the inspiration of the sacred writers except in "the final cause, the object

for which it was given." We cannot now enter into any discussion of this subject, although we think it admits of it, but will quote Mr. Barry's own words in order that we may not misrepresent his view to our readers.

"It remains then to enquire what is the special characteristic of Biblical inspiration, differencing it from that of ordinary Christians, and distinguishing also its various parts from one another. It cannot be found in the Source, for He is one and the same Spirit; it cannot be found in the natures of the recipients, for these can but differ in degree; but it is to be found in the final cause, the object for which it was given. The revelation vouchsafed to the writers of Holy Scripture was an extraordinary one, given them not simply for their own intuition and temporary guidance, but also in order that it might be declared to the world, and remain as an everlasting treasure. Their inspiration, therefore, must have had a similarly extraordinary character. In this respect it is parallel only to the apostolic inspiration, except that this latter would seem to have been more general in scope, and more continuous, because the task of the apostles involved a continued and varied course of action and preaching, so that their life, in fact, was one great evangelism."

It will be seen from this brief notice that Mr. Barry is a thoughtful student of the Bible, whose investigations are regulated by that pious reverence which a revelation from God ought to produce. In an appendix three subjects are specially discussed,—On the Canon of the Old Testament, on the Chronology of the Bible from the Creation to the birth of Abraham, and on the Book of Job.

Jerusalem and Tiberias; Sora and Cordova: a survey of the religious and scholastic learning of the Jews; designed as an introduction to the study of Hebrew Literature. By J. W. ETHERIDGE, M.A., Ph.D. London: Longmans. 1856. 12mo. pp. 520.

DR. ETHERIDGE is a pains-taking scholar, well known by his many labours on the Syriac New Testament. As the result of the study of many years, he has produced the volume now before us, which supplies a want in our literature which has long been felt. We have the glorious productions of Hebrew historians and bards, and we hear much of Targums and Talmuds with their almost inaccessible lore; but we know scarcely anything of Hebrew literature in general. Yet it is a rich mine if properly worked, and on its own grounds is well worthy of being explored. But besides this claim on our notice, Dr. Etheridge thinks that an acquaintance with the literature of the Jews will much facilitate our efforts to propitiate their attention to Christianity. This view is so important, and also so likely to be correct, that we give it in the author's own words:—

"We have undertaken this work from a persuasion that a book of this kind is a *desideratum* in the English language, and that a revived study of the Hebrew theologians would both contribute to the edification of the Christian Church, and tend to promote a better understanding between us and the Jewish people themselves. Among the many hindrances to the reception of the Gospel by them, we must not overlook the misrepresentations of the religion of Jesus with which they have been too familiar, in the doctrines and practice of corrupt and persecuting churches; nor the circumstance, that many who take even a practical interest in Israel's regeneration, are too ignorant of the habits of thought peculiar to the Jewish mind; as well

as of their traditions of the past, and their expectations about the future. The Jews are a people who live in an intellectual region of their own; a region within whose precincts but few Christians have ever cared to enter. But while we are thus contentedly unacquainted with the mental and social idiosyncrasies of this most ancient and isolated race, can we reasonably expect to alter them?

"Now the more sedulous study of the rich oriental literature which lies neglected in the writings of many hundred Hebrew authors,—writings that, like an unbroken chain, connect the present with the remotest past, and in which the spirit of their antique traditions sustains a perpetual metempsychosis,—would open a communion between their minds and our own, which would place each party upon a far more advantageous ground for the discussion of the momentous interests on which we differ than has ever yet been occupied, and form a basis for a more convincing demonstration of Christianity than has heretofore attracted their serious attention. Nor are these treasures of Hebrew learning valuable to the theologian only; they would repay, with affluent rewards the researches of the historian, the poet, the moralist, the lawyer, and the statesman. He who fairly enters within these 'gates,' finds himself in a world of intellect where thought takes new forms of combination; where the canons of practical life and religion are set forth in unusual and heart-stirring aspects; where devotion reaches a sublimity in prayer and praise too rarely attained among ourselves, and ethical wisdom, combining the venerable, the beautiful, the astute, and the true, inculcates its lessons with the sanction of an ancient, revered, and unquestioned authority, the quiet self-possessed gentleness of parental love, and often with the grace and ornament of poetic illustration."

Dr. Etheridge divides the Jewish literature into eleven orders, which are as follows:—Soferim, Tanaim, Amoraim, Targumists and Masorites, Seboraim and Geonim, Mediæval Rabbanim, Kabbalists, Peitanim, Hipreshim, Darshanim, and Jewish literati. These terms are expressive of various theological and literary schools, extending from the time of Ezra to the present, and including an immense amount of writing more or less valuable. We cannot doubt that the work will be eagerly read by a large class of students, and we feel under great obligations to the author both for the actual information conveyed, and for the key to greater stores with which he furnishes us. His account of Maimonides will give an idea of his treatment of his subjects.

"Maimonides, or properly Moshe Ben Maimon, was born on the Passover Sabbath of the year 1135, at Cordova. His father, who had been a scholar of Joseph Ha Levi, at Lucena, was himself a distinguished teacher, and a *dain* or judge in Cordova. Moses, in early youth, did not give much promise of the eminence he afterwards attained. But his father's harsh and turbulent care for the development of his dormant faculties was at length relieved by the unfolding of those powers which made Maimuni the greatest Hebrew doctor of the age, and clothed his name with imperishable honour. He lived at a time when science and learning were in their highest bloom in Spain, and when the Jews possessed the unrestricted enjoyment of civil and religious liberty. With free access to all the fountains of knowledge, and with such teachers as Averroes, Ebn Tophail, Ebn Saig, and the choicest men of his own nation, Maimuni became a paragon of learning. He was not only profoundly conversant with Hebrew, Arabic, and the kindred Aramaic dialects, but was familiar as well with the Greek and Turkish languages. In science he excelled in mathematics and astronomy (after the system of the time), in medicine and political economy; while, as a theologian, his expanded and enlightened views of divine revelation made him a guide to his co-religionists, and enabled him to inaugurate a new era in the studies of the synagogue. His preceptor, Averroes, had broken free from the trammels of the Koran, and had become what we should call a philosophical deist. Maimonides, without imitating him in relation to the Bible and the

Talmud, nevertheless partook of his love for freedom of thought. The great purpose he contemplated in his theological writings, was to harmonize Talmudism with the written law, and to demonstrate that the latter was itself founded in immutable reason and the fitness of things. But in accomplishing the first of these purposes, Maimonides found himself under the necessity of rejecting many things in the Talmudic writings which the great mass of his rabbinical brethren held inviolably sacred. This involved him in extensive and painful controversies, and brought him in fact under the ban of the French synagogue. The College of Montpellier condemned his work to the flames. Many of the rabbins of Spain and Narbonne, on the contrary, sided with Maimonides, and a furious war of words and anathemas was sustained between them for nearly half a century. But his works were destined to outlive the angry discussions they had at first provoked, and to insure their author the homage of the learned in all following times. The high esteem of the Jews for Maimuni has been expressed in their well-known saying, *Mi Mosheh ad Mosheh lo goom ki Mosheh*: 'From Moses (the lawgiver) to Moses (Maimuni) no one hath arisen like Moses.'

"Maimonides was fated to lead an unsettled life. The pressure of circumstances and the unfriendly spirit of his antagonists denied him the repose of an undisturbed home for any great length of time at one place. In 1159 we find him residing at Fez. In 1165 he was in Palestine, and subsequently in Egypt, where he obtained the post of physician to the Sultan Sala-ed-din. After a life of great labour and vicissitude, he died on the 13th of December, 1204, and was buried in the Holy Land."

The following will shew the suggestive character of much that the volume supplies:—

"Some writers have thought they have perceived such an affinity between the doctrines and phraseology of Christianity and the Kabala as to warrant the notion that the latter had its origin in the former. Here it is needful to divest the subject of various accessories which have gathered around both systems with the lapse of time, and keep to the fundamental *principia* of each for the solution of the simple question: whereas the Old Testament revelation teaches so clearly the substantial distinction between God and the universe created by him, whence did the Jews, to whom that revelation was first given, derive their doctrine of the one pantheistic substance? Most certainly not from Christianity. (1.) The dualism of the Christian faith, which is precisely that of the Mosaic revelation,—that is to say, God, and a created universe,—and then the second dualism of matter and spirit as the components of the universe, can never be reconciled with the one substance of the pantheistic Kabala. (2.) Again, the theological trinitarianism of Christianity reveals a trinity of divine persons: the trinitarianism of the Kabala is only a trinal development of divine attributes, or, rather, a trinal classification of pneumatical and cosmogonic powers. The two systems are entirely distinct.

"And if we fail to discover the fountain of the Kabala in the true doctrines of the Christian apostles, we shall be still unsuccessful if we seek it in those of the heterodox sects of the apostolic age. In the earliest notice we have of the Palestinian Gnosticism in the case of Simon the Magician in the eighth chapter of the Acts, we perceive an indication of some resemblance between it and the Kabala. Simon announced himself as 'the greatness, or power,' *ha-geborah*, or, as the Samaritan people understood him, 'the great power of God.' *Hic est Virtus Dei, quæ vocatur Magna*. In this respect they regarded him as the *Logos* or *Memra*, and therefore possessed of divine attributes. Hence St. Jerome records as genuine such affirmations of the Magus concerning himself as, 'I am the Word of God, I am the true Beauty, I am the Comforter, I am the Almighty, I am all godlike and divine.' *Ego sum Sermo Dei, ego sum Speciosus, ego Paracletus, ego Omnipotens, ego omnia Dei*. Who does not see in these very terms modes of thinking allied to the Kabbalistic ones? This likeness appears still more plainly when Simon, as the *Logos*, or visible 'Wisdom' of the Deity, exhibited his female companion as the *Binah*, 'Understanding,' the feminine principle in the three superior *sefiroth*."

Die Bekenntnisschriften der Altprotestantischen Kirche Deutschlands.
Heransgegeben von Dr. HEINRICH HEPPE (The Confessional Writings of the Old Protestant Church of Germany. Edited by Dr. HENRY HEPPE. Cassel: Fischer. London: Nutt, 1855. 8vo. pp. xlvii., 697.

THIS volume will be abundantly welcome to those whose thoughts have been, or may be, directed to the subject of the doctrinal history of Protestantism. It is a fine specimen of the excellent style in which works of this kind are produced in Germany; being furnished with all the apparatus which a student wants in the study of such a work, or in using it for reference. It gives the original documents themselves with their German version, in the form and order in which they appeared, an account of the variations of the last form of the confession of Augsburg, as well as of the apology, from the first form, as also those in the Saxon confession. We have three indexes,—one of Scripture texts in the order in which they are referred to, without citation in the documents, another of texts in the order of the Bible, and a complete index of names and subjects.

But these documents acquire great additional interest and value from the luminous account of their rise, which the editor has given in a copious introduction. He had published in 1854 a work entitled *The Confessional Development of the Old Protestant Church of Germany, the Old Protestant Union, and the Present Position and Task of Protestantism*; and the introduction to the work before us contains the results of his researches in reference to the origin of these documents. The account he has given is exceedingly instructive, free from all doubtful assumptions, and in harmony with the evidence which the documents themselves supply. As it is the confessional writings of Protestantism, properly so called, which the editor here exhibits, some important doctrinal writings which were of the same nature, and which are mentioned in the introduction, are of course not in this collection. The chief of these is the *Loci Communes* of Melancthon, out of which, in fact, the *Augustanæ* grew. The *Loci* appeared first in 1521, and continually reappeared in improved forms till 1526. It was universally accepted as embodying the views, which it really led, of the Reformers. But neither this nor the *Catechism of Luther* in 1529, and which latter was only in local use, were publicly exhibited as confessions. The document which was publicly declared to contain, and which was always regarded as exhibiting the Protestant doctrine, was the *Augustanæ*, first presented to the Emperor and the Diet in 1530. This was drawn up by Melancthon, and accompanied by a commentary called the *Apology of the Augsburg Confession*, which was also presented to the Emperor, and reckoned as belonging to the confession.

But the Protestant doctrine was not regarded as fixed by this confession, and, as early as 1531, Melancthon published a new edition of it, in which, though there were no organic changes, considerable modifications were made, and which, in fact, he continued to make in successive editions, as his own views became more developed and defined.

In the meantime the Protestants of Upper Germany had, besides other doctrinal treatises, a confession of their own, called the *Tetrapolitanæ*: yet this closely coincided with the *Augustanæ*; and, when political circumstances required, as in the Treaty of Smalcald, in 1531, that there should be one standard of union, it was the Augsburg Confession in its then present form which was exhibited as such; and the authority of this was again proclaimed at the Convention of Protestants at Smalcald, in 1537, when a small treatise by Melancthon was attached to it,—*De Primata Papæ et Jurisdictione Episcoporum*,—expressing the protest then made against Papal assumptions.

But in 1535 Melancthon entirely remodelled his *Loci*, in accordance with the progress of his own ideas, and with the developement which had taken place in the general Protestant doctrine; and in 1540 he published a new edition of the *Augustanæ*, which embodied the new views which his last *Loci* exhibited. This was received with universal acceptance, regarded as a genuine developement (to speak with the Editor) of the original confession, and, as such, presented to the imperial delegate at Worms, in 1540. By this edition all other forms of the confession were superseded and became neglected. The other confessional writings, which are reckoned to belong to the *Corpus Confessionum*, are given in this volume. But in all these the *Augustanæ* is distinctly recognized as the common basis of their doctrinal expression; and thus that confession must be regarded as embodying the united views of German Protestants as long as they remained united.

There are several interesting questions which the Editor's statements in connection with these documents might suggest. It appears, in fact, that it was Melancthon, and not Luther, who led, and almost dictated the theology of those times; and that he, from the first appearance of his *Loci* to the last, had given up some assumptions of his early philosophy, which shaped his theology. But it appears that Calvin, or at least his school, adhered to the earlier views of Melancthon; while those German Protestants who came most in contact with our own Reformers had moulded their views in accordance with the last form of the *Loci* and the *Augustanæ*. A careful comparison of the documents before us in this volume, by the help which the Editor has given, might throw an interesting light on this subject.

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1. *The Revised English Version of the Holy Scriptures, by the American Bible Union.* Part II. Book of Job, chap. xiv.—xxix. London: Trübner and Co. 1856. 4to. pp. 48.
 2. *Critical Notes on the Authorized English Version of the New Testament, being a companion to the author's New Testament, translated from Griesbach's text.* By SAMUEL SHARPE. London: Hodgson. 1856. 18mo. pp. 158.
 3. *Notes on the proposed amendment of the Authorized Version of the Holy Scriptures.* By WILLIAM SELWYN, Canon of Ely, Lady Mar-

- garet's Professor of Divinity, Cambridge. Cambridge: Deighton. 1856. 8vo. pp. 44.
4. *A Vindication of the authorized Version of the English Bible, from charges brought against it by recent writers. Part. II., containing remarks I. on a Translation of "the Epistle of Paul the Apostle," with especial reference to the terms Ἐκκλησία, Ἐπίσκοπος, Πρεσβύτερος, and Διάκονος, and II. on the American revision of 1 St. John I.* By the Rev. S. C. MALAN, M.A., Vicar of Broadwindsor, Dorset. London: Bell and Daldy. 1856. 12mo. pp. 100.
5. *Romish Versions of the Bible. Facts and Arguments for the consideration of Bible Societies.* By the Rev. J. D. HALES, M.A., Incumbent of St. John's Church, Richmond, Surry. London: Wertheim and Co. 1856. 8vo. pp. 38.

SINCE the appearance of our last number, an amount of discussion has taken place on the state of the English Bible, and of the foreign translations of Bible Societies, which we are quite unable to overtake. The limits of a whole number of our Journal would be too confined for the letters, debates, and various publications relating to these subjects, and all we can do is to direct our readers to some of the more important points, and to the sources of more complete information. Mr. Heywood's motion in the House of Commons came on in July; the *Times* has opened its columns to a vast number of letters on the question of Bible revision; the American Bible Union has been impugned in its own country, and made the object of formidable opposition and serious charges; and many pamphlets and volumes on the controversy have issued from the press. For many particulars we refer our readers to the *Intelligence* department of the present number, and, on some future occasion we hope to give some matured opinion on the many topics lately brought before us. But for the present we can only call general attention to the works, the titles of which are given above.

We do not think the American Bible Union is likely to accomplish anything that will be permanent in this country. The sects and parties associated for its professed objects are too numerous and too antagonistic to warrant us to hope for much from their united labours. But we wish it success as far as its results are seen to be worthy of approval; and instead of any criticism of our own, will leave our readers further to judge of the execution of the version of Job, by giving another chapter, side by side with the authorized translation. We select the 28th chapter, as being in itself a complete work, distinguished by an unapproachable beauty and sublimity.

KING JAMES' VERSION.

CHAP. XXVIII.

SURELY there is a vein for the silver,
and a place for gold *where* they find it.

2 Iron is taken out of the earth, and
brass is molten *out of* the stone.

REVISED VERSION.

CHAP. XXVIII.

FOR there is a vein for the silver, and 1
a place for the gold, which they refine.

Iron is taken out of the dust, and stone 2
is fused into copper.

3 He setteth an end to darkness, and searcheth out all perfection: the stones of darkness, and the shadow of death.

4 The flood breaketh out from the inhabitants; *even the waters* forgotten of the foot: they are dried up, they are gone away from men.

5 *As for* the earth, out of it cometh bread: and under it is turned up as it were fire.

6 The stones of it *are* the place of sapphires: and it hath dust of gold.

7 *There is* a path which no fowl knoweth, and which the vulture's eye hath not seen:

8 The lion's whelps have not trodden it, nor the fierce lion passed by it.

9 He putteth forth his hand upon the rock; he overturneth the mountains by the roots.

10 He cutteth out rivers among the rocks; and his eye seeth every precious thing.

11 He bindeth the floods from overflowing; and *the thing that is hid* bringeth he forth to light.

12 But where shall wisdom be found? and where *is* the place of understanding?

13 Man knoweth not the price thereof; neither is it found in the land of the living.

14 The depth saith, *It is not in me*: and the sea saith, *It is not with me*.

15 It cannot be gotten for gold, neither shall silver be weighed *for* the price thereof.

16 It cannot be valued with the gold of Ophir, with the precious onyx, or the sapphire.

17 The gold and the crystal cannot equal it: and the exchange of it *shall not be for* jewels of fine gold.

18 No mention shall be made of coral, or of pearls: for the price of wisdom *is* above rubies.

19 The topaz of Ethiopia shall not equal it, neither shall it be valued with pure gold.

20 Whence then cometh wisdom? and where *is* the place of understanding?

21 Seeing it is hid from the eyes of all living, and kept close from the fowls of the air.

22 Destruction and death say, We have heard the fame thereof with our ears.

23 God understandeth the way thereof, and he knoweth the place thereof.

24 For he looketh to the ends of the

He puts an end to the darkness; and 3 he searches out, to the very end, stones of thick darkness and of death-shade. He drives a shaft away from a man's 4 abode; forgotten of the foot, they swing suspended, far from men! The earth, out of it goes forth bread; and 5 under it, is destroyed as with fire. A place of sapphires are its stones; and 6 it has clods of gold. The path, no bird of prey has known it, nor the 7 falcon's eye glanced on it; nor proud 8 beasts trodden it, nor roaring lion passed over it.

Against the flinty rock he puts forth 9 his hand; he overturns mountains, from the base. In the rocks he cleaves 10 out rivers; and his eye sees every precious thing. He binds up streams, 11 that they drip not; and the hidden he brings out to light. But wisdom, 12 whence shall it be found? and where is the place of understanding? Man 13 knows not its price; nor is it found in the land of the living. The deep 14 saith: It is not in me; and the sea saith: It is not with me.

Choice gold shall not be given in 15 exchange for it; nor shall silver be weighed for its price. It cannot be 16 weighed with gold of Ophir, with the precious onyx and sapphire. Gold 17 and glass shall not be compared with it, nor vessels of fine gold be an exchange for it. Corals and crystal 18 shall not be named; and the possession of wisdom is more than pearls. The topaz of Ethiopia shall not be 19 compared with it; it shall not be weighed with pure gold. But wisdom, 20 whence comes it? and where is the place of understanding? since it is 21 hidden from the eyes of all living, and covered from the fowls of heaven. Destruction and death say: with our 22 ears have we heard the fame of it. God 23 understands the way to it, and he knows the place of it.

For he, to the ends of the earth he 24

earth, and seeth under the whole heaven;

25 To make the weight for the winds; and he weigheth the waters by measure.

26 When he made a decree for the rain, and a way for the lightning of the thunder;

27 Then did he see it, and declare it; he prepared it, yea, and searched it out.

28 And unto man he said, Behold, the fear of the Lord, that is wisdom; and to depart from evil is understanding.

looks; and he sees under the whole heaven: to make the weight for the 25 wind; and he meted out the waters by measure. When he made a de- 26 cree for the rain, and a track for the thunder's flash; then he saw, and he 27 declared it; he established it, yea, and searched it out. And to man he said: 28 Behold, the fear of the Lord, that is wisdom; and to depart from evil is understanding.

Mr. Sharpe is a respectable scholar, but we feel he is too much bound by a system to treat his subject fairly. He inclines almost uniformly to the Socinian interpretation of disputed passages, and, in other respects, we cannot recommend his work as a guide. It contains, however, many good suggestions, and may be profitably used by skilled hands. We will give two examples, taken almost at random, leaving our readers to decide how far Mr. Sharpe is correct in his criticism. In Luke i. 32, Authorized Version has, *and he shall be called the Son of the Highest*, *ὁὖς ὑψίστου*. Mr. Sharpe renders, *a Son of the Highest*; and then remarks:—

"The Authorized Version can only be defended on the ground that 'the son' means 'who is a son,' as in Matt. i. 1, where we write 'Jesus Christ, the son of David, the son of Abraham,' inserting the definite article, which is not in the Greek, but which only means 'who was a son,' etc. But here the English reader would be very unfairly treated if we insert the 'the,' meaning 'who is a,' and thus lead him to suppose that the words mean 'the only son.' Theologians should be on their guard against using words in one sense which their hearers will understand in another. In vi. 35, the Saviour says that all who do good without the hope of reward are sons of the Highest."

Again, in John x. 33, Authorized Version has, *makest thyself God*, *ποιεῖς σεαυτὸν Θεόν*. Mr. Sharpe's alteration and comment are as follows:—

"*Makest thyself a god*. Surrounded as the Jews were with idolaters, and thoroughly polytheistic as was the Greek language, we must not, unless the sense makes it necessary, insert the definite article before *Θεός*, which is what we seem to do if in English we omit the indefinite article."

Professor Selwyn is known to Biblical scholars by his monograph on Isaiah ix.^a In a recent life of Professor Scholefield, written by him, he has further discussed the subject of Biblical revision, and, in other ways has proved the great interest taken by him in the question. In the pamphlet before us, the Professor reprints his observations on the life of Scholefield, and adds the following subjects:—Notice of recent attempts at Revision of the English Bible; Notice of Motion in Convocation; Review of English Translations; Translation of 1611; Changes since 1611; Remarks on Objections to an Authorized Re-

^a *Horæ Hebraicæ. Critical Observations on the Prophecy of Messiah in Isaiah, chap. ix., and other passages of the Holy Scriptures.* 1848.

vision. In a small compass, a great deal of highly important information is communicated, and we recommend our readers to procure the pamphlet, which is in a cheap form. We cannot, however, forbear making the following extracts, which display much plain good sense on a subject much mystified by many writers. They are taken from "Remarks on Objections to Revision."

"2. With respect to the second objection, that there is great *danger of unsettling the public mind*, by the appointment of a Commission to revise the English Bible, we may say at once, *This objection comes too late*. As has been shewn above, the public mind is already at work upon the subject; revisions in various forms are commenced and circulated: one can scarcely take up a journal of the day without finding an article or a letter on 'Biblical Revision.' The public mind is already moved, whether the movement be for good or evil; and the only consideration open to us is this, What is the best way of restoring tranquillity.

Motos præstat componere fluctus.

"That this movement is for good, I cannot for a moment doubt. It is the offspring of that spirit of improvement in all our institutions, which distinguishes the present century in comparison with the last. The same feeling which moved us to restore and make comely our cathedral and parish churches, now moves us to desire and promote the improvement of our Version of the Holy Scriptures.

"Let us consider calmly what are the results that may be reasonably expected from an Authorized Revision, that we may judge in some measure whether good or evil is likely to predominate.

"*First*, we may boldly predict that an Authorized Revision will lead to the re-establishment of public confidence (if indeed it has been shaken) in the general fidelity and substantial goodness of our Version. All our best scholars are agreed in this, that the English Translation is one of the most faithful, both to the letter and to the spirit of the original, that the world has ever seen. If then the public mind has been at all unsettled; if the desire for correction of particular passages has led to the feeling that a New Translation is required; there is no way by which this feeling can be so completely set at rest, as by the labours of a body of learned men commissioned to revise the whole Version. Under their hands the pillars and arches, the walls and buttresses of the sacred fabric, will remain the same as at present, while the joints are pointed, and the blemishes removed. This result will be similar to that which followed the laborious examination of Hebrew manuscripts by Dr. Kennicott and his associates. A vague feeling had gone abroad, arising from the rumours of a multitude of various readings in those manuscripts, that the text was in a very uncertain state. The result of the collation proved that the greater part of the various readings were of small importance, making no difference in the sense, and that the general text of the Hebrew Scriptures was most securely established. *Secondly*, we may hope that several passages now left in a dubious state will be effectually cleared. It is not sufficiently remembered that the translators of 1611 have, in many places, purposely left our minds unsettled, because their own minds were so. Where they did not feel that they had sufficient reason for adopting one rendering, to the exclusion of another, they have given both, one in the text, the other in the margin. It may reasonably be expected that the labours of Biblical critics, since 1611, will enable the revisers to arrive at a just decision in some of these doubtful cases.

"There is another more important class of double renderings, in text and margin, of which I will speak hereafter.

"*Thirdly*, we may say with full assurance, that many renderings, more or less erroneous, will be amended.

"These amendments will be of various shades of importance, and effected by various means. Sometimes a mere change of punctuation, or the change from affirmative to interrogative, will bring a passage into accordance with the original: sometimes (as in the case quoted in p. 8) a very little further change will restore a

gracious declaration, lost in the present English ; sometimes a phrase, which in 1611 was in accordance with the original, but is so no longer, except to the ears of a few scholars, will require to be altered : and in some cases, where the translators have missed the true sense, the correct rendering must be brought forth from the treasures of modern criticism."

Mr. Malan examines the work of Dr. Turnbull on the Epistles, and shews that his proposed emendations do not conduce much to the truthfulness or clearness of the Holy Scriptures. He produces a great deal of philological matter on the meaning of the Greek words given in his title-page ; and the result is to shew that proposed improvements, however specious and apparently well grounded, are often a step backward. His examination of the work of the American Bible Union is no less satisfactory. His general remarks on the tendency to find fault with the English Version are discreet and to the point, and we need make no apology for quoting them.

"We may then fear, lest those who pretend to be dissatisfied with the present version of the **ENGLISH BIBLE** do not sufficiently consider all the consequences of a summary change in this respect. They little know, perhaps, what they want, and therefore, what they ask. A new translation of Demosthenes, or of Cicero's works, would matter little, and everybody's taste might safely be gratified on this point. But a **NEW VERSION** of the **BIBLE**—of the only book in the library of millions of poor, ignorant, but humble Christians in this country—would at once upset their instinctive adherence to their Church, and their love for their Bible, with which they never will part at any price. It would raise needless doubts in their minds. It would set them to inquire about matters which they readily believe, but which they could never understand. It would shake their faith in what they justly hold most sacred,—the very letter of the Bible,—which they worship as of God, even though they do not quite enter into its meaning. Now these poor, ignorant, but humble Christians, who form by far the greater part of country parishes, deserve every consideration ; nay, their spiritual interest ought to be consulted first of all. For they are helpless in the hands of their betters, who can help themselves from sources of information inaccessible to their poorer, but not worse, neighbours. And as regards the better informed, the translation of 'Paul's Epistles,' discussed in this treatise, abundantly shews how far the breach between existing sects and parties in the Church of this country would be widened by a **NEW VERSION** of the Bible in English.

"It is easy for some of the clergy to make an unseasonable display of learning in the pulpit, by telling their congregations that such or such a verse is not well rendered in their Bible. But, in so doing, they shew little wisdom. They needlessly unsettle the mind of their hearers on a subject in which comparatively few of these can ever be fair judges ; and not one of them, perhaps, at the time the charge of unsoundness is brought from the pulpit, against the **AUTHORIZED VERSION**.

"But we all know that assertion is no proof ; and a clergyman in the pulpit has it all his own way. He makes what statement he pleases ; and nine-tenths of his congregation believe him without further inquiry. Some few doubt, or at least think of, it : and fewer still determine to look into the matter if, or when, they can. They all leave the church, however, with an uncomfortable feeling of their long-cherished associations and firm faith in their Bible being shaken or unsettled, they know not why ; and they wish they had not heard it. Then, may be, one of the hearers, who happens to have just begun Hebrew and to know a little of Greek, thinks the preacher quite right ; for he cannot think how such or such a word, which he has looked at once only, can possibly mean what is said in the **ENGLISH BIBLE**. And thus a growing and ignorant discontent for the **BEST** of books in the English language is fostered among the people by some who would, perhaps, be the least able to improve it by shewing a better way.

"A far wiser course would appear to be, instead of condemning *ex cathedra* and

without a defence the **AUTHORIZED VERSION**, for the clergy to be satisfied with sound and simple sermons on the very words of their Bible; leaving all critical remarks upon it for some more appropriate occasion. Such a text as, "**REMOVE NOT THE ANCIENT LANDMARK WHICH THY FATHERS HAVE SET,**"—thus faithfully rendered in English, might possibly be appropriate, at the present time, in some Churches where a 'New Bible' is preached. For it teaches sound and tried wisdom. At all events, *all the necessary alterations* in the text of the **AUTHORIZED VERSION** may be introduced into it, by men of wisdom and judgment, without nine-tenths of the nation being aware of it. Would it not therefore be far better to do so,—if it is to be done,—than first to unsettle the minds of many, who after all, must always remain passive spectators, or sufferers, in whatever is done? By far the greater portion of desirable emendations in the **ENGLISH BIBLE** consists in expressions unfit for public, and unnecessary for private, use; which in no wise affect the sense of the text; and which, therefore, may be altered, not only with impunity, but even with advantage.

"But these require neither excitement nor public petitions in order to be rectified. If under existing circumstances, a revision of the Bible were at all practicable, the move should originate with the heads of the English Church. They might receive power and authority from **HER MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT** to act in this matter, by appointing a number of fit men, bound by stringent regulations to limit themselves to certain alterations only, in their revision of the **AUTHORIZED VERSION**. The vast importance of the subject calls for all the care and all the earnestness the Church, in a body, can bring to bear upon it; for the sake of the people to which the **ENGLISH BIBLE** belongs. And in a subject of this kind, indifference is not moderation; neither is a want of interest in it, prudence. But wisdom suggests, and moderation tempers, the deed; while prudence guides it.

"Let us hope, then, that **HER MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT** will not listen to some restless spirits, and authorize any change in the present version of the Bible, without mature thought and due deliberation. Although it is a work of peace, it is one of great moment. It is a work that involves grave consequences to the nation at large, either for weal or for woe. Upon the whole then, and seeing the dangers of a change in the matter of the **ENGLISH BIBLE**, the better and safer way is, undoubtedly, to rest satisfied with it, thankful for the faithful spirit and true letter of the **AUTHORIZED VERSION**, such as it is; for as yet it is **BEST**. Yea, even in this, the warning of the Wise King is good:

"**MY SON, FEAR THOU THE LORD AND THE KING; AND MEDDLE NOT WITH THEM THAT ARE GIVEN TO CHANGE.**"

The question of Roman Catholic Versions is one which admits of a great deal of incorrect reasoning, under an ostensible high regard for the integrity of Holy Scripture. Mr. Hales has brought forth a good deal of information, which will be useful; but we cannot agree with his general reasonings.

The Four Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles. With Explanatory Notes by Lord **LYTTLETON**. London: Rivingtons. 1856. 8vo. pp. 482.

WE are happy in being able to say that we think this volume a valuable addition to popular biblical literature. Lord Lyttleton does not aim at criticizing the Greek text, and although it is plain that he is able to appear with credit in such a department, he makes no parade of learning. We have the results of much reading, and what is of more importance, of much deep thought on the sayings of Holy Writ. The design of the work is thus modestly stated by his Lordship:—

“These Notes are intended for reading to households, and for the use of the middle and lower classes. They are meant to be explanations of difficulties: simply in the sense of pointing out, in full and popular language, the ordinary and received meaning of such words and passages as persons of those classes *need* to have explained. The principle on which to do this—what to set down and what to omit—has been founded on many years’ experience of Sunday school teaching. What has appeared to be proper matter for question and answer, as regards explanation, in an intelligent upper class in a good Sunday school, I have thought suitable for exposition in these Notes.”

We think this moderate, yet important, design has been well executed, but will leave our readers to judge for themselves by a few quotations:—

“Matthew v. 4. In this and in all the many passages of Scripture which speak of the blessedness of sorrow, it must not be understood that the *mere* fact of pain and grief brings with it a necessary blessing, or that sorrow is necessarily a mark of God’s favour. Grief and pain are no doubt often sent as a punishment, and if repined at, they have but a hardening effect upon the heart. And if sorrow alone were blessed, how could we be thankful for the countless pleasures and comforts which the Almighty showers upon us? It is only if rightly used, and accepted gratefully as being in some slight degree like to the sufferings of Christ, that sorrow is blessed. Both pleasure and pain are blessed, if used as they ought to be, to make us better, and to bring us nearer to God. But still it can hardly be doubted by those who read the Bible, that, as the general rule, greater blessings, and greater benefit to our souls, are to be derived from sorrow than from joy; inasmuch as we are so far more like unto Christ as he was on earth, and their proper effect ought to be to turn our thoughts more from this world to heaven. Sooner or later sorrow comes to all, though to few perhaps does it come in greater measure than happiness does. But if there were such a thing as a whole life without a single grief, it can hardly be thought that the man who should thus live could duly prepare himself for heaven.

“We must carefully observe what has been said above, that no blessing either here or hereafter will attend upon sorrow, unless we learn from that sorrow to be more humble, more patient, more self-denying, more gentle to others, more thoughtful of heaven. It is a dangerous mistake into which some, particularly among the poor, seem to fall, that they will of course obtain heaven after their death, as a recompense for their constant privations and toils here. It will indeed be so if they have so used these privations and toils as to fit themselves more and more for heaven; otherwise it will not be so any more than the pleasures and comforts of the rich will lead them to heaven, if they use them selfishly, instead of for the glory of God, and the good of mankind.

“Matthew xv. 5. What is here called a ‘gift’ is called in St. Mark’s gospel, ‘Corban,’ which is a Hebrew word of the same meaning. It means a gift to God, or a thing consecrated or made holy to the service or to the house of God. It was of course allowable and right for a man to give up *some* of his property to the service of the temple, or, in any other manner, to the outward service of God; but the fault which our Lord here reproves was that by which some of the Jews used to profess that so much of their property had been given up by a vow to God, that they were unable to give up any of it to a good and necessary purpose, such as in this instance the support of their parents. This probably would often be a mere pretence; but even if it were not, our Lord teaches them that such a duty as supporting their parents in case of need was a higher one, one of greater obligation, than that of giving up their wealth to the service or the ornament of the temple; and that the latter, if they had not enough for both, should give way to the former. This is according to what he says above, ‘I will have mercy and not sacrifice’ (see xii. 7); and we are to learn from it the same sort of lesson as the Jews, namely, that though it is right to dedicate some of our means to such outward services as, for instance, the adorning of churches, and it is right to deny *ourselves* for such a purpose, yet there are duties which we owe to others, such as the one here mentioned of supporting our parents,

which are of greater importance, and which require from us even the wealth which we had intended or set apart for the former purposes, in case *both* the objects cannot be attained."

The Protestant Theological and Ecclesiastical Encyclopedia; being a condensed translation of Herzog's Real Encyclopedia. With additions from other sources, by the Rev. J. H. BOMBERGER, D.D., assisted by distinguished Theologians of various denominations. Parts 1 and 2. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. 1856. Royal 8vo. pp. 128 each part.

THE work of Herzog is a truly *magnificent* one, both as regards its form and execution; but it is too extensive for us to entertain a hope that anything of the kind can be produced in this country. Dr. Bomberger, an American, proposes to do what is the nearest approach to such an enterprize, to abridge Herzog's work and adapt it to the habits of thought of English people. As far as we have been able to examine these two parts, they bear out the promise of the prospectus, and make us regard the design as eminently deserving of support. The information conveyed is full, and often of the most recondite kind. Many of the articles are rich specimens of the archæology of the Church, and if the *Encyclopedia* is completed in the way in which it is begun, it will be a valuable addition to our literature. We will first let the editor state what is to be looked for in the work, and then give an extract or two as specimens of its execution.

"*The Encyclopedia of Protestant Theological and Ecclesiastical Literature* is based upon 'Herzog's Real Encyklopädie für Protestantische Theologie und Kirche,' published in Germany. It will embrace all subjects belonging properly to the Literature of the Protestant Catholic Religion and Church, and will furnish the most reliable results of recent study, research, and discoveries in the various departments of science in its relation to Christianity, including the several branches of

"1. BIBLICAL LITERATURE—Biblical Philology, Geography, History, Botany, Geology, Natural History, Antiquities, Criticism, and Hermeneutics.

"2. SYSTEMATIC LITERATURE—Apologetic, Dogmatic, Moral Sciences, Polemical and Pastoral Theology, Homiletics, Liturgical Church Polity and Church Arts.

"3. HISTORICAL LITERATURE—Church History and Antiquities, History, Theology, History of Sects and Heresies, Patristic History; Biography, etc.

"HISTORICAL SYMBOLISM; or, a Representation of the Comparative Position and Relation of the various Evangelical Denominations, and their respective Doctrinal and other Characteristics.

"The work of Herzog numbers more than *one hundred contributors*, including the *ripest scholars* and most *evangelical theologians* of Germany, and the articles are the results of their best judgment and most careful research. It is being edited in this country by the Rev. J. H. A. Bomberger, D.D., assisted by distinguished theologians of various denominations."

It is somewhat difficult to make satisfactory extracts from a publication of this nature: but the two following are interesting in themselves, and will give some idea of the whole publication:—

"Aben-Esra (Abraham ben R. Meir ben Esra, called by the scholastics Ebenare, or Evenare), of Toledo, one of the most learned Jews of the middle ages, lived in the first half of the twelfth century. The dates of his birth and death not being definitely reported, it is simply conjectured upon incidental facts given, that he was born

an. 1093, and died in 1668, at the age of seventy-five years, probably in Rhodes. Although but little is known of the particular events of his life, he was held in high esteem among contemporaneous scholars. Wherever he went his reputation for learning preceded him, and an honourable reception greeted him. By his later brethren he was called 'the wise,' 'the great and admirable philosopher.' And few seem more fully to have merited such high regard, both as a man and a scholar. In biblical exposition, grammar, theology, philosophy, mathematics, astronomy, and medicine, he was deeply versed, and he contributed richly to their advancement. He also won some distinction as a poet. As a traveller, he visited several European countries, made a tour through Palestine, and, tarrying some time in Tiberias, availed himself of the opportunity afforded, of making himself better acquainted with the Masorite text of the Bible. The most important of his works for theologians, are his Commentaries on the Old Testament, found in the rabbinical Bibles of Bomberg and Buxtorf, and also in several Latin translations. His mode of exegesis is concise and rational, following closely the true sense of the text. Sometimes his conciseness of expression makes his language obscure and perplexing; hence many of his commentaries have been published with explanatory notes. Among his works on language, his Hebrew Grammar is pre-eminent (first published in Venice, 1546, with Kimchi's Grammar). (See *Wolf*, *Biblioth. Hebr.*, tom. i., pp. 71—86; *Reland*, *Analecta Rabbinica* (*Vitæ celeberrimorum Rabbīnorum*), pp. 69—80; *Brach and Gruber*, *Encyclop.* i., pp. 79—84.)

"ABRAHAMITES.—1) For the earlier sect of this name, see *Paulicians*. 2) A sect of Bohemian deists who sprang up in the jurisdiction of Pardubitz, after the edict of toleration published by emperor Joseph II., in 1782. They were mostly misguided peasants who were persuaded to reject the Trinity, Divinity of Christ, personality of the Holy Ghost, original sin, eternal punishment, the sacraments, and other established forms of public worship, together with most other Christian doctrines. They professed to hold the faith of Abraham before his circumcision, acknowledging but one God, and accepting of nothing from the Holy Scriptures but the Ten Commandments and the Lord's Prayer. They would be neither Christians nor Jews. Having been subsequently excluded from the privileges of the edict, they were transported to the border districts of the empire, and most of the men were drafted for the border battalions of the army, in Galicia, Siebenbürgen, and Slavonia. Their possessions, however, were not confiscated, but left for the benefit of their children and friends. In consequence of this change of policy some of them renounced their errors, and returned to the Roman Church. But the majority persevered in their peculiar tenets until death, without, however, perpetuating them. The sect, therefore, soon died out. (*Geschichte d. böhm. Deisten*, Leipzig, 1785. *Meusel's vermischte Nachr. u. Bemerk.*, Erlangen, 1816. See also *Wetzer and Welte*)."

1. *A Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature*. Edited by JOHN KITTO, D.D., F.S.A. A new edition, carefully revised by the Rev. HENRY BURGESS, LL.D., Ph.D., M.R.S.L. In two volumes. Imperial 8vo. Edinburgh: A. and C. Black. 1856.

2. *The Bibliotheca Sacra* for July, 1856. Andover, U.S.

In the last number of this Journal we briefly noticed the appearance of the new edition of the *Biblical Cyclopædia*, and our readers will bear us witness that we did not trumpet our own praises, or take any special credit to ourselves for the very laborious task we had brought to completion. We thought that the work itself was too well known to need any eulogy in our pages, and that it was sufficient merely to indicate that a revised edition had appeared. Since the short notice was written, circumstances have transpired which demand that we should enter upon a more lengthened consideration of the work, in

justice both to ourselves and to the publishers, under whose liberal auspices the work was first brought to a conclusion and is now improved. What the occasion is, which demands a few words in self-defence, will appear at once by the following extract from the July number of the *Bibliotheca Sacra* :—

“ *Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature*. A new edition, etc. Something will be said, in a forthcoming number of the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, respecting the merits of this new edition of Kitto's *Cyclopædia*. In the meantime it may be stated that the old edition is better than the new. The present editor has most unwarrantably interfered with living writers, making them responsible for petty criticisms and opinions which they would at once repudiate. His incompetency for the task of revision is abundantly shewn by the mistakes of fact and reference which are left untouched. But the subject will be resumed.”

The first thing which must strike the candid reader of this passage is, that it merely deals in insinuations instead of advancing proofs. If it were worth while to depreciate the work, it were worth a little labour to substantiate the charges. One page would have amply sufficed to point to two or three of these unwarrantable corrections, and half a dozen of the facts and references said to be left in their original error. In a quarterly publication this explicitness was the more necessary, on account of the length of time in which a vague charge would be in circulation; and we are mistaken if the whole paragraph will not appear to our readers, as it did to ourselves, an ill-natured piece of criticism, attempting to accomplish by *inuendo* what was found difficult to do openly and honestly. The whole air of the paragraph is *cowardly, underhanded, and little-souled*, reminding one of the viper gnawing at the file. To say of a work, on the revision of which long months of exhausting labour had been spent, that the old edition was better than the new, and to promise to prove this at some indefinitely future period, is neither gentlemanly nor scholar-like. It looks like *spite*, and, like other spiteful things, defeats its own end, since few readers would attach much weight to a dictum so absurdly uttered and so utterly unsupported.

The facts of the case are these. The first edition of the *Cyclopædia* was stereotyped, and the proprietors having carefully considered the best mode of bringing out a new one, resolved merely to make such alterations as would be consistent with the preservation of the plates in their integrity. In this opinion the new editor coincided, for the reasons stated in his preface :—

“ It is little more than ten years ago since the lamented editor, Dr. Kitto, put his name to the preface of the first edition, and the writers of the separate articles are still living ;—two circumstances which rendered the labour of revision comparatively light. In so short a period but little could have been added, of importance, to the materials of biblical science; while the fact that the authors of the separate articles are men of reputation in the various departments of learning which they have illustrated, *made it manifestly improper to alter or rearrange their materials in any serious degree*. It was felt, both by the proprietors of the work and by the present editor, that it was sufficiently excellent in its substance, and that all that was demanded was some improvement and finish in its minor details.”

In carrying out this plan, the work was *read through twice*, and

an immense number of little *errata* were corrected. In the Hebrew words employed alone, many hundreds of mistakes were set right; and in the quotations from Josephus the *sections*, as well as the chapters, were put in in a vast number of places. Additions were made to the works cited under the different articles, where any appeared to the editor to be worthy of being quoted as authorities, and had come under his own observation. Actual alterations were *very few and far between*, sometimes to correct an objectionable sentiment, or an idea bordering on scepticism; at others to replace a better book for an inferior one, or a more modern authority for that which had become old. Nothing was however done which could be thought to depreciate the writers themselves; indeed a fastidiousness was felt by the editor on this point, which often stopped his pen when his judgment would have dictated an erasure. What was both done and left undone may be illustrated by the treatment bestowed on the Rev. Dr. Davidson, whose more recent works are in every case carefully indicated as authorities; while many statements of that gentleman, found in the articles from his pen, which admit of correction and improvement, were allowed to pass unnoticed. In short, the editor is prepared to maintain the truth of the statement given in the preface, and which it will be well to quote here :—

“Some thousands of corrections have been made, with great and long-continued labour; many of a minute nature, not capable of being pointed out, and yet conferring a much higher value on the work itself; while others have a more marked and prominent character, aiming as they do at a more complete exhibition of the literature of the separate subjects. A great number of works, principally by English authors, have appeared during the last ten years, and these have been located in their proper positions, some expressions or opinions which appeared to the editor to border on an objectionable heterodoxy have been softened down or excluded; and the life of David has been entirely rewritten by the pen of Dr. Kitto. To render the whole more available to the general reader as well as to the scholar, an index of matters not to be found in the alphabetical arrangement has been compiled with great care, and will be found, it is not doubted, a most useful addition to the work.”

To the unsupported charge of advancing “petty criticisms and opinions,” we are able distinctly to affirm that our own additions and alterations, as to the *substance* of the work, would not amount to more than a page or two in the whole two massive volumes; and we deny that there is any truth in the allegation, unless the writer intends to indorse the sceptical passages which have been altered or excluded. In reference to the allegation that “mistakes of fact and reference are left untouched,” its absurdity is too great to need much comment. We never pretended to make the work perfect; certainly not to test every reference which it contains, amounting as they probably do to a quarter of a million. It is evident that such a task would be almost as great as the first composition of the whole work, and that if the original writers have committed errors of this kind, they can only be rectified as they are discovered from time to time by different readers. But however that may be, such a revision as is thus referred to was never contemplated nor undertaken by us. Our readers may rely upon this,

that whatever value the original work possessed is greatly enhanced by what has been done to the present edition, and that the various articles are given in their integrity with a few trifling exceptions.

Had the critique in the *Bibliotheca Sacra* been from the pen of an American, we should have thought it below the general good feeling and taste of our transatlantic brethren, but yet we might have supposed some circumstances had there operated, unknown to the editor of the magazine, to produce a false report. But our surprise is greatly increased when we find that the author of the injurious notice is the Rev. S. Davidson, LL.D.; to whose care the short reviews of English books have been committed. This arrangement is a most ridiculous one, and has proved injurious to the *Bibliotheca Sacra*. Englishmen who take in an American work of criticism wish to see what American scholars think of our literature, and to employ Dr. Davidson to criticize his brethren at home, is a bad arrangement. This would be the case if wisdom and kindness pervaded the judgments of Dr. Davidson; but no one can have read this department of the *Bibliotheca Sacra* during the last year or two, without feeling that the notices are jejune, inconsiderate, morose, and very often most unjust. These qualities are so plainly on the surface of all Dr. Davidson's critiques in this quarter, that perhaps we should have taken no notice of his attack on ourselves, had not a general principle of literary justice been involved in it. What is far worse than bad temper and insolence, Dr. Davidson has proved himself a patron of works of a highly heterodox and sceptical kind, as will appear in the notice which follows the present one, below. His approval of so bad a work as Macnaught on Inspiration, is a sad index of the unsound state of his own mind on matters of vital moment; and probably the unfair judgment pronounced on the *Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature* is accounted for by the fact that we felt it our duty to neutralize two or three neological sentiments. We are sorry to have to write in this way of Dr. Davidson, whose writings, though very faulty, have yet done good service to Biblical Literature. But we regret that his temper and indiscretion so often pain his friends, and that after having reviewed his writings in the most favourable manner, we should be so grossly attacked by his unguarded pen.

The Doctrine of Inspiration; being an inquiry concerning the infallibility, inspiration, and authority of Holy Writ. By the Rev. JOHN MACNAUGHT, M.A., Oxon, Incumbent of St. Chrysostom's Church, Everton, Liverpool. London: Longmans. 1856. 12mo. pp. 332.

MR. MACNAUGHT is a clergyman of the Church of England, whose attacks on orthodoxy, especially on inspiration, as always held by his own Church and by orthodox Christendom, have caused him to be excluded from a clerical society at Liverpool. At first we felt disposed to defend him, because we were aware that some of his brethren had not themselves uttered very sensible opinions, nor shewn themselves to

be discreet defenders of the truth. On perusing this volume, however, we were filled with alarm and indignation; alarm that such opinions should be printed, so subversive of all objective revelation, and all Scriptural authority; with indignation that a clergyman should so far oppose himself to the doctrines of his Church, while yet officiating at her altars. Already the Unitarians have hailed Mr. Macnaught as doctrinally one of themselves, while they wonder how he can honestly continue where he is. Our readers will also wonder, when we present them with the following extracts from the volumes, which is all we feel it necessary to do. And first, let us present Mr. Macnaught's definition of inspiration:—

“Thus, after a careful examination of the Scriptures, and after noticing the usage of Christendom, we conclude that although there has for many centuries existed a false and superstitious opinion in favour of inspirational infallibility, yet still there is recognized and admitted among all believers, the ancient Scriptural, and only true idea of inspiration, according to which the term signifies *that action of the Divine Spirit by which, apart from any idea of infallibility, all that is good in man, beast, or matter, is originated and sustained.* [The italics are Mr. M.'s.] And, moreover, we conclude that, if the internal contents and the historical effects of Holy Writ are grander and better than those of any other book, then the Bible must be regarded as the best, and therefore the most richly inspired book in the world; and, yet further, we conclude that everything, which has any divinely bestowed excellence (*i. e.*, any inspiration) in it, is to be respected on account of its excellence *per se*, and still more on account of that excellence being recognized as coming from God, so that, if the Bible be, as we believe and as we hope presently to shew, the best and the most richly inspired book; it will, as a consequence, be reasonably entitled to the devoutest reverence from all men who wish to be either wise or good.”

Lest there should be any doubt of the meaning of this paragraph, the following will explain it:—

“Milton and Shakspeare, and Bacon, and Canticles and the Apocalypse, and the Sermon on the Mount, and the eighth chapter of the Romans are, in our estimation, all inspired; but which of them is the most valuable inspired document, or whether the Bible, as a whole, is not incomparably more precious than any other book, these are questions which must be decided by examining the observable character and tendency of each book, and the beneficial effect which history may shew each has produced.”

What kind of external authority is given to the Bible by this author will be seen in the next passage:—

“To one who reads in this frame of mind, each saying of the Bible *will be respected till it has been sifted*; and even ‘the weak and beggarly’ parts (to use Paul’s expression) will be looked upon with filial fondness for the sake of those richer thoughts, and teachings, and mercies with which they have been associated. Thus accounts of the Creation, histories of Samson or of Jael, and narratives of angelic songs and miraculous conceptions, must each be judged, and held fast if it is good, otherwise be thrown away as weak and untrue [as the Socinians have excluded the accounts of our Lord’s conception from the New Testament]; but still the book will be the venerable book which alone is likely to teach what was the religion to which the Roman world was converted by Jesus, and Paul, and others of old; and, as our student reads and marks daily more and more, he will discover increasingly what we shall now endeavour to establish, namely, that the contents of the Bible are such as, notwithstanding Jewish prejudices and fables, and all other real or con-

ceivable drawbacks, still place the Bible at the head of all literature, sacred and profane."

So much for *principles*. Now let us see their application. Mr. Macnaught affirms that the Bible teaches false morality, and that by the mouth of the holy Apostle St. Paul. In a chapter entitled, "Are there no religious errors in Holy Writ?" he directs attention to St. Paul's statement in 1 Cor. xv. 19, 32, "If in this life only," etc; and "If after the manner of men," etc; and thus comments on the texts:

"Now, let it be gravely and piously asked, What do these passages state, and what do they teach? They state that, on the supposition of there being no compensation or reward in an after world, the persecuted life of a holy man—whose motto is, Overcome evil with good—is more unhappy than the existence of the most vicious or the most base, who escapes detection and flourishes in the sordid luxury of an unhallowed prosperity. They teach that, apart from the hope of reward and the dread of punishment, a life like that of Sardanapalus, or of Tiberius at Capreæ is preferable to that of Paul. On these principles, men who, like the Sadducees, had no firm grasp of a belief in the spirit world, should have set themselves to gratify their animal desires and propensities, and would only have been carrying out the maxim which became them as rational beings who were to end their existence after a while! Surely Paul knew better than this, his hypothetical teaching. He assuredly knew, and habitually taught, better than this exceptional and conditional teaching when he wrote to the Corinthians. . . . Grant this [*i. e.*, that the writings of the Apostles, etc., were fallible], and then, in these mournful utterances of the Apostle, you only find that he was well nigh overcome by evil, and for a moment was induced to write unadvisedly when he laboured under the vexatious questioning, and opposed the worldly-minded unbelief and want of spirituality, of those lucre-loving Corinthians."

Our readers will scarcely be able to beat these passages by any that can be culled from professed infidels. Yet the book is introduced to American readers by the *imprimatur* of Dr. S. Davidson, of the Manchester Independent College, the English editor of the *Bibliotheca Sacra*. In the July number of that work, Mr. Macnaught's book is thus spoken of. With this extract, combined with what we have said in the above notice of the *Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature*, we must leave Dr. Davidson and Mr. Macnaught to the consequences of their combined attack on what we reverence and love in the Bible.

"*The Doctrine of Inspiration: being an Inquiry concerning the Infallibility, Inspiration, and Authority of Holy Writ.* By the Rev. JOHN MACNAUGHT, M.A. We conjecture that this is the work of a young man. Internal evidence suggests the idea. There is ability in it. It is characterized by earnest, independent thought, and deserves the attention of every student of Scripture. With very much of what the author says we agree, but some things evince rashness and haste. He pronounces upon matters which he has not thoroughly studied. There is a want of caution in his statements at times. Hence the book is open to animadversion. The writer has done good service by disproving the infallibility of writings, but he has not well discriminated the *Word of God* and the *human*. Indeed he has largely confounded the two. Herein is a grave error. He is misty, and we think mistaken, about error in religious and moral truth. On a subject like that of inspiration, we looked for the philosophical calmness of conscious mental power, and of complete mastery of the theme. Probably the esteemed author published too soon. Had he kept the manuscript by him till his thoughts had acquired ripeness, it would have been far better. As it is, the work is a valuable contribution to the full treatment of a most difficult subject."

Old Truths and Modern Progress. By ROBERT SLACK, M.D., Edinburgh. London: Longmans. 1856. 8vo. pp. 454.

WE are always glad to find laymen of education engaged in the production of works of thoughtful piety. All religious matters have a mere professional side, and although that aspect of them may generally be presumed to be the correct one, it is not always so. A calm survey of the field of theological enquiry from the point of view occupied by a layman, is often highly valuable in its bearings; free from class prejudices, and suggestive of new matter to the divine and the Biblical scholar. On this account we have looked with some interest into the volume now before us by Dr. Slack.

The title of the book does not convey the intention with which it is written. It might designate the work of a neologist, exalting the present over the past, and treating that Bible as a worn out book, old, and ready to vanish away. But we are happy to be able to inform our readers that the contrary of this is the case. "Old Truths," in Dr. Slack's nomenclature, mean the valued and only authoritative truths of Holy Writ; and "Modern Progress" is something not lauded up as an unmixed good, but is rather surveyed as something beneficial or otherwise according as it falls in with the revealed will of God. Glancing at the Divine dispensations in all time, the author extracts from them a philosophy of his own, and expounds it in the work before us. Much thought, great research, and fervent piety pervade the whole production. We cannot agree with much that he advances, both as to the present aspects of the visible church, and its ultimate destiny. But we can respect opinions different to our own when they so evidently aim at the welfare of men, by means of the Gospel of Christ. We shall, by a pretty full quotation, enable our readers to judge of the style and spirit of Dr. Slack's volume, which we commend to their notice.

"Sad though this picture be, it falls short of reality. Physical suffering entered the world by moral defection, spreading as the latter increased. There is a moral history of man of which his physical history is the counterpart; neither precise nor exact, but which has issued from it.

"Can man, then, of himself regain the state wherein he was prior to the fall? not inaptly suggests itself when first feeling its full force. Will repentance secure it? No—though he never sinned more he could not revoke the past, nor cancel his heavy debt, nor regain a lost purity. Immutable attributes are in question, and the positive evil committed by me to-day, neither the good deeds of the morrow, nor those of a life, will suffice to erase. Let a man for three parts of his existence indulge vicious propensities, to the ruin of his health, the shame of his family, the loss of station, the entailment of poverty—the best thing he can do is to repent and amend; but he cannot expect repentance or amendment to regain health, station, wealth, influence—these fairly put to flight are for ever lost. To expect otherwise were absurd. How can misery inflicted by previous misconduct be nullified, either in itself or in its consequences? Will a just verdict be repealed because a prisoner repents? A man commits murder, the next instant repents; of what avail is present sorrow as far as the irrevocableness of the act is concerned? the murderer does well, but is he not a murderer? will his sorrow awaken the dead?

"Man is evil, and unless means, independent of him—the criminal—be found, a criminal will he ever be. God's creatures we are, but he judges us by His own nature,

which is immutable. Before His bar we cannot free ourselves. How dare we look Him in the face? Where is the countenance so brazen? We do indeed want a friend. The more mighty the advocate, the better our hope. We want a friend who can bear the wrath; who, come what may, will protect us. Depend upon ourselves, which we are so apt to do, and we shall be confounded eventually; for though two-thirds of an existence be virtuous, how shall we meet Him who is immutable with a third of it evil? and how will one virtue meet the searching eye of immutable justice, that burns through eternity with the same steadfast blaze, brooking no appearance of sin? The unjust cannot meet the just, the unrighteous the holy.

“Man is fallen; a change passed over him the moment he disobeyed God, it was disobedience for ever—from light he sank into darkness. The misery of the human race testifies to the absoluteness of the fact. Argue, reason as we may to prove the reverse, the present condition of the world mocks argument. There is a point where philosophy ends and revelation begins, or else philosophy must be abandoned to conjecture; but truth admits not of supposition, and reason can assign no cause why man should be constituted at enmity with what his perception and better reason must sigh after. He perceives the beauty of justice and truth, yet cannot fulfil the severity of those conditions that to be just and true requires. The history of the fall is briefly contained in those books Jews and Christians have regarded as sacred more than 3000 years.

“Not merely, however, was that fall a work of destruction. Immutable purposes were fulfilled, and out of it will be evoked highest glory to God. He has not left the creatures of His hand without hope, but has placed them on a rock higher than they. The pilgrims of the desert had to look for restoration on a brazen serpent. It is ours to regard a crucified and risen Lord; with His glory man is identified, and that glory shall finally be disclosed as all in all.”

The Proper Names of the Old Testament Scriptures expounded and illustrated. By the Rev. ALFRED JONES, Theological Associate of King's College, London; Chaplain of Aske's Hospital, Hoxton. London: Bagster and Sons. 4to. pp. 382.

THE peculiar significance of Hebrew proper names renders the right understanding of them, if not absolutely necessary, yet highly important to every reader of the Scriptures, and the more so from the fact that in many cases our Authorized Version does not give the translation of names whose meaning has a peculiar reference to the context. We do not speak of this as a fault, for in most instances it is perhaps unavoidable. For example, in Gen. x. 25, it is said, “*the name of the one was Peleg; for in his days was the earth divided.*” Were it not for the marginal reading, the mere English reader might not see the meaning of the passage, yet we should not of course expect it to be translated, “the name of the one was Division.” But the frequent occurrence of these cases renders a work such as the one before us almost a necessary thing. To give an idea of the plan of the book, we will quote an extract from the author's preface. He thus speaks of it:—

“This work is a dictionary of the names occurring in the English alphabetical order. The mode of treatment in the elucidation of these names is as follows:—after the English name, the Hebrew name is given, with its pronunciation. The Septuagint rendering, and that of the Vulgate Latin, follow. The Hebrew name is then etymologically discussed, and its relations and derivation shewn. The three thousand six hundred names of which this Onomasticon consists, represent, through

the same name being borne by various persons or places, nearly sixteen thousand five hundred individuals or places; the whole of these have been carefully discriminated (it is believed for the first time so completely), and an identification of each is given, together with all the passages in which each occurs."

Mr. Jones's mode of treatment may be seen from the following remarks on the name *Jegar-Sahadutha*, which occurs in Gen. xxxi. 47 :—

"JEGAR-SAHADUTHA, ܝܓܪܫܗܕܘܬܗ *Y'ghâr sahadhuthâ* Βουνὸς τῆς μαρτυρίας, *Acer-vus testimonii*. 'The heap of witness,' a comp. of two Chald. or Syr. words.

"The Syriac name which Laban gave to the heap of witness, or the mound of stones, which Jacob called Galeed. The Vulg. and LXX. paraphrase these names; but in the Vulg, the following words occur, which are neither in the original nor any other version, and were probably a marginal gloss by St. Jerome, which has since crept into the text; 'uterque juxta proprietatem linguæ suæ,'—*each according to the idiom of his own tongue*. One is pure Chald. (or Syr.), and the other pure Heb. St. Jerome says on this place, 'Rursum lingua Syra *acervus* ܝܓܪ appellatur ܝܓܪܫܗܕܘܬܗ *testimonium*: Jacob igitur *acervus testimonii*, hoc est, ܓܠܝܕ Galaad, lingua appellavit Hebræa: Laban vero id ipsius, id est, *acervus testimonii*, Jegar-sahadutha, à gentis suæ sermone vocavit, erat enim Syrus, et antiquam linguam parentum, provinciæ in quâ habitabat sermone mutaverat.'"

Mr. Jones appears to have bestowed great pains upon his work, and although, through want of opportunity of thoroughly examining it, we can give no opinion as to its accuracy in every particular, yet we think it entitled to our general approval and recommendation.

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1. *Warburtonian Lectures, preached in Lincoln's Inn Chapel, in the Winters from 1849 to 1853. On the Christian Church's Institution and Declension into Apostacy; the Apostate Church's Heading by the Romish Antichrist; and the Counter-Witness-Church's Prophe-sying in Sackcloth, all as predicted in Scripture and as fulfilled.* By the Rev. E. B. ELLIOTT, M.A., Incumbent of St. Mark's, Brighton, Prebendary of Heytesbury, and sometime Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. London: Seeley and Co. 1856. 8vo. pp. 582.
 2. *Babylon the Great, neither Rome Pagan, nor Papal, but Jerusalem.* By the Rev. P. S. DESPREZ, B.D., author of *The Apocalypse fulfilled in the consummation of the Mosaic economy and the coming of the Son of Man*. London: Masters. 1856. 8vo. pp. 16.

WE can neither afford the time or the space to consider these publica-tions at any length, or as we could wish to do. We are fairly wearied out with biblical controversy, and especially the Apocalyptic depart-ment of it: and yet, did circumstances allow us to do so, should be glad to give a full and fair reason for our conscientious dissent from those who take such decided and extreme views of the New Testament predictions. To no subject do we think the advice better applies, *In medio tutissimus ibis*, than to this, and yet on no subject do we meet with more out-of-the-way and extravagantly antagonistic views.

The author of the *Horæ Apocalypticæ* is a man in every way to be

respected, and ought to be listened to with attention; and he has given us, in this volume, his mature thoughts on prophecy in its presumed relation to the Church of Rome. He meets objections, fortifies his points, and advances new proofs;—and yet we confess he leaves us still as confirmed unbelievers in his system as ever. How is this? How is it that what a respectable body of men think as “true as Holy Writ,” so many biblical students differ from *toto cælo*? It is because their views are subjective, and rest on no process of induction, and admit of no logical proof. When we find, for instance, every age producing a new solution for the enigma of the number of the beast, we must believe that the time has not arrived for untying the knot; and when we find language strained beyond all philological or rational bounds to make it apply to Rome and the Pope, we feel that the authors of such schemes of interpretation cannot be relied upon, and prefer leaving the future to God to a submission to their guidance.

We append Mr. Desprez’s pamphlet to Mr. Elliott’s work, not because we think the two alike in any essential characteristic, but because the former goes wildly astray from the centre of legitimate exegesis and historic tradition. In the last number of the *Journal* we inserted Mr. Desprez’s paper on the Neronian date of the Apocalypse, in order that all being advanced that well could be on his side of the question, the other might have its full share of thought and publicity. This close examination we hope will shortly be brought before our readers by a competent hand, which will, we hope, separate wild schemes of prophecy from the true catholic doctrine of our Lord’s second coming, and make firmer the middle path which has the sanction of the universal Church, with some few exceptions.



A Commentary on the Epistle to the Ephesians. By CHARLES HODGE, D.D., Professor of Biblical Literature in the Theological Seminary at Princeton, New Jersey. London: Nisbet. 1856. 12mo. pp. 294.

PROFESSOR HODGE has a solid reputation as a biblical expositor, which is maintained by the discreet and learned work before us. The London publishers would have done better service to the religious public if they had given the reprint entire, instead of denuding it of its *prolegomena*; probably the most valuable part of the work. The absurdity of this is the more apparent, because the comment is not adapted to this truncated form of the volume. For instance, on p. 3 we read; “On the words ‘which are in Ephesus,’ see the Introduction,” which however is not to be found. It is not just to an author thus to mar the completeness of his work. As it is, the volume will interest plain readers, to whom mere critical matter is not all important.



Roberts’s Sketches in the Holy Land, Syria, Idumæa, Arabia, Egypt, and Nubia. Complete in Six Volumes. 4to. London: Day and Son. 1856.

THE publishers of this very beautiful work have completed it much within the time promised, and our readers may now for a few pounds possess what originally cost more than a hundred. The great fidelity of the minutest parts of the engravings affords all the advantages of the larger ones, while the present reduced size makes the work far more commodious for general use. As far as the graphic art can effect such an object, the Biblical student can, by these plates, visit the scenes of God's ancient revelations, and make himself acquainted with the external life of the East, in all the countries bordering on Palestine, or connected with its history. We cannot doubt that the work will have a large sale, and we tender our best thanks to all the parties engaged in its production.

A Translation and Commentary of the Book of Psalms, for the use of the Ministry and Laity of the English Church. By the Rev. A. F. THOLUCK, D.D., Ph.D. Translated from the German, with a careful comparison of the Psalm-text with the original tongues. By the Rev. J. ISIDOR MOMBERT. London: Nisbet. 1856. Imperial 8vo. pp. 414.

THE translator very properly says that "the fine Christian spirit and unassuming intelligence which pervade the writings of Dr. Tholuck, have not only endeared him to theologians and intelligent Christians on the Continent, but secured for him a large number of admirers in this country." But although this is the case, his Commentary on the Psalms is almost the only one of his exegetical writings which has not been published in England. The work before us is therefore a valuable addition to our religious literature. The difficulty in the way of an English translation has hitherto arisen from the fact that Tholuck founded his comment on the version of Luther, so that a literal rendering of it would have made it, in some respects, useless to English readers. The way in which this obstacle is removed is thus explained in the Translator's Preface:—

"The only way I could see to meet this difficulty was this. Tholuck's German work was intended to meet the wants of the German public; the English translation is intended to meet the wants of the British public. Tholuck based his version on Luther's, which is the popular version in Germany: in my translation I have taken the English Authorized Version, printed in parallels, as the base of operations. The principles on which I have sought to harmonize the German version with the English and Dr. Tholuck's commentary have been the following:—

"1st. Never to alter when the two versions corresponded in sense.

"2nd. Whenever the original Hebrew warranted a rendering different from that of the English Authorized Version, which had been adopted by Dr. Tholuck, and furnished a *new* idea, or one which the English version would not have suggested, to put it either in brackets in the text of the Psalms or in separate foot notes.

"3rd. Not to undertake any alteration without having, besides the versions of Luther, Tholuck, and other eminent German versionists, diligently consulted and carefully weighed the Hebrew original, the Septuagint, and the Vulgate versions."

The whole work is executed with great care and diligence, and reflects credit both on the translator and the publishers.

The History of the Church of England in the Colonies and foreign dependencies of the British Empire. By the Rev. S. M. ANDERSON, M.A., Chaplain-in-Ordinary to the Queen, Preacher of Lincoln's Inn, and Rector of Tormarton. Second Edition in Three Volumes. London: Rivingtons. 1856. 18mo. pp. 552, 602, 674.

IN our last volume we reviewed the first edition of this very valuable publication, and are glad to introduce it again in this elegant, yet cheaper form. Numerous improvements have been made, and a very copious index added. As we before said, the work enters fully into the religious and political history of England, from the year 1496 to 1776, and brings into relief many portraits and characters of illustrious divines and literary men who flourished during that long period. We know of few books more generally interesting, both to young and old, and it deserves the success which has hitherto attended it, and which will, we cannot doubt, attend this new edition.

The English Bible, containing the Old and New Testaments, according to the Authorized Version. Newly divided into paragraphs; with concise introductions to the several books; and with maps and notes illustrative of the chronology, history, and geography of the Holy Scriptures; containing also the most remarkable variations of the ancient versions, and the chief results of modern criticism. Part X. London: Blackader. 1856. Small 4to.

By the indefatigable diligence of the editor this valuable edition of the Holy Scriptures is fast advancing to completion. But as we are aware of all the circumstances of its publication, we would earnestly commend it to the patronage of our readers, hoping that they will procure the parts which have appeared, and thus encourage the pains and labours bestowed upon it. When so much attention is called to the improvement of our English Bible, we ought to expect for this a very large sale, since it embraces most of the new features which have been advocated by various writers. Paragraphs instead of verses; judicious marginal references; notes embodying all the best criticisms; these are only a few of the advantages possessed by this very elegant publication.

A Plain Commentary on the Book of Psalms. Parts I. and II. Psalms i.—xxxiii. London: J. H. and J. Parker. 1856. 12mo.

THIS is a very useful publication, not attempting great things, but aspiring to instruct the larger class of readers. The plan of the work is best explained in the following words of the editor:—

“Many persons, it is to be feared, read the Psalms without attaching any clear meaning, not merely to particular verses, but even to entire Psalms: and yet, as the Psalter forms a very large portion of the devotions of the church, it is surely needful that they who pray in its words should ‘pray with the understanding also.’

In order, then, that they who read the Psalms, both as part of the public service of Almighty God in his church, and also in their own private devotions at home, may gain from them that Christian edification they were intended to bestow, they will be explained in the 'Plain Commentary,' chiefly in the way that the church universal has always explained them. Their moral and spiritual meaning will be dwelt upon, and their prophetic importance will be brought out. They will be considered as having a significance for all God's people in all ages. At the same time, while the 'Plain Commentary' will tread much in the footsteps of earlier and more spiritual interpreters, it will not overlook those lights which modern research and learning have thrown upon the critical meaning of the Psalms. It will afford every aid to the student of that portion of Holy Writ, that is consistent with conciseness."

An Exposition of the Parables and express similitudes of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Wherein also many things are doctrinally handled and improved by way of application. By BENJAMIN KEACH. London: Collingridge. 1856. Large 8vo. pp. 914.

THIS work has always enjoyed popularity among those who love the racy quaint style of divines of the old school. As may be expected there are multitudes of fancied allusions, and not always a regard to any fixed principles of interpretation; yet the volume, in every page, contains matter which cannot be read without improvement. As an illustration of the wit of the author, he says, in the parable of the rich husbandman, "the poor man's belly in the rich man's barn."

The Library of Biblical Literature. Vol. IV. London: Freeman. 12mo. pp. 256.

THIS volume of this very cheap and popular series contains the following papers:—The Essenes, or the Jewish Monastics of the Desert; The Spies, or the Land of Promise surveyed; Petra, or the Rock City and its Explorers; The Early Companions of the Saviour; The Maccabean Chieftains; The Conquest of Canaan by the Israelites; Alexandria, in relation to the Jews and Christianity; The Patriarch of Uz, or Job and his Times.

Revision of the received English Version of the Bible. Two Letters to the editor of "The Times" (sent to that paper, but not inserted). By WILLIAM NORTON. London: Trübner. pp. 8.

THIS is an attempt to vindicate the labours of Bible revisers from the criticisms of Dr. Cumming. The object seems to be to defend the American Bible Union, but the matter is too cursorily treated to be satisfactory.

Songs of Early Summer. By the Rev. ARCHER GURNEY. London: Longmans. 1856. 18mo. pp. 324.

MR. GURNEY has shewn in this volume great versatility in clothing thoughts, grave and gay, in a poetic dress. We can only here treat of

those pieces which have a sacred character, and think we cannot do better justice to the volume than by printing two, relating to Biblical subjects.

" SONG OF THE YOUTHFUL MOSES.

**" PRIDE, rank, and fame, this world's renown,
With cadence rich, my soul they call,
Before me shines a radiant crown,
Earth's glowing treasures tempt me all.
And yonder lies the desert strand,
Lies Midian's hot and parched land;
Then long, long years of dreary woe
Await me. Thitherward I go.**

**" No glance these eyes may cast behind
Of sorrow or of mean regret :
Be welcome, sterile desert-wind !
My soul to serve its God be set.
One hope within me faint doth glow—
That yet for me rests work below ;
Thee, Israel, dear but fallen race,
I burn to ransom from disgrace.**

**" But all is darkness. This alone,
My present duty's path I ken ;
No leaf by gaudy fortune blown
To court the fickle smiles of men.
So onward ! Faint and fainter borne
I list my people's cries forlorn,—
My God, whate'er thy will may be,
Keep me to Israel true, and Thee !"**

" THE PROMISED LAND.

**" Lo, the Prophet, loved and hoary,
On the height hath ta'en his stand :
Thence he gazes on the glory
Of the beauteous Promised Land.
See, in rich and rare disorder,
Treasures wait his kith and kin ;
He hath led them to the border,
But he may not enter in.**

**" Even thus, while roll the ages,
From the heights of Hope, so bold,
Gazes Man, while round him rages
Mountain-wind with greetings cold.
Still he marks before him lying
Earth's Millennium rich and bright ;
But the years are past him flying,
And upon him sinks the night.**

**" Shall he some day truly enter ?
Is a Golden Age in store ?
Shall he reach the happy centre
Of that Eden lost of yore ?
Yea, a company immortal
New-made earth and heaven may share ;
But how many reach light's portal !
And how few inhabit there !"**

Sketch of a Coptic Grammar, adapted for self-tuition. By W. BELL MACDONALD, of Rammerscales. Edinburgh: Lizars. London: Philip and Son. 1856. 8vo. pp. 56.

THIS is a very curious publication, apart from its intrinsic value. Mr. Bell Macdonald, whose labours in philology are truly extraordinary, having himself surmounted the difficulties of the Coptic language, was anxious to make the path easy to others; and finding it not easy to get such a work as the present printed with ordinary types, he has had it lithographed; so that the Grammar is a *fac-simile* of his own handwriting. His own experience having taught the author what are the stumbling-blocks in such studies, he has attempted their removal, and produced what will really help a learner. In a great part of the work the pronunciation of the words quoted is given in English characters. His design cannot better be stated than in the writer's own words:—

“Existing Coptic grammars are scarce and dear, and hardly adapted for self-instruction; for these reasons, and having pursued almost exclusively the study of philology for a very long period, (a most unremunerative occupation in our isolated land, however agreeable to the student,) I have ventured to lithograph a slight contribution to that science, in the hope that such a work may advantage other students who follow the like pursuit; and if this little brochure be favourably received by scholars, I shall be happy to follow it up with other lithographic sketches of tongues not usually studied in this country.

“The Coptic is essentially a Christian language, being that of the believers in Egypt, and it comprehends the only written remains of the ancient spoken tongue of that region of monumental lore. Whether letters were introduced by the Greek colonists of Cyrene under Battus in the seventh century before the Christian era, or three hundred years later by the Ptolemaic successors of Alexander, may be a matter of doubt, as there are perhaps no Coptic writings of earlier date than the third century, yet the language is a link in the philological chain which discoverers of the present day are attempting to unravel.

“Although assuming my own arrangement, I beg to acknowledge obligations to the Grammars of Rossellini and Uhlemann.”

The Encyclopædia Britannica. Vol. XI., Gra—Hum. Edinburgh: A. and C. Black. 1856.

THIS standard work is steadily proceeding. The present volume is very rich in its articles; that on hieroglyphics alone, by Mr. R. S. Poole, being worth the price of the whole book. It occupies nearly sixty pages, and is profusely illustrated with engravings.

INTELLIGENCE,

BIBLICAL, EDUCATIONAL, LITERARY, AND MISCELLANEOUS.

REVISION OF THE ENGLISH BIBLE. Since the publication of our last number a great deal of matter has appeared on this subject, in the columns of *The Times* and in other quarters, a selection from which we now lay before our readers.

Motion of Mr. Heywood in House of Commons, July 22.

Mr. HEYWOOD rose to move an address to the Crown, praying that Her Majesty would be graciously pleased to give such directions as to her might seem meet for the appointment of a Royal Commission, consisting of learned men well skilled in the original languages of the Holy Scriptures, and conversant with modern biblical scholarship, to consider of such amendments of the authorized version of the Bible as had been already proposed, and to receive suggestions from all persons who might be willing to offer them; to point out errors of translation, and such words and phrases as had either changed their meaning or become obsolete in the lapse of time; and to report the amendments which they might be prepared to recommend. The hon. member observed that it was a singular fact mentioned in Disraeli's *Curiosities of Literature*, that in this country the Bible was not much in use before the restoration of the monarchy in 1660. Previously to that period it remained in the possession of the learned, and a very considerable time elapsed before it passed into the hands of the great body of the people. After the Restoration it was reprinted, and obtained a general circulation. About the year 1769 there was at Oxford a certain Dr. Blaney, a man of learning, who took great pains to revise the current version, and what was not a little remarkable, was that his revised edition had been the standard authority ever since, so that from 1769, down to 1856, the progressive discoveries of scholars, commentators, and critics, which were found of such service in interpreting other books, had been disregarded by the University of Oxford in the case of the Bible. Mr. Parker, the bookseller of Oxford, who was one of the witnesses examined before the committee, had stated that that learned body had given peremptory orders that the edition of Dr. Blaney was the only edition to be followed, and it had been followed accordingly to the present day. He (Mr. Heywood) thought that such a proceeding was a neglect of duty on the part of those high authorities, and he really did not believe that we possessed a translation in that accurate form which was quite attainable and beyond question desirable. This was a matter which came within the province of the Crown. In the reign of Henry VIII. it was taken up by several very eminent men, and Lord Cromwell, who was Secretary of State and the King's Vicegerent in sacred matters, recommended to the King to give his sanction to a new translation of the Scriptures. A body of learned men was appointed for the purpose. They were assisted by Archbishop Cranmer and other eminent persons, and the version of the Bible published under their direction soon became popular throughout the country. Then came the reign of Queen Mary, during which there was a bitter persecution of Protestants, many of whom had to fly for refuge to Geneva and other places. At Geneva a fresh translation, or, to speak more correctly, a revision of the former translation, was undertaken and completed, and upon the revival of Protestantism, when Elizabeth came to the throne, that revised version was brought over to England. That edition had followed Beza, as also had all subsequent editions, and it was worthy of remark that when an erroneous translation was detected it generally turned out that Beza was in fault. (Hear.) Beza was a decided Calvinist, and did not scruple to turn a text so as to suit his own purposes. However, he was esteemed a great authority and his influence was paramount. At the beginning of the reign of James I., an application was made to the Crown to have the

Bible again revised, and a commission was appointed for that purpose, in which the Puritan element was unrepresented. A reference to the preface of any family Bible would shew that this body did not attempt to make a new translation, but merely to revise the old one—their object being to carry as much public feeling as possible along with them in the execution of their task. A similar spirit ought to actuate any commissioners selected at the present day to revise the existing translation. Unnecessary changes, which could only give offence to many persons, ought to be strictly avoided; but there were various passages at present incorrectly rendered that demanded alteration. There were portions of the Scriptures which it was painful to many clergymen of the Church of England to have to read to their congregations in the precise words of the authorized version; but, however faulty and repugnant to scholarship they might be, those clergymen had no alternative but to give them as they stood. This matter was felt to be so pressing among the learned, that Professor Selwyn, of Cambridge, had given notice of a motion for directing the attention of the clergy in convocation specially to it. Even so slight an alteration as that of the punctuation would render many passages clearer. A recent article in the *Edinburgh Review* also pointed out the advantages of a division of the chapters of the Bible into paragraphs instead of verses. As an illustration of the errors of the present translation he might mention the text of the celebrated sermon on *Religion in Common Things*, preached before the Queen by the Rev. Mr. Caird. The text chosen on that occasion was, “Be not slothful in business,” and it was remarkable that the word “business” did not appear in the original Greek. The correct word was “zeal;” and the passage read, “Be not backward in zeal.” So that there was really no connexion between the subject of this excellent discourse and the true interpretation of the text on which it was ostensibly based. Other examples of careless translation might easily be cited. In the Acts of the Apostles, for instance, the phrase, “Those matters which are written in the law and the prophets,” was put into the mouth of St. Paul in lieu of the exact words, which were “Those matters which are according to the law, and which are written in the prophets.” The correct reading shewed that St. Paul, who was a believer in tradition, held tradition in connexion with the law, but took the prophets literally. The passage in the first chapter of the first epistle of St. John, relating to the three heavenly witnesses, on which an important doctrinal point turned, was not in the original Greek, but had been interpolated by some interpreter. This text was, however, often used in argument by the unlearned, and sometimes also by the learned but disingenuous. On one occasion it was quoted by a theological disputant, when his opponent asked him, “Did you not know the verse is not in the original Greek?” His reply was rather singular; it was, “I did know it, but I was not aware that you did.” (A laugh.) The people of the United States were so impressed with the importance of having the correct sense of the sacred writers made public that they had formed a society to revise the existing translation of the Bible. This body which was supplied with funds from voluntary subscriptions, had gone through a considerable portion of the Old and New Testaments, the new version being printed by them on the same page with the old translation, to enable the reader to judge between the two. It might be asked, why not form a voluntary society to carry out the same object in this country, and thus avoid the necessity of applying to Parliament on the subject? His answer was that the work could be most efficiently done under the supreme authority of the Crown, the labours of the commissioners appointed by whom, if impartial and competent for their task, as no doubt they would be, would command the largest amount of public confidence. Opposition to such an undertaking might be apprehended from the Bible Society; but that body would have timely notice of the intended change, and could easily dispose of all its copies in the old version before the new one was ready for publication. Eminent divines belonging to all the leading denominations of Christians, were convinced of the necessity of the alteration now proposed, and it was to be hoped that during the approaching recess, hon. members would consult with the clergy and ministers of their respective neighbourhoods on this important subject. The more public

attention was called to the subject the more every reflecting mind must feel the urgency of the revision he suggested. He could not reasonably expect that immediate steps would be taken for giving effect to his views, but he believed that in no more fitting assembly than that of the representatives of the people, coming from all parts of the kingdom, could so grave and serious a question be launched for full and fair discussion. Trusting, therefore, that the object which he contemplated would gradually make its way in public favour, and be ultimately accomplished to the satisfaction of the country, he begged now to move the resolution of which he had given notice.

Sir G. PECELL seconded the motion.

Sir G. GREY said, the hon. gentleman had intimated that he did not intend to take the sense of the House upon the motion, and he (Sir G. Grey) conceived that the House would do wrong to move in a matter of so much importance unless it was well supported by public opinion. (Hear.) For his own part, he believed that the object of the address was not at all in accordance with the existing state of public opinion (hear, hear), and that the appointment of such a commission as the hon. gentleman proposed would create general apprehension and alarm, and would have a tendency to unsettle the faith of a great body of the people, and to lessen their respect and reverence for the authorized version of the Scriptures. There were, no doubt, certain errors in the translation of that version; it might contain some words, the meaning of which had altered since the date when the translation was made; some slight inaccuracies might be found in it; but, speaking of it as a whole, he believed he expressed the general opinion of the Christian community of this country when he said that, owing to the accuracy and fidelity of the translation, and to the purity, beauty, and simplicity of the language employed, it was justly entitled to the respect and reverence with which it had been regarded. (Hear.) His hon. friend had said that it was very hard upon clergymen that they should be obliged to read from the authorized version of the Scriptures, in the services of the Church, certain passages which they believed not to be literal translations of the original, and not fully to convey its meaning. He (Sir G. Grey) thought, however, that there were few passages the reading of which would oppress the consciences of clergymen, and they certainly had the less reason to complain because it was their duty not only to read but to explain the Scriptures. (Hear, hear.) If, therefore, they conceived that there were any errors in the translation, they were at liberty to point out what was the true meaning of the text. If the motion had been pressed he (Sir G. Grey) would have dealt with the subject more in detail, but as the hon. gentleman did not intend to take the sense of the House, he (Sir G. Grey) would only say that he thought it would be most inexpedient to entertain the question, or to do more than to allow the learned men, to whom the hon. member had referred, to continue the practice they had hitherto pursued of publishing critical notes upon the Old and New Testament. (Hear, hear.)

The motion was then by leave withdrawn.

Correspondence of "The Times."—This was commenced by two letters from Dr. Cumming, deprecating any alteration—productions which have not increased the public estimation of the writer's prudence or scholarship. In reply to them, or occasioned by them, many other letters have appeared in the same journal, from which we copy the following:—

Sir,—You have published two letters from Dr. Cumming, in which he states the objections he entertains to a "new translation of the Bible." He speaks as if the music and rhythm of our present translation would be destroyed by such a reconstruction as he contemplates; it is evident, therefore, that he means an entire recasting of the whole work. It is to be hoped and presumed that no sincere member of the Church of England, or lover of the English tongue would desire such a new translation.

But the admitted and undeniable errors of our authorized version may be corrected without any unnecessary and sacrilegious disturbance of the incomparable beauty of its general style and language. And such a revision seems

to be demanded by weighty and unanswerable reasons. Dr. Cumming's first letter consists of a panegyric on our present translation, and on the Divines who published it in 1611; and very few people, I suppose, could object to this panegyric. His second letter contains specimens of false translation in the Douai and certain Baptist and Unitarian versions; and none but a Roman Catholic, or Baptist, or Unitarian would object to his criticism. But Dr. Cumming draws the illogical conclusion that, because other translations are certainly incorrect—nay, contain the most scandalous and disgraceful errors, inasmuch as God's inspired word has been falsified to serve party purposes, therefore the Church of England is not to give the world the blessing of as perfect a translation of the Bible as she can. At no time were the Clergy in general more remarkable for critical ability and sound philological knowledge; and therefore there never was a time when a revision of the authorized translation of the Bible could have been undertaken with so much safety and advantage as the present, and such a revision is undoubtedly demanded by the advanced intelligence and learning of the laity.

I am aware of the objection usually taken:—"If you have a revision of the Bible, the Socinian, or the Baptist, or the Roman Catholic, will gain by it; better leave well alone."

In answer, I say if the Baptist or any one else will gain an advantage by the publication of the truth, he is entitled to it, and ought to have it. Promotion of the truth can and must be the only object contemplated by a revision of the translation of the Bible. The Church of England is founded on the truth, by the truth she must stand; and no admission could be made more adverse to her genuine spirit, or more perilous to her existence than the admission that she was afraid of the truth. But to say that the Church of England is unwilling to revise her version of the Bible because she fears the consequences is libellously to accuse her of fearing the truth.

If the errors contained in our authorized version were much fewer and less important than they really are, yet, surely, a proper reverence for God's revealed word ought imperatively to require and enforce their removal. Nothing less than an extreme case of difficulty or necessity can justify a Protestant Church in allowing a single avowed and notorious error to be propagated in the name of Divine Truth. But the errors of our translation are numerous and important. I speak more especially of the translation of the New Testament. No one who has not critically and accurately compared the translation with the original—nay, who has not taken the trouble to mark down the cases of erroneous translation—can have any idea of their number. These errors are often of vital importance,—e. g., several texts in the Epistles of St. Paul speak of the divinity of our Saviour in the most positive terms, yet the force and meaning of them is entirely lost in our mis-translation. And when Dr. Cumming justly urges against Unitarians and others that their translations favour their respective tenets, is he not aware that they retaliate and charge our version, in several passages, with a leaning to Calvinism? It is not at all surprising that there are errors in our translation of the New Testament. It would be much more surprising if there were none, for our version is mainly a translation of the Latin Vulgate, which is itself a very imperfect translation of the original Greek. The want of a definite article in the Latin language has of itself been the cause of a large and important class of mis-translations in the authorized version. And does Dr. Cumming wish to see an instance of the mischief produced by the false translation of a single word? Let me refer him to 1 Cor. xi. 29, where the word *κρίμα* is translated "damnation." But the Greek word could hardly have been so translated; our translators must have had the Latin word *damnationem* before them. The false translation of this single word has done more to hinder the laity from partaking of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper than all other causes put together.

Two centuries and a half ago, when our translation was published, no collation of the manuscripts of the New Testament had taken place. The *textus receptus* was not and could not be a sound and correct text. The materials had not been collected for making one. Since that time the labours of Mill, Bentley,

Wetstein, Griesbach, Lachmann, Tischendorf, Tregelles, and others, in the examination and comparison of immense multitudes of manuscripts, have rectified the text to such a degree that upon this ground alone a revision of our present translation has become not only advisable but necessary. I am aware of the objection:—Supposing a revision of the present translation to be published by authority of the Church, what is to become of the immense number of copies of the present translation now extant? My answer is, if the revised translation should be a manifest and undeniable improvement on the old, it will naturally and progressively displace the old one now in use, just as the translation of 1611 displaced all that had preceded it; for there were of course translations in existence—a fact which should be borne in mind by those who seem to think that the present translation ought never and on no account to be improved. I know it is said the clergy are aware of the errors which exist in the present version, and they can and do occasionally point them out in the pulpit. But when an error is so pointed out, the one of two things occurs—every unlearned member of the congregation, who thinks seriously, will either continue to believe his Bible right, and will therefore conceive some degree of dishonour for his minister's judgment; or he will believe his minister, and, as a natural consequence, will feel disposed to doubt the accuracy of his Bible in general; and this is one of the worst evils produced by errors in our translation. A general insecurity and suspicion, and in many cases an indifference, is begotten in the minds of those who are intelligent, acute, and inquisitive, but who have not a knowledge of the original Greek, by which they might satisfy their own judgment.

Meanwhile the gainsayer and infidel derive an immense advantage from the present state of things, for when a passage is quoted by an unlearned but earnest opponent against any one of their tenets they may say and do say, "The meaning of that passage is not what you suppose, nor is it to be wondered at that you should have mistaken its purport. You are aware that many passages in your Bible are falsely rendered, and this is one of them," though it may be the fact that the unlearned believer in reality understands the passage correctly.

There is yet another reason for having the present translation of the Bible revised, which Dr. Cumming, of all men, ought to be willing to allow. The Roman Catholics are now making unprecedented efforts to restore their Church in England; and how great is their advantage in being able to say, "You Protestants take the Bible for your rule of faith; but how can that be a correct rule, or how can you be guided by a rule which, according to your own admission, contains numerous and important errors?" And I don't think Dr. Cumming will find it very easy to answer this question satisfactorily.

If we authorize exclusively the use of a translation which we know contains errors, what is this but keeping the key of knowledge to ourselves? Is this not doing the very thing with which we charge the Papal Church—keeping the laity in the dark?

That there are difficulties in the way of a revision of the authorized version is undeniable; but they are not insurmountable—and none but such as are really insurmountable ought to hinder the Church of England from giving to all men who speak the English tongue the very best translation of the Word of God which the learning and piety of her clergy could produce. There may be hazard in undertaking the work of revision, but there is infinitely greater hazard in refusing it. Let the work be done in a right spirit, out of the pure and simple love of the truth, and no one need doubt the issue.

I am, Sir, &c.,

W. G. COOKESLEY.

August 19.

Sir,—Your correspondent, Dr. Cumming, should confine his exhibitions of himself in the character of a biblical critic to Exeter Hall, or assuredly his name will not have become one of those "dear to every scholar," when the time arrives for Mr. Macaulay's New Zealander to take his stand on the ruins of London Bridge.

I have no desire to defend the Roman Catholic versions of the Old and New Testament, still less their notes; but I should not have believed the veriest tyro in theology ignorant that they are *professedly* made, not from the original text, but from the Latin vulgate. Indeed, a justification of this proceeding is attempted in the Preface to the Rheims version. What can the Doctor then mean by imputing a doctrinal bias to the Romish translator because the same Greek word is not rendered by the same phrase in the 2nd and the 5th chapters of the Acts? I say nothing of his principle of translating the same word uniformly in every place, except that our translators certainly never dreamt of any such rule. For instance, they render the same word by "wind" and by "spirit" in the very same verse (John iii. 8), although it happens that they are opposed to the interpretation of the early fathers in so doing,

But the Doctor's exulting comparison of the Romish and protestant versions in another passage (Hebrews xi. 21) gives an equally astonishing proof of his indifference to facts notorious to most scholars, at any rate since the time of Walton. The allusion of the sacred writer is, of course, to Genesis xlvii. 31, where it is related that Jacob, on receiving his son's promise to carry his bones out of Egypt, "bowed himself upon the bed's head." The aged patriarch, like David under similar circumstances (1 Kings i. 47), gave God thanks in prayer for the fulfilment—for so his faith made it seem to him—of his deepest desire. Now, the same Hebrew word, written without the vowel points, as was formerly customary, means either "a bed" or "a stick," according as, by supplying them, it becomes *himmata* or *hammita*. The composers of the early Greek translation called the Septuagint, erroneously took it for the latter, and accordingly rendered the original by *προσεκύνησεν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον τῆς ῥάβδου αὐτοῦ*. The Septuagint version, as is well known, almost entirely superseded the Hebrew text of the Old Testament, until nearly the middle of the fourth century of the Christian era. Accordingly, the quotation from it, carrying the error with it, was introduced into the Epistle to the Hebrews, and likewise—until Jerome's time—into the early Latin versions both of the Epistle and the Pentateuch. Jerome corrected it, as Aquila and Symmachus had done before him; but the same motives which operate upon Dr. Cumming now, operated upon St. Augustine and others then; the old blunder was handed down, enshrined in the generally received text, and a pretty good harvest of controversy it has borne,—Romanist ingenuity endeavouring to draw the verse into a defence of image worship, and Protestant boldness averting the inference by daring translation. The Rheims Testament has "adored the top of his rod," the Bishop's Bible (Cranmer's) "worshipped towards the top of his sceptre," and King James's translators, "worshipped, *leaning* upon the top of his staff." Such persons as are curious about the polemical bearing of these versions, may have their curiosity gratified by turning to the quaint volume of Fulke, who was Master of Pembroke College in the time of Queen Elizabeth; and they will see how much trouble has been occasioned by a single error of a translator 2000 years ago.

When Dr. Cumming steps forward so hardily to criticize the qualifications of English scholars at the present time, as compared with those of three centuries ago, he ought to show that he has some pretension to judge them. That he knows very little of past translations will appear even to the general reader who takes the trouble to read the above remarks.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

August 18.

AN INCUMBENT OF THE PROVINCE OF CANTERBURY.

Sir,—Notwithstanding Dr. Cumming's imputation of ill nature to those who have the hardihood to criticize his displays of biblical scholarship, I must beg leave to add an observation or two upon his letter in your journal of to-day. He has there suggested a new argument against a revision of the ordinary version of Holy Scripture. There is no one text of the original Greek—Dr. Cumming confines his proposition to the New Testament, but he might have extended it to the Old, and to every other ancient author whatever—which commands the universal adherence of scholars.

Will the Doctor will be so good as to inform the learned, as well as the

unlearned, world, what text King James's translators followed? If he will point out any printed text whatever, either of the Old or New Testament, or any single manuscript, ancient or modern, of which their version is a consistent representative, I promise him that I for one will not give him future cause for complaint by criticizing his lucubrations. I make this challenge, be it said, without in the least degree imputing blame to the eminent men in question; but, if they had no standard original, why should the want of it now paralyze the efforts of men of learning to improve their performance? There is no inclination, that I am aware of, in any quarter to depreciate that work or its authors. The simple fact is, that since it was executed a vast number of manuscripts—some extremely ancient—have been discovered and examined; and thus the means afforded of setting forth a much more correct text, and consequently a much more correct translation, than was then possible. Under such circumstances is it, or is it not, a worthy design to enable the common people to participate in the fruits of a century and a half of learned labour? I should have thought that in a Protestant country there would have been no hesitation about the answer; but unhappily we have fallen upon times when it pays much better to inflame Protestant prejudices than to act out Protestant principles. From the time of Waterland, the flower of the English Church—Waterland himself, Secker, Lowth, Newcome, and many others, have been of the party which Dr. Cumming and his obscurants are so concerned to put down. Yet, when Waterland wrote, the *Polyglott* of Walton, and perhaps the edition of the New Testament by Mill, were the only great works that had appeared to furnish materials for the task of revision. Since then the labours of Kennicott on the Old Testament, and of Griesbach, Matthesi, Lachmann, and others on the New—to say nothing of the assistance furnished by ancient versions which have in the meantime been brought to light, and the illustration afforded by Eastern travellers and archæologists—have supplied scholars with an apparatus of which Waterland never dreamt. That the knowledge both of Hebrew and Greek is far more accurate at the present day than it was in the time of King James no one who has more than a schoolboy's knowledge of either will deny. Why, then, should the proposition of a revision be so obstinately resisted? Simply to avoid exciting the prejudices of the ignorant. I reply, in the words of one of the great men I have already alluded to:—"It is true that nothing of this kind can be executed without temporary offence to the prejudiced and the ignorant. But the opinion of these will soon be outweighed by the judgment of the reasonable and well-informed. The publication of Erasmus' Greek Testament in England, the early translations of the Bible into our native tongue,—nay, the Reformation, and even Christianity itself, gave rude shocks to popular prepossession, over which truth and right, conducted by Providence, must always gain a final triumph. The real question before us amounts to this,—whether we shall supply Christian readers and Christian congregations with new and ample means of instruction and pleasure, by enabling them to understand their Bible better?"

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

AN INCUMBENT OF THE PROVINCE OF CANTERBURY.

"A Curate" having deprecated any alteration, and called the Bible "his tool," the writer of the above thus replies:—

Sir,—The expediency of a revision of the English Bible is a question which may be viewed from many points; and it is highly desirable that each of these should be fairly considered. One of the most important is suggested by your correspondent who signs himself "An East-end Curate." The English Bible is, he says, the tool with which he works; and he exhibits a natural repugnance to any change which would be likely to render the instrument less efficient.

I altogether sympathize with this gentleman, and as far as I should advocate a revision it would be mainly directed to the single object of making the working clergyman's "tool" a more effective one. Let us now see a few of the steps by which this result might be effected, without calling into action too much of

that biblical criticism which, strangely enough, seems to excite so much alarm in the breasts of divines belonging to the once learned Church of England.

1. One very obvious reform would result from the simple change of obsolete idioms to the phraseology of the present day. For instance, King James's translators used the English pronouns *his*, *her*, and *its* indifferently, but at the present time their confusion is always ungraceful. A gate opening "on *his* hinges" grates upon every ear. St. Paul's beautiful description of charity is sadly defaced by the union of the phrases "doth not behave *itself* unseemly," and "seeketh not *her* own;" and in one passage (Ezekiel xvii. 7—9), your correspondent will find "his tool" very difficult indeed to work with, unless he has some friend to inform him that he may substitute *its* for *her* in the whole passage. So, again, with the use of the preposition *of*. To be "eaten *of* worms" may be understood pretty well, but "to make to ourselves friends *of* the mammon of unrighteousness" is an expression which has puzzled hundreds and thousands.

2. It is surely desirable that where precisely identical phrases occur in the original the identity should be preserved in the translation. Now, every student of the original text is aware that one of the most remarkable phenomena in the first three gospels is their peculiar verbal parallelism. Under the hands of the translators all traces of this have vanished for the English reader. Surely this defect might be remedied without mischief. Why should the same words of our Lord be rendered in one case "He that is not against us is *on our part*," and in another, "He that is not against us is *for us*?" Why should the same phrases be translated here "the spirit *indeed is willing*," and there "the spirit *truly is ready*?" I say nothing of variations in the rendering of single words, as, for instance, in John ii. 8, 9, where the "governor of the feast" is the same as the "ruler of the feast;" John xv. 26, 27, where the same word is rendered "to testify," and to "bear witness;" Luke xxiv. 29, where the same word is translated "to abide," and "to tarry;" and Matthew xxv. 46, where *αἰώνιος* is translated both by "everlasting" and "eternal," except that where they are obviously unnecessary the translation becomes less faithful by their use.

3. Another class of inaccuracies is more important in the case of the uneducated man, who desires not only to read, but to mark and compare the different parts of his English Bible. The same proper name is continually rendered differently. Kennicott has enumerated no less than thirty-one instances of this in the Pentateuch alone. How can we consider the "East-end Curate's" "tool" to do its work properly, when *Gaza* appears as *Azza*, *Rachel* as *Rahel*, *Haran* as *Charman*, and the like?

4. Some passages of the translation have their meaning obscured by inattention to the exact meaning of the peculiar words employed in the original. Thus, in a most important instance—Matthew v. 39—42, there is no trace of what is obvious in the Greek, that the acts referred to are those incident to the military occupation of Judæa by the Roman armies. Of the false applications of the text, which would have been probably precluded had the word "press" stood instead of "compel," it is unnecessary here to speak. Other passages, even where their meaning is not obscured, lose much of their force by an injudicious substitution of one word for another. In Romans i. 19, the play of words in the original, "that which may be known of God is manifest (*φανερὸν*) among them: for God hath *manifested* (*ἐφανερώσε*) it to them," is sacrificed by the use of the word "shewed." So, Rom. xv. 4, 5, "*patience and comfort* of the Scriptures" is followed by "the God of *patience and comfort*," just as in verses 12, 13, "in him shall the Gentiles *hope*" is followed by "Now, the God of *hope*." In both these cases King James's translators, by substituting "consolation" for "comfort," and "trust" for "hope," have entirely destroyed the effect of St. Paul's manner.

5. But there is nothing which would so decidedly improve the edge of the "Curate's" "tool" as the general discontinuance of the absurd practice of breaking up the sacred writings into chapters and verses. If anyone had set to work advisedly to obscure their meaning to the utmost possible extent, he could not have hit upon a more effectual expedient. Happily, some editions have

been printed in which this insane arrangement has been discontinued, and the use of them seems to be growing. The first example of the more reasonable practice was, I believe, given by that most excellent prelate, Bishop Wilson; but it has been adopted by the Tract Society, and good service have they done to the cause of true religion by their so-called Paragraph Bibles, which, I trust, will within a few years supersede all others.

6. The steps which I have above suggested are independent of all considerations of the new biblical apparatus which has accrued since the existing translation of the Bible was made; I do not hesitate to say that I should wish to see one more taken. I do not think it honest that where there are important variations in MSS., the English reader should be allowed to remain in ignorance of the fact. Whether some portions of the text, which at present stand with the same authority attaching to them as their context, should be relegated to the margin of our Bibles, or whether short notes should be appended here and there, informing the reader of the doubtful basis on which such passages rest, I will not pretend to decide. But of one thing I am quite sure, that no doctrine of the Church of England requires to be bolstered up by uncritical and unscholar-like handling of the text of Scripture; and that it will be an evil day for her when she gives herself over (as seems not very unlikely), to the guidance of those who would have her shun the light of sound learning.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

AN INCUMBENT OF THE PROVINCE OF CANTERBURY.

September 1.

The American Bible Union and their New Translation.

[We are sorry to have to leave on record the following particulars from an American paper. Should the statement be contradicted, we shall take care to give the results in our pages.—*Ed. J. S. L.*]

It is well known, doubtless, to many of our readers, that a section of the Baptist Bible Society, under the name of the American Bible Union, has been engaged for some years in the work of making a new translation of the Holy Scriptures. Some revelations have lately been made concerning this enterprise, which it is well all should know.

Dr. Maclay, first the agent, and afterwards the President of the Bible Union, has recently published a pamphlet of twenty-five pages, over his own signature, containing such revelations, as it is apprehended will result in the annihilation of the whole concern. On this subject, the *New York Commercial Advertiser* says:—"After such disclosures, honourable Christian gentlemen can scarcely remain in connexion with it, and those who may still endeavour to carry on its operations, are not likely to receive from the community the pecuniary aid necessary for that purpose."

Much of this pamphlet is taken up with a history of the mismanagement of funds; misrepresentations in regard to the number and qualifications of the translators, etc., with which we do not care particularly to trouble our readers. In regard to the latter point, however, Dr. Maclay briefly says:—"Some of them unquestionably lacked the essential qualifications of a translator."

What we desire chiefly to shew our readers, is, how they went about their work, and also some specimens of what they achieved.

In reference to the Greek text, which *was* to have been used as a standard, Dr. Maclay says:—

"It will be recollected that, in the famous Amity-street letter, Dr. Williams charged the Bible Union with improper secresy, in withholding from the Churches a knowledge of the Greek text, to be used as the standard of revision; and that in the reply, written by Dr. Judd, and adopted by the Board, it was said:—

"This subject received our early and prayerful attention, and after obtaining the most satisfactory information respecting it, with the counsel of competent advisers, and our own mature deliberation, we determined to use the

received text as critically edited by the best scholars of the age, and published by Bagster and Sons, London, octavo edition, 1851.'

"Previous to this the Board had established certain general rules for the direction of Translators and Revisers, of which the third reads thus:—

" 'Translations or revisions of the New Testament shall be made from the received Greek text, critically edited, with known errors corrected.'

"Also, certain 'Special Instructions to the Revisers of the English New Testament,' of which the first reads as follows:—

" 'The common English version must be the basis of revision; the Greek text, Bagster and Sons' octavo edition of 1851.'

"These are all the rules of the Union respecting the Greek text; neither of them has ever been abrogated or altered; and as they stand they admit of no departure from the 'received text' as critically edited (not by revisers of the Bible Union, but by distinguished scholars in times past), and subsequently published by Bagster and Sons in 1851. Yet it appeared, on examination, that some revisers had undertaken what seemed to me more presumptuous than the selection of some other text, such as Griesbach's, Scholz's, or Tischendorf's, and more unsafe than the preparation of a new, independent recension by competent hands from original sources, viz., a revision of the 'received Greek text,' by weighing all the different manuscripts, to ascertain the relative value of their various readings, as given by second hand authorities, verifying or modifying these readings by ancient versions and patristic writings, collating and comparing the opinions of different editors; then selecting or rejecting any particular reading, according as it was found to be, *in the reviser's judgment*, genuine or spurious; his English versions being conformed to this eclectic edition of the Greek text."

It may well be supposed that men with such defective scholarship, and such strong sectarian prejudices, would be apt to produce rather a curious kind of Bible. Witness the following:—

"In one book which came under my observation, after it had been stereotyped, a cursory examination shewed that the reviser had deviated from the 'received Greek text' in two places, by adding something to it; in twelve places, by substituting something for it; in twenty-two places, by rejecting something of it. And one of the portions rejected as, *spurious*, embraced *twelve consecutive verses*! In another place the following passage is cut out of the Bible:—

" 'For an angel went down at a certain season into the pool, and troubled the water; whosoever then first after the troubling of the water stepped in was made whole of whatsoever disease he had.'

"Where the common version reads, 'That whoever believeth in him should not perish, but have eternal life,' the received Greek text has been so critically edited that, in the revised English version, the same passage reads thus: 'That every one that believes on Him may have eternal life.' And the rejection of 'Jesus,' 'John,' 'Christ,' and 'Amen,' are specimens of the smaller changes, which have resulted from this revision of the Greek text."

Dr. Maclay says that when he came to look at the work already stereotyped, he found much in it well calculated to shake the confidence of men in the truth of God's Word. He makes the following quotations from this already stereotyped translation of St. John's Gospel:—

"In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and God was the Word."—John i. 1.

"He it is that immerses in a holy spirit."—John i. 33.

"If any man be not born of water and spirit."—John iii. 5.

"The son can do nothing of himself, if he see not the Father doing anything."—John v. 16.

"But this he said of the spirit which those believing on him were about to receive; for there was not yet a holy spirit."—John x. 28.

"Jesus, therefore, when he saw her weeping, and the Jews, who came with her, weeping, he groaned in the spirit, and troubled himself."—John xi. 33.

"Who were begotten—not of blood, nor of a will of man—but of God. And

the Word became flesh and dwelt among us (and we saw his glory, a glory as of one only begotten of a father), full of grace and truth."—John i. 12, 14.

And the Doctor adds:—"These are by no means the most objectionable renderings. In this and other books are some which I would not disclose to the public eye."

In conclusion he says:—"Being fully satisfied, from personal examination, that the funds which I have done so much to collect, and which I know have been most sacredly devoted, by the rich and the poor, to one of the holiest purposes of Christian charity, are being squandered; that a vast amount is expended for operations remote from the one great object of the Institution; that men are employed to translate the Word of God who are not qualified for the work; that unwarrantable translations have been made, which, if published, must bring into discredit the most precious doctrines of our faith, sap the fundamental truths of Christianity as indubitably revealed in the Holy Scriptures, and shake the confidence of the people in the Canon of the sacred writings; that such are likely to be published for indiscriminate circulation without the previous precautionary examination, provided for, and required by, the plan and rules of revision, as originally adopted by the Board; that the controlling power of the Institution has become completely centralized in one man; and that the exercise of that power is not only such as to forbid the hope of reform, but also to blast the name and influence of every one who advocates reform; feeling perfectly satisfied of all this, I am compelled, by a stern sense of duty, to abandon the enterprise, and to free myself, as far as possible, from all further responsibility in its operations. And I cannot doubt that my friends, when rightly informed, will justify me in so doing."

That anyone *out* of the Bible Union will be found to regret the failure of this whole scheme, is not very probable. It was a most reprehensible attempt to corrupt the fountain of truth, and has met with deserved disaster.

If *one*, why may not *every* denomination carve out its own creed, garble and interpolate, and translate Holy Scripture to suit its own narrow notions?—*Banner of the Cross*.

On the subject of Mr. Heywood's motion, the *Guardian* has the following observations.

It is a somewhat exaggerated alarm, perhaps, with which many excellent persons regard the possible revision of our authorized version of Holy Scripture. The simple fact that we are every day using a Psalter belonging to a different translation from that which we have adopted in the Bible, out of which the Lessons are read, ought to make us hesitate to pronounce that the faith of the people would of necessity be shaken by a further change. To the majority of Churchmen the Prayer-book version of the Psalms, that is to say, the translation in Cranmer's Bible, is more familiar than the later rendering in the Authorized Version. It was, indeed, the same line of reasoning which is now adopted against any alteration of our existing Bible, which preserved that older Psalter in our Prayer-books. But the considerations which were then thought sufficiently strong to outweigh such arguments, so far as the Bible itself was concerned, might prevail again; the authority of King James's translators might be superseded by that of a more accurate version, just as they superseded Tyndall and Coverdale with Cranmer and the Bishops of an earlier age. The mere difficulty of securing acceptance for a Bible differing in phraseology from that which we now possess would not, in our opinion, be insurmountable. It would be much greater than it was at the beginning of the seventeenth century, because the Bible is more largely used, and more familiarly known than it was in that age; but a single generation might possibly outlive the difficulty, and find the new Bible, at the close of it, as familiar as the old. We should be sorry to affirm, either that it is impossible to make a better version than we have, or that, if a better version were made, it would be wrong to desire its authoritative introduction.

It is quite another question, however, whether we are so circumstanced as to be able to enter upon the undertaking with any probability of gaining that

advantage which alone could justify the risk. For it is clear that, although (as we have said), a new and improved version of the Bible might supersede the old without any detriment to faith, or any serious shock to reverence, it by no means follows that a new version—not being an improvement—would have the same success. And there could hardly be a more deplorable condition of things than the existence of two Bibles in every house, each the watchword of a party, and the scorn of its foes. To what lengths men may go in their hostility to the sacred volume itself, when it assumes this character of an armoury for weapons against their own belief, the Bible-burning outrages of Dublin and Birmingham will bear witness. The evil would be greater in the case we are supposing than even in these Romish malpractices; for in proportion to the strictness with which men reverence the Bible will be the mischief effected by anything that converts that reverent regard into dislike or contempt. At present the book of Holy Scripture is the one thing left as a common object of reverence to the diverse sects which disfigure the religious aspect of Anglo-Saxon Christendom. All appeal to it. Nearly all refuse to enter upon any discussion, or embrace any belief, which does not seem, at least, to recognize its divine inspiration. But, then, the book which they accept is *one*, not merely as to its divine original, but in the form and language which actually influence men's affections and determine the doctrines they hold. To destroy this simple identity by the introduction of rival claimants in their belief would be the surest way to weaken, if not to destroy it for ever. No one cause, perhaps, did so much to prepare Europe for the overthrow of the Papal rule as the sight of rival Pontiffs exercising for forty years the functions of the pontificate in open hostility, and dividing the allegiance of the Western Church. Where one or the other must of necessity be wrong, it was no distant step to argue that neither might be right. He must be a bold man who could assert, in the face of German Rationalism and French Infidelity, that no similar result could follow the establishment of a second Bible, claiming the homage, but not securing the acceptance, of the Protestant world.

What, then, is the likelihood that we shall obtain another version so manifestly superior to the old, and so clearly free from party influences as to command universal assent? The Authorized Version came out with all the weight of Royal Sanction, when the prerogative was at its height, and the ecclesiastical government bound up in closer union with it than at any time before or since. What the Royal authority is worth now in any religious matter, let the discussion about Sunday observance, the decision of the Gorham case, or the refusal of the Crown to allow Convocation its liberties, attest. Who does not see that the new translation would have just so much authority, and no more, as the character of the translators, and the general reputation of their work, might command? And this reputation would depend not so much on that accuracy of scholarship of which very few could be competent judges, as on the general spirit of the version, its freedom from palpable errors, and its success in making passages hitherto obscure to become easy of interpretation to the unlearned multitude. Its repute would be at an end from the moment when it was discovered that particular views or theories had influenced its alterations, and that the doctrinal standards of any party or school had sought to find a justification in the amended phraseology of Holy Writ.

It is of no little significance that the motion which was made in Parliament to obtain the revision proceeded from one who has dallied with German theories of inspiration. What credit would a version made under such auspices have with the vast majority of Englishmen, who believe that they have the very Word of God as the rule of their practice and their faith? The same active innovator has made incursions upon the sanctities of our marriage law, and the morality which underlies it; he has endeavoured to overthrow religious ascendancy in the ancient Universities, whose teaching without religion would lose all its national pre-eminence; and he has sought to weaken the respect of the people for the Lord's Day, on grounds peculiarly offensive to the general religious sentiment of the country. A demand from such a quarter for a new Bible is simply a demand for the gratification of a scientific whim; it is asked

for as men ask for a new Ordnance Survey or a statistical return. Whatever might be said of a really improved version of the Bible made with the whole authority of the Church, and with the assent of learned men beyond her pale, we are sure that this would be a failure in every sense. Let us keep our ancient Bible, the noblest monument of our language, and the best inheritance of our race, until we have some happier augury of an improved revision than Mr. Heywood's patronage, or even the Parliamentary address, which he has failed, we are happy to say, for the present to obtain.

The Bible in Spain and Italy.—A somewhat larger amount of religious liberty having been of late, by law, conceded to the people, Spain seems now to be awakening, so to speak, out of the sleep of ages, and is seeking the light which it is conscious can be obtained in all its purity only from the inspired Word of God. Hence has arisen an increasing demand for copies of the Holy Scriptures in the Spanish language, with a preference for translations representing, like the Society's version, the sense of the Hebrew and Greek originals, and not according with the Latin Vulgate, like those of Scio, and Torres Amat.

Attention has been drawn to the works of their ancient Reformers, and, in particular, a desire has been excited to possess the justly celebrated translation of the Bible, published in 1602, by Cipriano de Valera. With such rigour and perseverance was this edition of the Bible searched for and destroyed by the Inquisition in Spain, that copies of it are now but rarely to be met with. An attempt was made to reprint it last year in Madrid, but it failed; and certain portions of it have recently been published, with modernized orthography, both in London and in Scotland. But it appears to be so important to supply, as soon as may be practicable, and in as satisfactory a manner as possible, the demand which has now arisen for this venerable version of the Holy Scriptures, that the foreign translation Committee have determined to undertake the work upon the plan they adopted so successfully, as they have reason to believe, with their new edition of Diodati's Bible; the Spanish version of Cipriano de Valera requiring, for the Spaniard of the present day, just the same kind of revision which has rendered the translation of Diodati suitable to the apprehension and taste of the modern Italian. For the effecting of this object the Committee have been able to make such arrangements, and to engage such assistants, as seem to promise a successful accomplishment of the work.

The history of the original version is not uninteresting, and it is soon told. The particulars are found more in detail in Dr. Mc. Crie's *History of the Reformation in Spain*. The work may be said to have originated with Juan Perez, who was sent to Rome in 1527 as *chargé d'affaires* of Charles V., and procured from the Pope a suspension of the decree by which the Spanish divines had condemned the writings of Erasmus. Subsequently he was placed at the head of the College of Doctrine at Seville, where he became intimate with Egidius and other favourers of the Reformation. His talents and probity secured him the esteem of foreigners, among whom he afterwards resided, first at Geneva, and afterwards in France. Juan Perez published a version of the New Testament in 1556; and his translation of the Psalms followed in the course of the subsequent year. These works were both printed at Venice. He died not long afterwards at Paris, having bequeathed all his fortune to the printing of the Bible in his native tongue. The task which he left unfinished was continued by Cassiodoro de Reyna, who, after ten years labour, printed a translation of the whole Bible, in 1569, at Basle.^a It was revised and corrected by Cipriano de Valera, who published the New Testament in 1596, in London, and both Testaments in 1602, at Amsterdam. Cipriano, it is said, came to England "soon after the accession of Elizabeth, and appears to have spent the remainder of his life chiefly in this country. After studying for some time in both universities, he devoted himself to the writing of original works in Spanish, and the translating of others into that language. The most of these were published in England,

^a This is the edition called *The Bear Bible*, from its having the figure of a bear on the title page.

where also his translation of the Bible, though printed abroad, was prepared for the press." This edition contains, by way of preface, an exhortation to the reader, in which, after stating that his work was a revised edition of Cassiodoro de Reyna's Bible, he adds:—

"I was fifty years old when I commenced this work, and in this year, 1602, in which it has pleased my God to bring it to light, I am seventy years old (an age in which the strength fails, the memory is dull, and the eyes grow dim). I have therefore been employed in this work for twenty years; all which labour I consider very well bestowed." And he then proceeds, in language which may well be addressed to his countrymen of the present day, while it expresses also the motives with which the republication of his work is now undertaken:—"My intention has been to serve my God, and to do good to my nation. And how can I do so better than in presenting it with the means which God has ordained to gain souls to him, which is the reading of the sacred Scriptures? Here good news is offered to the poor; here a medicine is given to heal the broken-hearted; here is preached liberty to the captives and sight to the blind; here is published the acceptable year of the Lord; here the mourners are comforted; and the rest which Isaiah says in chap. lxi., and which the Lord quotes in Lu. iv. 18. May it please God, for his Christ's sake, to accept this my MINCHAH (thank offering), this my evening sacrifice which I offer to him in my old age. I pray him to bless this his work, so that his holy name which is published in it may be sanctified in Spain as it is in other nations."

It would seem that the circulation of this work on its first appearance in Spain was much more extensive than might have been expected; for the celebrated Diodati, in a letter to the Synod of Alençon, dated May 1, 1637, says:—

"The new Spanish translation of Cipriano de Valera has produced incredible effects in Spain; no less than three thousand copies having penetrated by secret ways and conveyances, into the very heart of that kingdom."

And then he adds:—

"Let others publish the fruit of my Italian version, both in Italy and elsewhere."

The fruit of his own labour, thus alluded to by Diodati, seems likely now, under the Divine blessing, to become more abundant than it ever was in his own time, or than he himself, probably, ever ventured to anticipate. The demand for his faithful translation of the Bible has increased, of late, to such an extent in Italy, as to have provoked the publication there, by authority, of Martini's translation of the New Testament from the Vulgate, for sale at a comparatively cheap rate, and, strange to say, even for gratuitous distribution. Martini was Archbishop of Florence half a century ago; and his translation, which is the only Italian version of the Bible allowed to be sold or read in Italy, was for many years to be legally obtained, in that country, only in 23, 31, or 36 vols. octavo, with the Latin Vulgate text in a parallel column, and accompanied with copious explanatory notes, or in 17 vols. octavo, or 12 vols. of a smaller size, without the Latin text. Less voluminous editions have more recently appeared, and the whole work can now be obtained in three volumes of the largest 8vo. form, but at a cost which, comparatively, only a few Italians can afford to pay. Various cheap editions of the Italian text alone, printed without the notes, from time to time, some in Italy, and others in London, have been all put into the 'Index,' or catalogue of books prohibited to be sold. The copy of the New Testament now put forth by authority, omits the Vulgate Latin, but retains the notes; and the selling price of it, unbound, is seven Pauls, or about three shillings.

But this publication by no means meets the craving for the pure word of God, now existing and daily increasing in Italy. There, no less than in Spain, translations from the Vulgate are looked upon with suspicion. It is known that Diodati's version represents the sense of the Hebrew and Greek originals. Diodati they ask for, Diodati they will have, and Diodati, in spite of all obstacles, they get. Other societies, employing agents for the distribution of Bibles and Testaments abroad, have found means of introducing it largely. But a preference is always manifested for this Society's last edition of Diodati's version,

wherever it has been seen and examined; and avoiding, for reasons which will be understood and appreciated, all mention of names, either of persons or places, it will be sufficient to state, that, through the ordinary operation of grants made to certain members of the Society who have applied for them, or from purchasers by others for this purpose, many copies of this edition have found their way into various parts of Italy, and excited a desire for a much larger supply. The consequence has been, that the Foreign Translation Committee has been obliged to take measures for printing immediately a new edition of the New Testament, of the same form and size as the present; and, to meet a special request on the part of Italians themselves, it was determined, at the same time, to put forth another edition in octavo, and in larger type, for the comfort and convenience of older and weaker eyes.—*Report of the Foreign Translation Committee of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.*

De Sacy's Version of the Bible.

To the Editor of "The Record."

Sir,—I concluded some former remarks on the circulation of Romish versions of the Bible by saying that we are no more authorized to sanction, for the sake of expediency, an intentional perversion of the Holy Scriptures than we should be to preach a Romanized Gospel. Now, after a patient consideration of what has been said for the last twenty years in favour of circulating the Romish versions, it is most clear that *expediency* (however it may be stated) is still the one ground taken. It is supposed that more good may be done, more persons may be conciliated, by using a Romish version; and thus the end is allowed to sanction the means. In some cases, perhaps, those who are engaged in this work are unaware of the true character of the translation used, but by those whose attention has been directed to that point such ignorance can no longer be pleaded.

But with regard to some of these Romish versions, and that of De Sacy in particular, we are now told that the translators were such good and excellent men that their names are sufficient to guarantee their work, and that it is wrong (perhaps false) to call their translations "corrupt" or "corrupted."

To what, then, does this argument amount? Suppose that it were said that some individual *could not* be charged with preaching a corrupt Gospel because *he* himself is so wise and excellent. Would this preclude us from judging his doctrinal statements looked at in themselves? And if we found him in any way setting aside the doctrine that we receive forgiveness and acceptance simply on the ground of the one sacrifice of Christ for us, laid hold of by *faith*, should we not in allegiance to our Lord be bound to condemn the teaching which made our works, or deservings, or the true ordinances of God, or the additions made by men, to be in any sort the ground (whether in whole or in part) of our justification and acceptance?

Just so as to the versions of that Scripture which we profess in common to believe to be the written record of the Holy Ghost.

I hope that I shall not be thought to depreciate De Sacy or to undervalue the measure of light possessed by the Jansenists, or to be unmindful of their sufferings. I have had personal intercourse with living Jansenists (such as the late Archbishop Van Santem, of Utrecht), and I believe that I may safely say that by my little book, *The Jansenists; their Rise, Persecutions by the Jesuits, and Existing Remnant*, I made known to many in this country what was perfectly new to them—that Jansenists still exist.

I believe that De Sacy made his translation with very good intention, but with that measure of doctrinal submission to all that has been defined by the Council of Trent which prevented him from giving a true rendering in certain dogmatic passages. He supposed that "the Church" was infallible in matters of *faith*, and thus he had a clog on his mental and spiritual perceptions. Also at the time when he made his version the position of the Jansenists was such that he would be peculiarly careful not to carry on to matters of *faith* the non-acquiescence with the decrees of Rome which they applied to matters of *fact*.

If the dogmas of Rome were assailed in De Sacy's translation, it was because of the measure of the light of God's truth which shone out in spite of all hindrances. But this is no sanction for *our* taking such a place of semi-submission to the ordinances of the Vatican.

But there were other drawbacks with regard to De Sacy's version: he acted on this unfortunate principle, "*mettre le commentaire dans le texte même*;" and thus the *translation* itself is frequently to be found in the *notes*, and there only. As of course the British and Foreign Bible Society publishes no part of the *notes*, it circulates unconsciously the *comment* on many passages, and not the *translation*. Take, as a specimen of this, the addition to the Second Commandment, that the *supreme* worship of creatures is alone forbidden.

The later Jansenists, who learned that it was in vain to think of submitting to Rome in matters of *faith*, as well as in those of *fact*, would not have been hampered in the manner that De Sacy was; and from them, I suppose, the revision of De Sacy's New Testament proceeded (printed about 1739), in which there are many doctrinal amendments. The notion of "penance," in the place of "repentance," is, I believe, wholly extruded. How superior would *this* revision be, to the text of De Sacy circulated by the British and Foreign Bible Society.

But if a version were made with honest intention, how can it be rightly called "corrupt" or "corrupted?" If a forged note be in circulation, it may pass through many hands, and that honestly, from the forgery not having been known; but if a holder of the note passes it, after he is cognizant of the fraud, it becomes an act of simple *dishonesty*; and it would be no excuse for him to say that he had unwittingly received it. The dishonesty, in the one case, and the corruption in the other, are equally plain; the unconsciousness of those who passed the note would not cause it to be the less a forgery; the reliance on Romish doctrine, by those who falsely rendered Holy Scripture, would not make the *work* to be the less a *corruption*, even though *their* design was one of honest intention; and this corruption, be it observed, is adopted and endorsed by every one who knowingly and wittingly circulates such a version, as if it were Holy Scripture.

Some of the correspondents of the *Record* have shewn plainly that there is no practical hindrance to the adoption of any honest version for France, instead of De Sacy: this removes even the alleged plea of "expediency;" and it is an answer to all that has been said of the impossibility of carrying on the work of Bible circulation in that country, unless a version from the Vulgate be used.

The question, however, is one of *principle*, and as such I earnestly desire that the subscribers to the British and Foreign Bible Society may regard it, whatever has been the present decision of the Committee.

I remain, yours, etc.,

Plymouth, Aug. 29, 1856.

S. PRIDEAUX TREGELLES.

The Ascent of Mount Ararat by Five Englishmen.

To the Editor of "The Times."

Sir,—In this age of ripe experience, when universal enterprize and searching investigation have brought almost everything beneath their touch, it is something to be able to announce to the public the accomplishment of an undertaking which has hitherto been deemed impossible, while by many the very attempt would have been considered as bordering on the impious.

To most men the name of Ararat suggests thoughts of a solemn nature; and, among the people who inhabit the countries round its base, its snow-capped summit is regarded with mingled awe and veneration, being guarded from all approach, according to their belief hitherto, not only by physical obstructions of an insuperable nature, but also by divine prohibition. This belief no longer exists, and the practicability of ascending Mount Ararat is now an established fact.

On the 11th inst., a party, consisting of Major Alick J. Fraser, the Rev. Walter Thursby, Mr. James Theobald, jun., of Winchester, Mr. John Evans, of

Darley Abbey, Derbyshire, and myself, started from Bayazid on this new expedition. We were accompanied by two servants and a zaptieh, or native policeman, and by the kindness of the Kaïmakam, Hadjee Mustapha Effendi, we were consigned to the special charge of Issak Bey, a chief of the Ararat Kurds, under whose safeguard we had nothing to fear from the plundering habits of his followers. At Bayazid we had provided ourselves each with a stout pole between five and six feet long, furnished with a spike at one end and a hook at the other.

Crossing the plain of Ararat we commenced the ascent through a wide ravine, enclosed between vast ridges of volcanic rock. For three hours we wound our way through rugged defiles, occasionally traversing fertile plateaus, verdant with growing crops of wheat and barley. Our sure-footed little horses, accustomed to this sort of work, picked their way through the most breakneck places, and brought us in safety to the black goats'-hair tents of our host, which were pitched on some pasture lands on the southern slope of Greater Ararat, about 8,000 feet above the level of the sea. Hither the Kurds resort in summer with their flocks and herds, returning to the villages of the plain at the approach of winter.

A portion of the chief's tent was set apart for our use; the floor was covered with gay-coloured carpets, a fat sheep was killed, and everything was supplied that Kurdish hospitality could suggest.

At 3 o'clock next morning we were on the move, all except Mr. Thursby, who, to our regret, was obliged by indisposition to remain in the tent. Three hours of continued ascent on foot brought us to the base of the cone. Here Major Fraser bore off to the south-east, and took a line of his own, while Mr. Theobold, Mr. Evans, and I, commenced the ascent on the southern side, keeping to the snow, which presented an unbroken surface to the very summit.

To my two friends, who are experienced Alpine climbers, this was easy work, but it soon began to tell unfavourably on my unaccustomed limbs. For a time we kept pretty well together; by degrees, however, Mr. Theobold began to forge a-head, followed by Mr. Evans, while I brought up the rear as well as I could. But my strength was fast giving way, and when about half way up the cone I found myself utterly unable to proceed any further. Accordingly, there being no alternative but to descend, I sat on the snow and shot down with the velocity of an arrow, undoing in a few minutes the laborious toil of nearly three hours. This was a keen disappointment, amply repaid to me however, as will appear by and by.

At the foot of the cone I found Issak Bey, who with a couple of his people had come out to watch our progress. He looked on my failure as a matter of course, and seemed to think the others, too, must soon give in; but no, up they went higher and higher, his interest and surprise keeping pace with their ascent.

For some hours we watched their upward course, the sharp naked eye of the Kurd plainly discerning what I was able to see only with the aid of a telescope. At length, at 1.45, Mr. Theobold crowned the summit. Great was the astonishment of the chief. "Mashallah!" he exclaimed, "God is great!"—"What wonderful people these English are; a few of them come here, and without any difficulty walk to the top of that holy mountain, a thing that never was done by man before. Wonderful, wonderful!"

At 2.50 Mr. Evans reached the summit. He and Mr. Theobold made the descent together, by the same track that they ascended, and returned to the tents about sunset.

We must now follow the movements of Major Fraser, who, as already stated, took a line of his own. Not being accustomed like the others to snow work, he chose a ridge of stone, which led up about two-thirds of the ascent. Over this he made his way without much difficulty, and then, taking to the snow, he patiently toiled upwards till within a few hundred feet of the summit. Here, in attempting to cross over to what appeared a more practicable line, he slipped on some thinly covered ice, and losing all control over himself, he shot down with fearful velocity, now head, now foot foremost, over a space of about a thousand

feet. By wonderful efforts and presence of mind he succeeded in arresting his perilous descent, and, scrambling with difficulty to a rocky ridge that protruded above the snow, he climbed over it with immense labour; and thus recovering his lost way, he won the height about 3.30, having been thrown back full three hours by his mishap. He descended on the traces of Messrs. Theobald and Evans, and regained the tents at midnight, having been about twenty hours on foot.

On the 13th, about 2 p.m., Mr. Thursby and I started from the tents accompanied by two Kurds, carrying rugs, greatcoats, and a small supply of provisions. We proceeded slowly and leisurely until we reached about one-third the ascent of the cone. There we were obliged to dismiss the Kurds, who, from religious fear, refused either to proceed further or to spend the night on the mountain; but, to insure their return in the morning for the rugs, etc., we thought it expedient to detain their arms, the dearest possession of these nomade people.

As we had neither of us much fancy to try the ascent by the snow, we chose a new line of our own over a rocky surface, facing nearly due south, which the wind and sun had bared nearly to the summit.

Left now to ourselves, we selected a spot to pass the night, piled up stones to windward as a shelter against the cold, and, having dined heartily, we made ourselves as comfortable as possible. We saw the sun set in indescribable glory, throwing the shadow of the vast mountain far away over Georgia and Aderbijan, and even darkening the distant haze of the Eastern horizon.

Wrapping ourselves in our rugs, we passed the night as well as could be expected, and at peep of dawn on the 14th we resumed the ascent. It certainly was toilsome and slow, but was, nevertheless, satisfactory.

From an elevation of about 14,000 feet above the sea we saw the sun rise in unclouded majesty, lighting up simultaneously to our view vast tracts of the Russian, Persian, and Turkish empires; that was a glorious sight never to be forgotten.

About 1,200 feet from the summit we came upon an oak cross that had been fixed there in the rock by Professor Abich in the year 1845; it was in perfect preservation, and the inscription, in Russian characters, was still legible.

This was the most difficult part of our ascent, the obstructions were frequent, and the climbing at times perilous; but caution and perseverance enabled us to overcome everything, and at 9 a.m. we had the satisfaction of standing on the highest point of the mountain. Here I stuck to the hilt in the snow a kama, or short double-edged sword, which we found at the foot of Abich's cross. Here also, as loyal Britons, we drank the health of our beloved Queen in brandy. Her Majesty will perhaps deign to accept this expression of allegiance on considering that hers is probably the first name that has been pronounced on that solemn height since it was quitted by the great patriarch of the human race; for no record or tradition exists of the ascent having ever been made before, although repeatedly tried by men of different countries, both European and Asiatic. Professor Abich made several attempts, but failed in all, as is proved by the position of the cross, by the testimony of the natives, and even by the confession of his own countrymen.

We descended on the tracks of the others, and got back to the tents about 4 p.m.

The whole surface of Mount Ararat bears evidence of having been subjected to violent volcanic action, being seamed and scored with deep ravines. The rocky ridges that protrude from the snow are either basalt or tufa; and near the summit we found some bits of pumice on a spot which still emits a strong sulphurous smell.

The summit itself is nearly level, of a triangular shape, the base being about 200 yards in length, the perpendicular about 300.

The highest point is at the apex of the triangle, which points nearly due west; separated from it by a hollow is another point of nearly equal altitude, and the base of the triangle is an elevated ridge, forming a third eminence. These three points stand out in distinct relief on a clear day.

The snow on the top is almost as dry as powder, and in walking over it we

did not sink more than half way to the knee. The impression left on my mind is, that the summit is an extinct crater filled with snow. We experienced no difficulty of respiration, except being sooner blown by exertion than we should have been at a lower level. The cold was intense; and though a perfect calm prevailed at the time at the foot of the cone, as we afterwards learnt, a keen wind was blowing from the west, which raised a blinding mist of fine snow that prevented us taking any distant views.

As may be supposed, our success has created no small sensation throughout the country; the fame of it preceded us wherever we went. It was announced as a sort of wonder to the caravans travelling eastward; and the Kaïmakam of Bayazid has made it the subject of a special report to Constantinople.

From the sacred character of the mountain, and the traditions associated with it throughout the East, identical as they are with scriptural records, I am inclined to think that a degree of importance will attach to this performance, in popular estimation, beyond what is due to a mere exhibition of nerve or muscle, and this, no doubt, will tell in favour of our national *prestige*.

On the 15th we ascended Lesser Ararat, but this being an ordinary affair does not call for a detailed account. I would only observe that, perhaps, from no other spot in the world can a finer or more extensive view be obtained. This view we had the good fortune to enjoy to perfection, with a cloudless sky and clear atmosphere.

To save your readers the trouble of referring to a gazetteer, I may state that the summit of Greater Ararat is 17,323 feet above sea level, and 14,300 above the plain: from base of cone to summit may be above 6,000 feet.

Lesser Ararat is 13,093 feet above sea level.

ROBERT STUART, Major, Special Service,
Asia Major.

Erzeroum, July 26.

M. Guizot on the Holy Scriptures; a speech delivered at the Protestant Biblical Society, in Paris.

"Gentlemen,—Called by your suffrages to the honour of presiding over your society, I have nothing new to tell you respecting its proceedings. You will hear the report of your committee on its labours, by which you will perceive that its activity continues and develops itself without any innovations, casualty, or clamour. I do not mean that our society attracts no attention; on the contrary, its merits are discussed, it is attacked, and the wisdom and efficacy of its works are questioned. It does not reply to those attacks, and refrains from discussion or defending itself. Averse to all controversy, it remains silent and acts. Is it solely actuated by moderation, prudence, fear of the struggle, or hesitation to engage in it? No, gentlemen, a higher and more Christian motive directs our conduct. We place faith, entire faith, on the one hand, in the divine origin and the divine inspiration of the holy books, and on the other, in their efficacious action and their salutary influence over the human soul. Those two convictions, those two faiths, are intimately connected with each other. How is it possible not to believe in the moral efficacy of the Old and New Testament, when we believe in their divine inspiration? How is it possible not to confide in their influence over man when we believe that they emanate from God? If you encounter anywhere doubts as to the moral efficacy of the holy books, hesitation or indifference to propagate them among men, you may be certain that faith and confidence in their divine inspiration is wanting or tottering. Whoever believes God to be present, and acting, and speaking in those books, cannot but wish that men should assist at that presence of God, hear that voice of God, and feel its effect in their soul. We are aware of the difficulties that may arise from the reading and study of the holy books, and of the bad use that may be made of a number of its passages and recitals. We know the obscurities, the problems which the learned may meet with in them, and the inconveniences which prudent persons may anticipate from them. But those are mere embarrassments of human science and conditions of human infirmity. Above those embarrassments and inconveniences rises and soars the divine character of the holy books, the divine spirit which fills and animates them. The meaning is

sometimes obscure,—difficult to understand and explain; but God is everywhere present—God is everywhere to be seen, heard, and felt; and through all the obscurities, all the difficulties to be met with, the continual spectacle of the presence and action of God, the constant sound of His voice cannot fail to strike, move, enlighten, and command mankind. Facts confirm that confidence of faith. Whether we consider the history of nations or the private life of individuals, the moral efficacy and salutary power of the holy books glowingly manifest themselves. Undoubtedly, even among nations where it is most assiduous and general, the reading of the holy books has not the effect of stifling the bad passions of men; it does not obviate all errors and faults. Man remains full of weakness and vice, even when conscious of the presence of God. But the habitual reading of the holy books preserves nations from the greatest perils; it prevents them from forgetting God. It has this advantage—that God remains for them, not an idea, a name, a system of philosophy, a riddle, but the real and living God, under whose eyes they constantly live, amid the struggles and casualties of this world. Religion and Christian faith have been and are still most ardently and obstinately attacked. What efforts have been made, and are still making—how many books, serious or frivolous, clever or scurrilous, have been and are still circulated for the purpose of destroying religion! Where has that fearful struggle been maintained with the greatest energy and success? Where has Christian faith been better defended? It was where the reading of the holy books was a general and assiduous practice, in churches, in the interior of families, and in solitary meditation. It is the Bible that contends and triumphs most efficiently in the war between incredulity and faith. As to its action over isolated individuals, over the human soul, what period offers us a more striking instance of it than the present one? We lately accompanied M. Adolphe Monod to his last abode. In the profound and general grief of those present could be seen a profound and general sentiment of the magnitude of the loss. That sentiment is the measure of the influence exercised by M. Monod over souls, and, if I may use an expression conveying my whole thought, of his Christian power. How did he acquire that power? Was it solely by his talent, his character, and devotedness to his mission? No doubt, his talent, his character, and indefatigable devotedness had a share in his strong action over souls; but he derived it principally from his profound and active faith in the Bible, his constant and ardent study of the holy books, and the continual and constant use he made of them. He spoke of them and explained them incessantly, and was indefatigable in preaching the Word of God. He began by testing himself and on himself the power of that Word. He also had his weaknesses, his languor, and his internal conflicts. It was with the aid of the holy books, by living assiduously with the Old and New Testament, that he overcame those perturbations of the soul and life. The holy books produced on his hearers the same effect they had had on himself. The object of one of his first works, *Lucile*, was principally to keep the Bible continually open before Christians. This was the real source of his power over their souls. He would be the first to tell you so, if you could still hear his voice. That other excellent Christian, whose memory and virtues will long live in this temple, M. Verny, had likewise derived from the same source that moral authority, that penetrating influence which you have all so often felt. Those two great Christians pursued the same course. May they long remain united in our affection, respect, and regret, as they were united in their faith and their labours! They have left us. God has called them off, no doubt because they had sufficiently accomplished their task in this world. Although they achieved a great deal, an immensity still remains to be achieved, and they are no longer with us. But we possess the holy books, in the name of which they spoke. Let us continue to place our faith in them, and to circulate them, as they did. The Bible will speak for them, for all, and to all."

Books.—"Books are spectacles with which to read nature. They teach us to understand and feel what we see, to decipher and syllable the hieroglyphics of the senses."—*Dryden*.

Books are an essential element of our social economy. The best minds of every age are trained by

“ Those dead but sceptred sovereigns, who still rule
Our spirits from their urns.”

From books they receive most of their culture ; and by them are disciplined in youth, stimulated in manhood, and solaced in age. “ When I am reading a book,” said Swift, “ whether wise or silly, it seems to me to be alive or talking to me.” Such is the feeling of every student who appreciates the author he reads.

“ There are those who desire a book as a living companion of the mind ; and to such, a good work is society to his loneliness—a balm to his troubles—a friend to the friendless—wealth to the poor, and, moreover, can keep the mind in action, though the body dies. It was Plato who went to play when he was elected to the consulship, but the evening before he died, he read. Mind lives by mind as it has been developed and preserved ; and man, by this medium, has shewn himself in action like an angel, in words like a god. Take this from him, and he is nothing.”

“ In books we have friends for every mood—comforters for every sorrow ; a glorious company of immortals, scattering their sweet influences on the worn and beaten paths of our daily life. Shapes ‘ that haunt thought’s wilderness ’ are around us, in toil, and suffering, and joy ; mitigating labour, soothing care, giving a keener relish to delight ; touching the heroic string in our nature with a noble sentiment ; kindling our hearts, lifting our imagination, and hovering alike over the couch of health and the sick pillow, to bless and cheer, and animate and console.”

Book-making, once a science, acquired by long laborious toil, has, by the appliances of modern machinery, become a mercantile pursuit of almost unlimited extent. In olden times, the *stylus* and parchment were the mechanical essentials of a book, and years were often devoted to its production ; now, by the magic of metal type and the steam-press, volumes are multiplied almost by the hour. Formerly, a book, both as to its mind and mechanism, was the sole work of the monk or scribe ; now there is a division of labour—the author writes it, the steam-press prints it, and the publisher is its purveyor to the public.

By this expedient, the universal diffusion of knowledge has been promoted, and each department of the labour been rendered more perfect. But for this, the light of learning would not have been reflected from the luminous page, while the Cimmerian gloom of the “ dark ages ” would have still cast deep shadows over the nations.

“ The PEN and the PRESS, bless’d alliance ! combined
To soften the heart and enlighten the mind ;
For *that* to the treasures of knowledge gave birth,
And *this* sent them forth to the ends of the earth ;
Their battles for truth were triumphant, indeed,
And the rod of the tyrant was snapped like a reed.
They were made to exalt us, to teach us, to bless,
Those invincible brothers—the PEN and the PRESS.”

A book has been curiously defined, “ brain preserved in ink,” and when there is plenty of the fruit, it is a conserve to tempt the most capricious palate. In ancient times, books were written on the bark of trees ; hence the Latin word *liber*, from which we derive our English term “ library.” “ Book ” is from the Saxon, “ *boc*,” a beech-tree.

A tablet made from the main body of a tree was called *codex* or *caudex*. Scipio Maffei distinguishes square and round books by the terms *codex* and *liber*, respectively. It is doubtful whether barks or stones were first written on ; although the Decalogue, the first writing of which we have any authentic account, was on the latter. The leaves of plants were long used for writing on—chiefly those of the palm, papyrus, tiles, etc. Leather and goat-skins were used by the Egyptians. Plates of copper and lead were also used in the East. Ac-

according to Josephus, the children of Seth wrote their inventions in astronomy, etc., on stone pillars. Hesiod's works were first written on tables of lead—Solon's laws on wooden planks. The wood was sometimes covered with wax, so that the writing could be easily effaced. Pliny thinks that writing on lead succeeded that on barks.

The term "volume" is from *volvo*, to roll, the earlier manuscripts being in the form of a scroll or roll.

The Chinese manufacture paper of linen, the fibres of the young bamboo, of the mulberry, the envelope of the silk-worm, of a native tree called *chu* or *ko-chu*, but especially of cotton. They were in possession of the art long before it was known in Europe; and, as Mecca was a sort of *dépôt* for the fabrics of China, it is by some very reasonably supposed, that the paper was brought from that country. Whatever might have been its origin, the art was undoubtedly employed and improved by the Arabs, who, in their career of conquest, carried it into Spain, about the beginning of the tenth century. Other accounts ascribe the invention of cotton paper to Greece; indeed, not only its origin, but the various improvements in its manufacture, and the different substitutions of new materials, have long been the subject of controversy.

Cotton paper was called *charta bombycina*: it was very white and strong, but not equal to that in which linen is a constituent.

With regard to linen paper, authorities differ widely. By some accounts, its manufacture was not introduced into Europe until the latter part of the fourteenth century, a mill having been, in 1390, established at Nuremberg. In 1366, however, the Republic of Venice granted a patent to the town of Treviso, for the exclusive manufacture of linen paper; and it is also stated, that the Arabs, when in Spain, on account of the scarcity of cotton, and the abundance of flax and hemp, substituted the latter material in its preparation. Their first manufactories were at Xativa, now San Felipe.—*Salad for the Social.*

Religious plays.—A very curious discovery has recently been made in Germany, which tends to throw some additional light upon the known early employment of English actors upon the Continent: it is the fragment (only a single leaf) of an English Moral Play, which appears from the character of the type, to have been printed abroad, and which, we may conjecture, was used for the purpose of representation. On the other hand, it is very possible that the piece itself was of a political complexion, and that on this account it was originally published in the Low Countries. It is a large folio, and at the head of the page, and in considerably coarser letter than the rest, we read these lines:

Trowth it is, that by my magnanymyte
I subdue Prynces for theyr offence;
But certaynly subdued shulde I be,
If that I wanted the helpe of prudence.

This species of title reads as if the whole performance might have been objected to in this kingdom at about the period when it was printed (the reign, perhaps, of Henry the Eighth or Mary), but what we have quoted above bears the appearance of English type, the rest, which comes below it, being foreign. The names of the characters in the play were at the side, but the margin has been cut away, and with it are gone portions of the allegorical appellations of the persons engaged in the representation: still, we can read "Temperance," "Charity," "Hope," "Prudence," "Justice," etc., as the interlocutors, and the stanza with which the drama commences is repeated near the conclusion of what has been recovered. It is indisputably a relic of great interest, and Mr. Weigel, the well-known bookseller of Leipsig, into whose hands it has luckily fallen, has just circulated among his friends an exact fac-simile (a xylograph) of the whole, which, in spite of abridgment at the top and bottom, as well as at the sides, measures rather more than 16 inches by 12. No resemblance can well be more perfect, and the paper is of the precise tint of the original. The moral tendency of the play may be seen from the following stanzas, put into the

mouth of Hope ; we place in brackets a few letters, necessarily supplied by conjecture, where the margin has been cut away :—

Th]at man that doth nat vnto me enclyne
In]hel dongeon damned is perpetually,
Ex[tremely priuate of the grace divyne.
T]herefore, man mortal, se thou thy mynde aply.

Vnto me, hope, whych by my policye
Bringe man, that erst was damned by synne,
Forto beholde our sauour eternally.
Beholde, what profite a man byme doth wynne.

We need hardly say that the punctuation is our own, for in the original it seems merely capricious, and not at all regulated by the sense.—*Athenæum*.

O B I T U A R Y.

THE REV. CANON ROGERS.

WE have much pleasure in offering a last tribute to the talents, usefulness, and worth of the Rev. Canon Rogers ; who, after having distinguished himself through a long life, as the scholar, clergyman, and country gentleman, was gathered to his fathers on Thursday, June 12. For the greater part of this notice we are indebted to the *Royal Cornwall Gazette*.

The Canon was eldest son of John Rogers, Esq., of Penrose, near Helstone, who married a sister of the revered Lord De Dunstanville. He was born July 17, 1778, and after a preparatory training at Helston Grammar School, was sent to Eton, and thence to Trinity College, Oxford. He was ordained to the curacy of St. Blazey, near St. Austell, and afterwards became rector of Mawnan, of which his family have the advowson, and which he held about thirty years. He was made canon of Exeter in 1820, and his attention to all the duties connected with the cathedral was marked by the same accuracy and order which distinguished him in all the relations and duties of his life. In February, 1832, he succeeded his father, and thenceforth devoted himself zealously to the duties which devolved on him, as a considerable landowner and mining lord. An accomplished botanist and mineralogist, he was well qualified, by previous attainments, as well as by taste, to enter upon this important charge, and whether in the improvement of his own property, or in promoting the general agricultural and mining interests of the county, he devoted himself to his work with steady energy, and with a judgment always to be relied on. He took a very active part in forwarding the adoption of the man engine for Tresavean mine. The proposal to improve the existing mode of descending and ascending mines originated in a premium offered in 1834 through the Cornwall Polytechnic Society, by Charles Fox, Esq., which ultimately resulted in the safe and effectual machine now in use. Tresavean, a mine then making very large returns, and whose great depth, more than a third of a mile, made the clambering up and down so great an extent of perpendicular ladders exhaustive of the strength, and destructive to the health of the men, was on both these accounts the most suitable for the experiment, and Canon Rogers, as the lord of the mine, took a personal interest in carrying out the costly experiment, whose success, we need not say, has been decisive, and whose introduction for the deep mines of Cornwall has been a valuable boon to adventurers and men.

His spirit as a Cornishman, and his scientific knowledge, led him to take a warm concern in everything connected with his native county ; its societies, antiquities, mineralogy and natural history. He published many papers in the transactions of the Royal Geological Society of Cornwall ; but he was chiefly distinguished as the profound scholar, well acquainted with several Oriental and modern languages, and in particular, a master of Hebrew. When the Society for promoting the conversion of the Jews was formed, it was a first object to provide an accurate edition of the Hebrew Bible. The laborious part of the work was undertaken by a converted Jew, named Frey ; but the reputation which Mr. Rogers had already established as a Hebrew scholar, made it a material object to obtain his supervision, and in addition

to his general assistance, all the proof-sheets were corrected by him. In the same department of literature he published, in 1832, *Remarks on Bishop Lowth's principles for correcting the text of the Hebrew Bible*; and in the following year, a *Metrical Arrangement of the Hebrew Psalms*, in two volumes. In 1849, he brought out *Reasons for publishing a new edition of the Peschito Version of the Old Testament*. All these works were published at Oxford. His latest publication was an article in the April number of the *Journal of Sacred Literature*, entitled "Remarks on Variæ Lectiones of the Hebrew Bible." Besides these, he printed, at Falmouth, in 1836, a treatise on the *Origin of Queen Anne's Bounty*; and at different times, *Scripture Proofs of the Catechism*, of which a fourth edition was published in 1852; *Broken Catechism*: and various single sermons, some of which, on subjects connected with Popish error, he preached at Exeter, and published within the last three or four years.

After a life of almost uninterrupted health, he was at length afflicted with a lingering disease, which for several months manifested the patience and resignation with which he bore his sufferings and increasing weakness. To the very last he never suffered the infirmities of advanced age and the prostration of mortal sickness to interfere with either his consideration for his poor neighbours and dependants, or his favourite studies and labours. On the peace festival of the Queen's birthday, only the day fortnight before his death, he caused all his labourers with their families, and his school children, to be feasted at Penrose, though unable himself to witness their enjoyment. He completed a paper on the subject of Hebrew criticism only a few days before his death; and on the very last day of his existence he wrote and dictated with his accustomed vigour and clearness of thought. This paper has been forwarded to the editor of the *Journal of Sacred Literature*, and appears in the present number. He had the comfort of seeing all his family around him in his last moments, and died as he lived, a simple practical christian, firm in his reliance on the merits of his blessed Saviour.

THE REV. DR. BUCKLAND.

DR. BUCKLAND, Dean of Westminster, but better and more widely known as one of the first geologists of his day, died at Clapham on Thursday the 14th of August. Unhappily, the intellectual death of Dr. Buckland dates, not from the year 1856, but from six or seven years ago, since which time a cloud has come over his once active mind, and he has spent the evening of his life in confinement.

William Buckland was born at Axminster, in the county of Devon, in the year 1784. He received his early education at Winchester School, whence he removed to Oxford in 1801, being elected to a scholarship on the Exeter foundation of Corpus Christi College. He took his degree of B.A. in 1805, just before the institution of the system of classical honours, so that we look in vain for his name in the Oxford class-lists. He was elected Fellow of his college in 1808, and gained an early reputation for his scientific attainments in geology. Accordingly, in 1813, he was appointed Reader in Mineralogy, and in 1818 Reader in Geology, to the University. His geological lectures are said to have been characterized by such clearness and comprehensiveness, accompanied by aptness of illustration, that they were attended with marked success. Geology, as a science, at that time was almost in its infancy, and much of its vigorous advancement in subsequent years is due to the interest excited among thinking minds by Dr. Buckland's Oxford lectures. The geological museum at Oxford owes its chief excellence to Dr. Buckland's industry in procuring and arranging specimens, particularly of the remains of the larger fossil mammalia and other animals from the caves and subterranean localities in England and on the Continent. He spared neither pains nor expense in his travels, which he undertook solely for the purpose of making the collection worthy of the University, and of advancing the science which it was intended to illustrate. This was exemplified in his *Descriptive Notes*, with sections of fifty miles of the Irish coast, written conjointly with his old friend Dr. Conybeare, the present Dean of Llandaff, during a tour in Ireland, made in the year 1813, and published in the third volume of the *Transactions of the Geological Society*. In 1818 Dr. Buckland was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society. In 1820 he delivered before the University of Oxford a lecture, which was afterwards published under the title of *Vindiciæ Geologicæ; or, the Connection of Geology with Religion Explained*. The

object of this lecture was to show that the study of geology, so far from being irreligious or atheistic in its consequences, has a tendency to confirm the evidences of natural religion, and that the facts developed by it are consistent with the accounts of the Creation and Deluge as recorded in the Book of Genesis. In 1822 Dr. Buckland communicated to the Royal Society an "Account of an assemblage of fossil teeth and bones of elephants, rhinoceroses, hippopotami, bears, tigers, hyænas, and sixteen other kinds of animals, discovered in a cave at Kirkdale, Yorkshire." For this publication the Society awarded him their highest honour—the Copley medal. This paper was made the foundation of a treatise published by him in 1823, entitled *Reliquiæ Diluvianæ; or, Observations on Organic Remains attesting the Action of a Universal Deluge*—a work which proved of essential service, not only in the promotion of geological science, but in reconciling its study to many persons who viewed it with suspicion as adverse to religion.

In 1825 Dr. Buckland vacated his fellowship by accepting from his College the living of Stoke Charity, near Whitchurch, Hants; in the same year he was promoted to a canonry in the cathedral of Christ Church, and married Mary, the eldest daughter of Mr. Benjamin Morland, of Sheepstead-house, Abingdon. In 1832 we find him presiding over the second meeting of the British Association, held in Oxford. Four years later he published his celebrated Bridgewater Treatise, in 2 vols. 8vo., entitled *Geology and Mineralogy, Considered with Reference to Natural Theology*. The discovery of new facts by the inductive process, pursued by geologists, had materially advanced the progress of geological science in the few preceding years, and, modifying in this work the previous diluvial theory, Dr. Buckland brought the weight of his authority to support the views now generally received upon the subject. One of the most able of his numerous geological writings, as subsequently testified by Sir R. I. Murchison and Professor Sedgwick, was a Sketch of the Structure of the Alps, published in the *Annals of Philosophy*, in which he showed for the first time that many crystalline rocks of that chain are of no higher antiquity than our own lias, oolitic, and cretaceous formations. The *Transactions of the Geological Society* contain a variety of contributions from his pen, all evidencing his skill as a geologist and a palæontologist. Among them, perhaps, the most practically valuable is his *Description of the South-Western Coal District of England*, which he gave to the world in 1825. It has stood the test of more than thirty years, and is appealed to by all scientific persons as a standard work. In 1827 Dr. Buckland was first chosen one of the Council of the Royal Society, and again was re-elected on each successive occasion down to the year 1849, when his mental malady began to exhibit its first symptoms. He was also one of the earliest members of the Geological Society, into which he was elected in 1813, and of which he was twice chosen president. His anniversary addresses are printed in the *Journal* of that society. He was also one of the Fellows of the Linnean Society. In 1847 he was appointed a trustee of the British Museum, and for two years took the greatest interest in arranging and increasing the geological collection there, as well as in the diffusion of scientific knowledge, by taking an active part in the meetings of philosophical societies. We may more particularly mention here the Museum of Practical Geology, in Jermyn-street, in the first foundation of which he laboured diligently in conjunction with the late Sir Henry de la Beche, of whom he was the intimate friend, as well as of Lyell, Murchison, Greenhough, Conybeare, and Sedgwick, whose names we have already mentioned.

In 1845 Dr. Buckland was preferred by the late Sir Robert Peel to the Deanery of Westminster, vacated by the promotion of Dr. Samuel Wilberforce to the episcopal bench. In this capacity he was worthy of all praise, for having set an example to other cathedral bodies, by facilitating the admission of the public to view the monuments and other objects of historic interest contained in the Abbey Church. He also exerted himself as a sanitary reformer, and especially in the endeavour to secure the benefits of pure water for the metropolis. With this object in view, he wrote, spoke, and preached incessantly, while allowed the use of *mens sana in corpore sano*. As a theologian, Dr. Buckland never distinguished himself. The Deanery of Westminster has often proved a stepping-stone to a bishopric; Dr. Buckland's two immediate predecessors—Dr. Wilberforce and Dr. Turton—were promoted respectively to the sees of Oxford and Ely.

NEW WORKS PUBLISHED DURING THE LAST QUARTER.

FOREIGN.

- Bautain (l'Abbé).**—*La morale de l'Evangile comparée aux divers systèmes de morale.* Paris. 8vo.
- Besser (W. F.)**—*Bunsen und Dormer.* (A controversial tract against false Protestantism.) Schwerin. 8vo.
- Bodenheimer.**—*Das Lied Mosis.* (A critical comparison of this portion of the Pentateuch in the versions given in Walton's Polyglott with more modern versions.) Crefeld. 8vo.
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Permit me to inform your readers that the circular of the Association of Edinburgh Booksellers, to which reference is made in your "Weekly Gossip" of June the 14th, is directed against an Institution recently established in Edinburgh, under the name of "The Religious Tract and Book Society of Scotland," and not against the Religious Tract Society, which only issues its own publications.

I have the honour, etc.,

G. H. DAVIS, Sec. R. T. S.

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REVISION OF TRANSLATIONS OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURES.

THE relation of the Bible to the Church has been a vexed question from the time when the settlement of the canon was first undertaken to the present day, and among the numerous ramifications of the subject, not the least important has been the degree of identity between copies or translations, and the original autographs. We are not told what trouble these matters occasioned to Ezra and the great synagogue, involved as those matters are in a hoar antiquity and doubtful tradition; but we know how sedulously their successors, the Massoretes, have laboured to prevent the existence of an error in the Hebrew copies, and with how little success. Vain also, to a great extent, have been the precautions of Jewish scribes, who, being but mortal, have allowed slips of the pen to escape them, and thus accumulated various readings to wear out, in the eighteenth century, the life of our own Kennicott. To no purpose was parchment prepared of the hides of clean beasts, the ink made of prescribed materials, and the scribe purified by the washing of his whole body; for as *bonus Homerus quandoque dormitat*, so the weary Israelitish *littérateur* could give no security that a word too many or too few should not mar his task, and thus hand down an error to posterity. Indeed the very superstition which dictated such regulations defeated its own end; for as it was required that a synagogue roll should be revised within thirty days after the

writing was completed, the haste thus decreed would be sure to unnerve and otherwise render unfit those to whom the work was entrusted. Thus neither Divine Providence nor the care of man have handed down to us exact copies of the sacred autographs, although God has mercifully caused us to inherit his Word as perfect as our religious needs can require.

If we turn from the Old Testament to the New, we find the writings of Evangelists and Apostles subjected to the same vicissitudes with similar results, and the history of the Christian Church is, in part, a record of efforts to make copies *fac-similes* of what those holy men left behind them. What heretical interpolations and erasures appear before us in the charges of Tertullian and Epiphanius, what anxious labours are associated with the names of Lucian and Hesychius! But we lose sight of these minor exertions in the cause of biblical revision as we read the accounts of the life-long toils of Origen, of which little remains but the expressive designations of the *Tetrapla*, *Hexapla*, *Octapla*, and *Enneapla*. It is true these ponderous compilations referred to the Septuagint version of the Old Testament, but he was a Christian scholar, and doubtless was equally zealous for the peculiar records of his faith. We have thus presented to us a mass of labour bestowed on the revision of the biblical texts, before the middle of the third century, to which the heaviest tasks of the moderns in the same line are as molehills to mountains. Before our Lord had left the earth much above two hundred years, all this was done: and yet the faith of the Christian Church was never suspected for one moment to be endangered thereby.

Equally full of various adventures was the early history of the Latin Vulgate version. To improve it was one great work of the life of Jerome, and in performing the task he had to sustain much obloquy and innumerable cares. His epistles to Pope Damasus, by whose wish the revision was undertaken, and to Augustine, unfold to us the ingratitude of his contemporaries, and the ignorant conservatism which then raised its cry against altering the common Bible. A short abstract of these letters may be usefully introduced here, to shew how early men cried out "There is a lion in the way," when good and great undertakings were devised; and also to inform our readers of the principles on which the learned fathers proceeded in clearing the Latin Bible from its parasitic incrustations.

In the epistle with which this revised *edition* (in the ancient sense of the word) was accompanied, we learn some particulars as to the condition of the Latin text at Rome, and the manner in which the Gospels had been revised. He speaks of the com-

pulsion which had been laid on him to undertake the work, and how he felt that it was like taking the place of a judge to define, with regard to the copies of the Scriptures dispersed through the world, what was accordant with the "Greek verity," and what was not; a pious toil indeed, but an enterprize of peril, to judge others, and yet to expose himself to be judged by all; to change the language of one now grown old, and to bring back the world in its hoary hairs to the first rudiments of children. For who, whether learned or unlearned, that should take the book into his hand, and find what he read differ from that to the taste of which he had been accustomed, would not immediately cry out against Jerome, calling him a falsifier and guilty of sacrilege, because of his daring to add, change, and correct anything in ancient books? Two things cheered him under this anticipation,—that he was commanded to undertake the work by Damasus, and also that the copies of those who might blame him did not themselves agree in what they read. "For if reliance be placed on Latin copies, let them answer, on which? for there are just as many exemplars as codices, and if the truth be sought on the ground of numbers, why should we not turn to the Greek original, and correct what was rendered amiss by vicious interpreters, what was more perversely amended by unskilled presumers, or what was added or changed by drowsy copyists?" Then, after saying that he does not *now* refer to the Old Testament, etc., and that he rejects certain manuscripts, defended though they were by the perverse contention of a few persons, "although the Scripture previously translated into the tongues of many nations shewed that the additions made were false,"—he concludes, "This present preface promises simply the four Gospels, the order of which is Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John [*i. e.*, the Greek order, in opposition to the Latin, which was Matthew, John, Luke, and Mark], amended by a collation of Greek manuscripts, but ancient ones. And lest they should differ much from the accustomed Latin readings, we have so guided the pen that those things only being corrected which seemed to affect the sense, we have suffered the rest to remain as they were."^a

Poor Jerome! what kind of men persecuted thee and undervalued thy pious labours, we are not informed. Perhaps souls like those of Lord Shaftesbury and Dr. Cumming blew upon thy attempts to make a version of the Word of God more like the divine originals; but if so, they must have employed vehicles

^a For this paragraph we are indebted to Dr. Tregelles, in *Horne's Introduction*, tenth edition, vol. iv., p. 244.

for their detraction other than the columns of the *Times*, or a Bible Society Meeting at Oxford. Yet we must not forget that among those whom thy revision filled with alarm was the renowned Augustine, a name which may shelter beneath it many of the timid among the moderns. He first rejoiced in the work, and urged his friend to proceed with it; but when the stream set in against the innovation, he changed his mind, and begged him to desist. And grave was the reason alleged by the Bishop of Hippo for wishing the old unfaithful version still to be read in the hearing of Latin congregations. A bishop had introduced Jerome's revised translation into his Church, but when the people heard a word used for Jonah's gourd different to that which they were accustomed to, they rebelled against their ecclesiastical ruler, and insisted that the venerable old Bible should be restored! Did the bishops and pastors of those days correct faulty versions, as we moderns do? No doubt they did; yet the people submitted to novelties on the broad fields of pulpit discussions, while they resisted any departure from the conventional rut of a Scripture lesson. Mark the sameness of human nature in all ages and all the world over; for Dr. Cumming frequently entertains his auditors in Crown Court on Sunday with proposed emendations of the English Version of the Bible, while at the same time he protests loudly in the columns of the *Times* against any authorized improvements!

Before we pass from the early Church to more modern times, we must remark on the fact that while the Christians of the first ages were so extraordinarily active in the discussion of the right text of Holy Scripture, they were also pre-eminent for their profound attachment to it, and for their harmonious belief of its great doctrines. It is important to notice this, because the stronghold of the anti-revisionists is, that any interference with our Bible would unsettle men's faith, and give an advantage to infidelity. But the labours of Lucian and Hesychius, of Origen and Jerome, had no such consequences; but, on the contrary, throughout the whole of their times the most exalted language was employed in praise of Holy Writ, by the writers who have come down to us. "Whatsoever is in the Scriptures," says Augustine, "is high and divine. They contain truth and doctrine adapted to the refreshing and renewing of men's minds." "Love the Scriptures," says Jerome, "and wisdom will love thee." Earlier than these, Tertullian had declared, "I adore the fullness of the Scriptures." Various readings, therefore, and different translations, and revisions of versions, which time and carelessness had corrupted, gave to these holy fathers some trouble, but they never seemed to think that they furnished

occasion for lessening their confidence in the truth and value of the Word of God.

But what was the case during nearly a thousand years in which the Church agitated no questions regarding the Holy Scriptures? Learned labours then ceased, and for the most part Christendom rested content with things as they were—the inheritance received from a more active and enlightened period of the Church's history; but so far was this from promoting religious prosperity or guarding the faith from assaults, that this millennium constituted a period on which we look back with shame and sorrow, as fertile with human innovations and destructive heresies. While criticism and exegesis retired from the field, presumptuous ambition and self-will exalted themselves from year to year, till they culminated in the Papacy; and while there was peace as to various readings and improved editions, a host of doctrines gained a giant strength, not one of which the fathers we have mentioned ever heard of. But one thing more portentous still marked this long state of mental indifference with regard to the improved form and use of the Bible:—it gradually became the book of the priest and not of the people, till at length it was thought sufficient if it spake in *one dead language* to the millions it was intended to instruct and edify! This fact speaks volumes, and it ought to be a warning to those who rest so satisfied with the English Bible of 1611; for it only needs that the prejudice against any alteration should be perpetuated, and the time must come when the Scriptures of the English people will be, in a great measure, beyond their comprehension. It is true that changes are but slowly introduced into our tongue, but they go on nevertheless; and should ever foreign conquests be allowed to come upon our country, (which may God forbid!) it is easily conceivable that rolling centuries may find our descendants suffering the evils of the posterities of the Romans, and reverencing a Bible they cannot understand. What was it but a superstitious dread of innovation and a reverence for antiquity, which bound the Latin Vulgate upon the various peoples and tongues composing the Christendom of what are popularly called the dark ages?

But a renewed activity as to the Scriptures produced, in great measure, the Reformation. Rome had then the opportunity of repairing the errors of the past; and it is probable, that if the Council of Trent had given due authority to the Hebrew and Greek originals of the Scriptures, that church might have been able to throw off the monstrous abuses of centuries, and gradually acquire a new life; but she signed the warrant of her own degradation when she decreed that the Vulgate, as then used,

was to be held as authentic, and thus discouraged revision. Her words are well known, but it may not be useless to repeat them here as a warning to us how we make present expediency regulate our opinions of the integrity of the Bible. "Moreover the same sacred and holy synod, considering that no little utility may accrue to the Church of God, if out of all the Latin editions now in circulation of the sacred books, it be known which is to be held as authentic, ordains and declares *that the said old and Vulgate edition*, which, by the long use of so many ages, has been approved in the Church, be, in public lectures, disputations, preachings, and expositions, held as authentic; and that no one is to dare, or presume to reject it under any pretext soever."

We come now to what more particularly concerns us,—the Bible in English; and we find that before the edition of 1611 could come into existence, an amount of examination, controversy, and revision, took place, which must surprise those who write and reason as though that version came into being at one time, or was an entirely new translation from the originals. Passing by Wickliffe's version, which appeared at the close of the fourteenth century, and which formed the basis of the translations which came after, we have, from 1526 to 1611, less than a hundred years, no fewer than *six* distinct editions of the Bible, each one professing to improve upon its predecessor. These are Tyndal's, Coverdale's, Matthew's, Cranmer's, Taverner's, and the Bishops'; the last being published in folio, in 1568, and sanctioned by the Convocation in 1571. Archbishop Parker wrote a Preface to this edition, and an extract or two will shew the liberal and modest temper in which the great work was accomplished. One reason for undertaking the work was, that former Bibles were "faultily printed; and this gave occasion to some well-disposed men to revise it, to add some more light in the translation and order of the text, and to print it more correctly; in doing which they had followed the former translation more than any other, and varied as little as possible from it, unless where they observed it was not so agreeable to the original text." That no infallibility was claimed, and no attempt made to give finality to what had been done, appears from the following:—"No offence can justly be taken from this new labour, nothing prejudicing any other man's judgment by this doing; nor yet hereby professing this to be so absolute a translation as that hereafter might follow another that might see that which as yet was not understood."

The venerable men who carried out the design of King James, and completed the new edition of 1611, were equally remote from fancying that they had done all that was capable of being accom-

plished, as may be gathered from their excellent preface. Neither has their revision been treated as perfect by those who have come after them; but on the contrary, it has been altered and improved several times; and any one who has the edition of 1611 will be surprised on reading it, to see how much it varies from our present copies. Indeed, the Bishop of Ely, in his "*Text of the English Bible*," published in 1833, gives it, as his opinion, that "the Text of 1611 is quite unworthy to be considered as the standard of the Bibles now printed." These alterations seem to have been made in the years 1636, 1683, 1701, and finally by Dr. Blayney in 1769. It is not clear by what authority these revisions took place, but they had the sanction of the universities, without whose co-operation they could not have been carried out. We cannot dwell on this fact, but merely notice it in order to shew that those who make so great an outcry about our altering the work of our venerable translators, should have lived two centuries ago, when the deprecated innovations first commenced. Very full information on this and other subjects will be found in the "Notes" of the Rev. W. Selwyn, which were referred to in our last number.

We beg, then, to fix the attention of our readers to the fact that, from the earliest periods of the history of the Church, soon after the Canon of Scripture was settled until the present time, there has been an effort made, more or less strenuous in different ages, to bring the copies of the Scriptures nearer to the divine originals, both in the Hebrew and Greek codices, and in translations. Conjoined with this is another observable circumstance, that although objections have always been made to such revisions, they have never been found to be injurious to faith and practice, but have rather been the result of a healthy activity and a proper zeal for the truth in the ages when they have been carried on. Those who have seen the defence of Dr. Fulke "against the cavils of Gregory Martin," are aware how the translations in use in England in the reign of Queen Elizabeth were maligned by the Papists, and how old are many of the arguments now employed to discourage any improvement in the Authorized Version. There is indeed nothing new under the sun, and it is curious to observe how extremes often meet in theological controversy as well as in all other departments of human knowledge. The Church of Rome will be found using the same reasons for letting the Bible alone as are now being employed by some of our ultra-Protestants.

There are two distinct ways in which this question may be viewed, which must be kept apart in all attempts to form a right opinion on the subject:—the necessity of revision on any

grounds substantially affecting the truth and progress of religion, and its desirableness as a mark of respect and reverence for the inspired documents of the faith. Now, it is remarkable that some of the strongest opponents of revision are those who entertain such opinions of the inspiration of the Scriptures and of their place in Christian operations, and in relation to the Church, as ought, if carried out, to make them most zealous for what they now condemn. To maintain a verbal inspiration of the Bible, extending to every fact of history, every chronological date, and every physical theory, and yet to rest satisfied with the least removeable defect in a translation, seems to us to involve a dereliction of principle of a very serious kind. If God intended that every letter in his written revelations should be equally indited by the Holy Ghost, with the amazing discoveries of grace and mercy which no human intellect could have conceived of previously, then it appears inevitable that any willing departure from an exact rendering in a translation must be a dishonour to God and a flagrant violation of a most solemn trust and duty. As, therefore, many persons who *do* maintain such views of inspiration, have yet discouraged any revision of the English Bible, we are compelled to think of them as sacrificing to expediency what ought *on no account whatever* to be for a moment surrendered.

And what is the nature of that expediency which leads any to acquiesce in known errors or plain deviations from the truth of God's Word in our Authorized Version? We are almost ashamed to place on record in our pages what is really so childish and timid, and to detail reasons and motives of action so little founded in truth or common sense. One great argument for leaving things as they are, is that any attempt at revision will give an advantage to the heterodox parties of the religious world, and allow of the triumph of neological or latitudinarian tendencies. Now this implies one or both of these two things: *first*, that the heterodox are more powerful than the orthodox, and would have every thing their own way in case a commission for revising the English Bible were appointed: or *secondly*, that heterodoxy would justly claim some alterations on its behalf, some texts which our present version improperly ranges on the side of those who are sound in the faith. As we cannot imagine that any one seriously admits the first of these reasons, we must look to the latter as the ground of jealousy and object of fear; and would remind those who entertain it, that truth was never yet promoted by falsehood, and never yet dreaded any flood of light which could be thrown upon its open and ingenuous brow. "He that doeth truth, cometh to the light," says our blessed Lord; "Let

God be true, and every man a liar," is the sublime exclamation of his holy apostle.

But expediency takes lower ground than this, and speaks of the unsettling of men's minds with regard to the authority of the English Bible. Such objectors seem to forget that every man who attends a Protestant place of worship, hears from time to time corrections and alterations of the Bible which have sufficiently taught him that the translation is not perfect. On this point we refer our readers to Professor Selwyn's remarks which were quoted in our last number; and may be allowed to quote an observation of our own from a tract recently published on this subject. In answer to a statement by Lord Shaftesbury, in a speech delivered at Oxford, that "nothing would be more fatal to the truth in its evangelical purity, than to shake the confidence of the people in the blessed version they now enjoyed;" it is replied:—

"I do not exactly know what Lord Shaftesbury means by 'the truth in its evangelical purity,' but it seems it is something which cannot bear the light, but must be shrouded in common-places, and pampered with old saws and ignorant assumptions. But that there is nothing to apprehend on the side of old England's faith in the Bible, from any revision we can give it, will appear from these two considerations. *First*, King James's version was but a revision, yet we do not find faith declined when it was introduced by authority, unless Lord Shaftesbury thinks that the Great Rebellion and the overflowing of Puritan folly and tyranny proceeded from that cause. *Secondly*, if faith can be shaken by an admission of faults in our version, that has been made every Sunday, in half the pulpits of the land, ever since we were children, so that the mischief is done, if such a course is mischievous. I have been familiar from childhood with pulpit improvements and alterations of the English Bible, yet I never remember having my faith in its divine authority shaken on that account. Lord Shaftesbury thinks there is safety in concealment and darkness, and therefore he would convey to the people the notorious falsehood that the Bible is as perfect as need be; we, on the other hand, would preserve them from infidelity by giving them more light, and while confessing the imperfections, would teach our hearers that they do not affect the truth, because our Bible is but a translation. I ask you, Sir, which cause is more honest, Christian, and Protestant?"^b

As Lord Shaftesbury, in another part of the same speech, intimates that all who do not entertain his high view of plenary

^b *The Bible and Lord Shaftesbury; an Examination of the Position of his Lordship respecting the Holy Scriptures, delivered at a Public Meeting of the Bible Society at Oxford, on Wednesday, November 27th, 1856; in a Letter to John D. Macbride, Esq., D.C.L., Principal of Magdalen Hall, Oxford. By the Rev. Henry Burgess, LL.D.*

inspiration, have no ground to stand upon, and that it would "be far better to plunge at once into ultra-Romanism of the most ultra description, or into ultra-infidelity, or even into downright Atheism, than to stand in such a position," we may be justly surprized at his easy acquiescence with the faults and errors of our version. But his Lordship goes further still in taxing our wonder by uttering these two paradoxes; *first*, that, in case of revision, "there would no longer be one version of the Holy Scriptures in the English language, which would be generally and readily accepted by every denomination of Protestant Christians throughout the world;" and, *secondly*, that "another most serious effect would be an infringement of the great leading vital doctrine of the Protestant Reformation—the right of private judgment. The great masses of the people would have to pin their faith to this or that minister, to what this one thought or the other one held: there would no longer be a version on which every one could depend, and to which every one might appeal." As to the first of these objections we are obliged to affirm that it savours more of the boasted level uniformity of the Vatican than of the unity in the midst of variety which is generally the boast of Protestants; as to the second, it surpasses our comprehension, and we must simply declare that we cannot understand it.

We think that the advocates for plenary or verbal inspiration are bound to help on Bible revision, because, in their view, any errors must, *pro tanto*, affect the truth and progress of religion. We will now consider the subject on a somewhat lower basis, and endeavour to shew that all possible improvement should be effected in Biblical translations as a mark of respect and reverence for the inspired documents of the faith. When we speak of a *lower basis*, we do not mean anything heterodox, or derogatory to the plain meaning of the declaration, "All Scripture is given by inspiration of God;" but rather the view of the subject which is the most ancient as well as the most widely received, namely, that the Bible is our divinely-inspired *authority* on all matters concerning divine things, both in relation to God and to ourselves. On such a foundation as this we think we can best meet the claims which the Bible itself makes upon our allegiance; best conform to the Catholic consent of all ages upon the subject, and best dispose of the cavils of objectors regarding alleged discrepancies and inaccuracies of statement on the part of the sacred writers. A noble and sufficient piety may be built up on such premises as we have indicated, although they may not admit that every letter and word of the inspired penmen was indited by the Holy Ghost, and may require us to defend the

Christian faith more by great propositions than by single and doubtful texts. As this is a topic very nearly related to the subject of this paper, and more or less affects men's opinions upon it, we may be allowed to dismiss it with an extract from the letter to Dr. Macbride already referred to.

“What does Lord Shaftesbury mean by affirming that, without his notion of plenary inspiration, a Christian man cannot dispute, because he has no position,—that he never attempts proof, because that would be impossible,—that the ground is cut from under him, and he has no resting place for the sole of his foot? I have attempted again and again to conceive some modicum of truth in these strange propositions; but the more I reflect, the stronger is my conviction that the statements are as dangerous as they are unwarranted and uncharitable. Surely if every doctrine, every precept, and every prophecy, found in the Gospels and the Epistles, are thoroughly believed as indited under the promised aid of the Holy Ghost, a foundation is laid for the defence of Christianity against all enemies and gainsayers, to which an assertion of the entire truth of every circumstantial statement of fact would add very little strength indeed. These, Sir, are the buttresses of our holy religion, the miracles, the prophecies, the revealed doctrines, which the Church has borne witness to now for eighteen centuries, and against which the gates of hell have not prevailed; but, in Lord Shaftesbury's logic, all these are nothing at all,—they allow of no firm position, and admit of no reasoning and proof in regard to the great concerns of salvation, unless they can be propped up by the weak and insignificant aid of every disputed text or doubtful assertion! When I read such reasonings, when I hear such dogmatism, I have before me puny mortals endeavouring to prop up the everlasting hills with human masonry, lest they should topple down after their majestic reign for unknown ages; or superstitious Romanists, endeavouring to give greater durability to St. Peter's in the holy city, by the bones and ragged vestments of departed saints! So far from Christianity being aided by such claims for entire infallibility, it is, in my opinion, weakened and injured; because reason is discouraged in its proper province, and scepticism is supplied with abundant food.”

Looking then upon our English Bible as quite sufficient for every purpose of faith and practice, even in its present state,—a sufficiency we grant to every version, from that of the Septuagint down to the present inelegant and often incorrect renderings of the American Bible Union,—we maintain that this correctness as to essentials is no valid cause for our being satisfied with one minor error, or resting contented until we have brought our English Bible as near the truth of the Hebrew and Greek originals, as learning and extensive knowledge can make them. It is a proof of a want of reverence for Holy Writ when we allow errors to deface its pages; it is an unfaithfulness to the

trust which the Church has always had committed to it, as the Witness and Keeper of the Divine Oracles. It is moreover an act of great presumption for any man to think he may add to or take from the Holy Scriptures, which is virtually done when any known mistranslation is allowed to continue. For as Providence has overruled the minds of holy men to settle the Canon, and hand down the writings of inspired Prophets, Apostles, and Evangelists, in the form in which the originals present them to us, we are bound to be careful of every part, and to see that any version of them into other languages expresses neither more nor less than those originals contain, *as far as can be done*. We add this proviso, because the principle is now being overstrained in reference to translations from the Vulgate in Roman Catholic countries. For, as the Vulgate is an ancient version, and probably expresses, in some places, true readings which are lost in the Hebrew and Greek, it is to be treated with more tenderness and respect than modern versions. And further, as it contains all that is necessary to make it answer the ends of Holy Scripture, it is better to circulate that than none at all; an alternative which exists in many places where it is now received.

On mere *literary* grounds alone the task is an honourable one, to make our English Bible as perfect as practicable. What pains have been bestowed on the Greek and Roman Classics, and in their translations; first of all to find the true text, and then to express it correctly in other languages! Upon no other book in the world have so much learning and labour been employed as upon the Scriptures, to throw light on dark passages, correct the text, and to gather the exact mind of the writers; and yet it is now contended that the English translation is to remain as it is *for ever*, and to be dependent for its elucidation, by all these learned materials, upon the chance and wayward explanations of pulpit expositors and party commentators. We say *for ever*, for if we are to wait for revision until there are no heterodox parties to guard against, and no prejudices to consult, the work can never be done. Have we not opponents in every field of Christian duty—in preaching, in publishing our thoughts to the world, in all schemes of private benevolence? If therefore *objections*, and *prejudices*, and *fears* of the timid, are to daunt us, we must cease from acting at all; a conclusion, the absurdity of which may, perhaps, open the eyes of those who admit the sufficiency of such objections to biblical revision.

But we think we need go no further in combating the very weak arguments which have been plentifully uttered on this subject. The facts of the case may be told in a few words. "Our present Bible is a revision of a translation,—a version

which indeed has been revised again and again, until it took nearly its present form two hundred and forty-five years ago. The translators, or rather revisers, in King James's time, make no pretence to perfectness, but speak modestly of their labours, as being conscious that they admitted of improvement. To suppose then that in two centuries and a half our venerable version has not exhibited faults in the light of all the learned piety which God has granted our country since then, is monstrously absurd, savouring more of the Vatican than of England in the nineteenth century."^c Yet we are gravely told by Lord Shaftesbury that he hoped the subject of Bible revision which has agitated the public mind of late is "nearly extinct"! As though bare declamation, patent sophisms, and idle fears, had gained a triumph over the common sense and the learning of the country. We confess we have not been ourselves earnest in our endeavours to bring about an alteration of our Bible, but these bigoted proceedings have made us feel that a question is at stake even more important than the original one, namely, whether liberty of criticism and an ingenuous treatment of Christianity are to yield to presumptuous and ignorant dogmatism. There are many signs abroad of a revival of Papal principles by avowed Protestants, and this is one, that we are to rest satisfied with what was done in biblical literature nearly three hundred years ago!^d

As a set off against so much that is crude, which has been

^c *Letter to Dr. Macbride.*

^d If our readers wish to see how far sheer impudence can carry a man in the field of ignorant assertion, let them read *Bible Revision and Translation; an argument for holding fast what we have.* By the Rev. J. Cumming, D.D. We scarcely dare write what we think of this production; but we will bring forward two out of the many literary and historical falsehoods it contains. 1. Dr. Cumming states that we have now "*the exact transcript of what the apostles left in writing behind them;*" a falsehood supported by another, that the Peschito Syriac "*corresponds in all respects with the Alexandrian and Vatican MSS.,*" or "*substantially with the Textus Receptus*"!!! It would be an insult to our learned readers to prove to them that this is entirely false; but we may mention to the uninitiated, that the Peschito Syriac does not contain the second epistle of Peter, the second and third epistles of John, that of Jude, and the Apocalypse!" facts which the Scotch divine is evidently ignorant of. 2. Dr. Cumming states that, "it seems as if God had designed that of all translatable books the Bible should be the most so. In translating any human work into another tongue, we often feel beset with difficulties; but if we attempt to translate the Bible, it will be found that *the comparative ease of the work* is a testimony to its grandeur, and to the design that God had in view in giving us this precious revelation"!! This is stated in the face of what is known on the subject, by the youngest student, viz., that of all books the Bible is *the most difficult* to translate; for the Hebrew part is full of words occurring only once or twice; and the Greek part is in a dialect requiring a distinct grammar and lexicon for its proper comprehension! Yet these disgraceful misrepresentations, among a hundred more, are dedicated *by permission* to the Bishop of Manchester, a scholar thoroughly acquainted with such matters.

spoken and written on the whole subject, we will now give a pretty long quotation from the work of Professor Selwyn, in which a modest yet earnest and sound scholarship everywhere appears :—

“ That the translators of 1611 have left such ears as are well worth the pains of gleaning, may be safely inferred from the fact of so many attempts having been made to render the Authorized Version more perfect. During the last two centuries almost every book of the Bible has been published in a new version, or with notes proposing amendments of the text; many books have undergone the same process more than once. And now, in our time, we see the work of revising the whole version undertaken simultaneously in two opposite quarters.

“ Again, many of our most learned men, bishops and professors, while they confirm the universal award of commendation to the substance and body of the Authorized Version, at the same time express their sense of the necessity of occasional corrections. The late Lady Margaret’s Professor at Cambridge, Bishop Marsh, may be safely taken as the exponent of this prevalent feeling among our learned men.

“ ‘ As this collation was made by some of the most distinguished scholars in the age of James I., it is probable that our Authorized Version is as faithful a representation of the original Scriptures as *could* have been formed *at that period*. But when we consider the immense accession which has been since made, both to our critical and philological apparatus; when we consider that the whole mass of literature, commencing with the London Polyglot, and continued to Griesbach’s *Greek Testament*, was collected *subsequently* to that period; when we consider that the most important sources of intelligence for the *interpretation* of the original Scriptures were *likewise* opened after that period, we cannot possibly pretend that our Authorized Version does not require amendment.’

“ This argument in favour of revision is materially strengthened by another eminent Cambridge scholar, Professor Scholefield, whose early departure was the occasion of my first entering upon this subject, and in whose steps I rejoice to follow, with the grateful remembrance of former studies under his guidance. Feeling, as he did, the deepest reverence for the translators of 1611, it was his earnest desire ‘to assist in removing from their glorious work its few human blemishes; *to attempt something towards carrying a little nearer to perfection a work which is already so near it.*’

“ Some estimate of the golden ears, which yet remain for the gleaners, may be formed from Professor Scholefield’s *Hints*. In his little volume the proposed amendments in the English Version of the New Testament amount to more than *five hundred*. Some of them, as above noticed, are restorations of earlier renderings; some gathered from the works of critics who preceded him; and some the fruits of his own study.

“ It would be rash to say that all his corrections are worthy of approval ; each of them forms a question to be submitted to an authorized body of revisers ; but the very fact of such a number of emendations being proposed by so eminent a scholar (who has yet left something for after-gleaners), added to the consideration, that some of them touch on questions of the gravest doctrinal importance, is a most material argument for an authoritative revision.

“ We have no such definite data for estimating the probable number of corrections required in the version of the ancient Scriptures ; but when we take into account the relative magnitude of the two Testaments, we can scarcely be wrong in presuming that the number of amendments requisite in the Old is at least equal to the number suggested in the New Testament.

“ Having compared throughout the authorized version, both of the Old and New Testaments, with the originals, I do not hesitate to avow my firm persuasion that there are *at least one thousand* passages of the English Bible that might be amended without any change in the general texture and justly-reverenced language of the version.

“ Now, even if this estimate should be found too high ; even if it should be reduced by the labours of a learned body of commissioners to one-tenth, who shall say that *an hundred* proved and acknowledged errors in the English version are not of sufficient importance to justify the undertaking of an authorized revision ?

“ Further, if it be found, as we may safely affirm it will be found, that several of these defective passages do at present obscure, more or less, the testimony borne to CHRIST by the prophets, and the assertions of the Divinity of CHRIST by the apostles, may we not say that it is our bounden duty to effect the removal of these blemishes ?”

We conclude by referring to a common misrepresentation by which this subject is encumbered ; we mean, that it is a new translation which is contemplated, and not a mere revision. Speaking of the proposal in the *former* light, its adversaries adduce numerous modern attempts at translations of parts of the Old and New Testaments, and hold up their faults as bugbears to terrify the timid. Now when all that is desired is the removal of imperfections which will leave the substance of the Bible as it is, and not interfere in the slightest degree with its fine Saxon, so pleasing to our ears, we think we have reason to charge with a *suppressio veri*, at least, those who so mis-state the design. We cannot do better than bring before our readers what is proposed for accomplishment by Professor Selwyn.

“ If it might be allowed to follow up the Professor’s (Scholefield’s) Hints by suggesting a safe and practicable way in which the desired end may be obtained ; we would take this opportunity of proposing that the same principles which guided the work of translation in the reign of King James I. should also govern its improvement. The first rule

given to the translators, might also stand at the head of the instructions for the revision, viz. : 'The ordinary Bible, read in the Church, to be followed, and as little altered, as the original would permit.' A body of learned men, selected from the Universities and from the ranks of Hebrew and Greek scholars throughout the country, might be appointed by authority, to receive and weigh in the balance all such Hints as those of Professor Scholefield, and others, comparing them diligently with the original languages, and the ancient versions ; to obtain the opinions of foreign scholars ; and to publish the results of their enquiries.

The next step would probably be, to print all the corrections which may be approved, separately, at the end of our English Bibles ; or to admit them into the margin ; from whence, after due time allowed for the consideration of the learned, and for gradually familiarizing the public mind to the change, they might finally be received into the text."

Now this is a design so moderate, and yet so supported by reverence for the Bible and regard to the credit of England for scholarship, that we cannot believe it can be "extinguished" by the present efforts made to discourage it. At all events, something more like *argument* than Lord Shaftesbury and Dr. Cumming have adduced, is necessary to drive learned and thoughtful men from their purpose.

THE LORD'S DAY.

THE Sabbath law from the beginning enjoined a certain proportion between the days of labour and the day of rest. It enjoined that one day in seven should be set apart and consecrated to the service of God; and so long as this is done, the great design of the Sabbatic institute is accomplished. The mere change of the day is not in itself important—it does not interfere with the purport of the institution.

Yet though the change of the Sabbath from the seventh to the first day of the week be in itself a subordinate thing, it is a change which requires a sufficient reason. As God originally, by positive enactment, fixed the seventh day, so it requires an authoritative enactment from the Lawgiver himself to alter that arrangement. There must be divine authority for the change of the day, if it is to be regarded as binding upon us.

So long as the Old Dispensation lasted, the seventh day Sabbath was regularly observed by the Church. But when the Gospel Dispensation was introduced, the day was changed, and the Sabbath henceforth became commemorative not only of the work of creation, but also of the completed work of redemption. The spirit of the Sabbath institute is preserved if, after six days of labour, there be kept one of rest. The primitive appointment of the day of rest, the order of creation, and the example of the Creator, fixed the seventh or last day of the week as the Sabbath. But the design of the Sabbath does not necessitate the keeping of the seventh day; it only necessitates the keeping holy to God of one day in seven—of a day of rest after six days of labour. Accordingly, in the account of the transactions in the wilderness at the time of the giving of the manna, we have no mention of the day of rest as the last of the week in the order of days as established at creation, but we are simply informed that the people gathered manna on six days and rested on the seventh—that after six days of work, they observed one of rest.

From the fourth commandment it could never be determined by any one to whom that law was for the first time delivered, on what day he was to begin to keep the Sabbath. The great burden of the commandment is, “Keep the Sabbath-day holy.” No stress is laid upon the particular day of the week, as if that were vital or essential to the existence of the institution itself. That commandment requires only that after six days’ labour

there should be one of rest. It fixes, as the great object of its promulgation, the *proportion* of days.^a

The keeping of the first day, in the order of reckoning the days of the week, is no violation of the Sabbath law. The substance of the commandment is the proportion of time to be devoted to the service of God. In itself it is a matter of subordinate importance in what particular order we reckon the days of the week in their relation to the Sabbath-day. The design of the institution is carried out in the Christian Sabbath, which may, indeed, also be called the seventh day in relation to the six days of labour. A change in the day can make no change in the institution itself or in the obligation to observe it. As an *institution* the Sabbath cannot be abrogated. It is founded, like the law of marriage, in the very nature and necessities of man, and therefore must remain immutably binding on all men.

There is nothing wanting, then, to warrant our compliance with the universal practice of the Christian Church, from the time of the apostles downward, of keeping the first day of the week as the Sabbath, but sufficient intimation that it is the divine will that that day, and not the seventh, should be so observed. The particular day to be set apart for the Sabbath is of the nature of a *positive* institution, and may therefore be changed by the Lawgiver himself.

We are not to look in the New Testament for any express injunction commanding that the Sabbath should be observed—any re-enactment of the original Sabbath law. Once appointed, the Sabbatic institution remains binding upon us, unless formally repealed by him who appointed it. But we require divine authority for the change of the day—we require distinct intimation that it is the will of God that we should, under the Christian dispensation, observe the first and not the seventh day of the week as the Sabbath.

There is no passage of Scripture declaring in so many terms that this change is made by divine authority. But we may understand God's will in regard to any duty required of us, without his giving an express and authoritative command. Though there be no statute or express law substituting the first day of the week instead of the seventh, yet there is that which

^a "The fourth commandment," says Jonathan Edwards, "does not determine which day of the week we should keep as a Sabbath; but only that we should keep every seventh day, or one day after six. It says, 'Six days shalt thou labour, and the seventh thou shalt rest;' which implies no more than that after six days of labour, we should upon the next to the sixth rest. The words no way determine where these six days should begin, nor where the rest of the Sabbath should fall: that is supposed to be determined elsewhere. The precept of the fourth commandment is to be taken generally of such a seventh day as God should appoint or had appointed."

supplies the place and has all the force of statute law. The known practice of the apostles and early Christians, is of itself sufficient authority for our observing the first day of the week as the Sabbath.

Before the period of his death we know that our Lord carefully observed the Jewish Sabbath—the seventh day. After his resurrection he specially honoured the first day of the week by appearing on that day to his disciples. During the forty days he tarried on earth after his resurrection, he appeared frequently unto them, speaking to them the things pertaining to the kingdom (Acts i. 3). If, during these forty days, Jesus did not make the change of the day, it was because this was one of the things which it appertained to the apostles to do by his authority (John xvi. 12, 13). But it must be remarked, that when by his death and resurrection the Old Dispensation came to an end, we never find him in the synagogue, or meeting with his disciples for religious purposes on the seventh day. But he often met with them on the first day of the week.

Christ had predicted that he would rise again from the grave on the first day of the week. The Jews were fully aware of that prediction, and by their arrangements regarding his tomb they did what they could to prevent his leaving the sepulchre. On the day on which he arose, and which was henceforth to be held sacred in remembrance of his triumphs over death and the grave, he appeared to his disciples four times. He himself thus inaugurated the change of the day. By his presence with his disciples on that day, he consecrated the Christian Sabbath. He appeared first to the women who held him by the feet and worshipped him (Matt. xxviii. 9); then to Peter (Luke xxiv. 34); then to two disciples on their way to Emmaus (Luke xxiv. 18—33); and, lastly, in the evening of the day to the ten disciples (John xx. 19—23), when he stood in the midst of them and said, “Peace be unto you.” Thus began and ended the first Christian Sabbath, in our Lord’s manifesting himself graciously to his disciples.

“The Lord of the Sabbath was lying in the grave on the precise day of the Jewish rest. . . . That last Jewish Sabbath was no Sabbath to the disciples; but a day of sorrow, dejection, anguish, consternation. The spouse could not rejoice whilst the bridegroom lay buried in the grave. But when the Lord arose on the first day of the week, then, and not before, were ‘the disciples glad.’ THEN DID THEIR SABBATH BEGIN; the necessity of the case changed the day of peaceful happy rest in the worship and praise of God, from the Jewish Sabbath to the Lord’s day. The celebration was retarded, not forgotten. The old day was buried with Christ—the new arose with him. He had in the old creation rested

(as being the author, one with the Father of that six days' work) on the seventh day and sanctified it; but now as the author of the new work of creation, being detained in the prison of the grave on the old seventh day, he takes another day to rest in, the following or first day of the week, which thus becomes the Lord's day. Everything essential in the command goes on as it did; the non-essential point of the precise time is changed, or rather delayed a single day, to wait for its rising Master, and assume a new dignity, and be a memorial of the manifestation of a new and greater creation."^b

Six days are allowed to pass by without our Lord's repeating his visits, as if to mark out more distinctly the change of the day. After six days the second commemoration of his resurrection occurs, and that day is again honoured with the presence of Christ among his disciples. "After eight days, again his disciples were within, and Thomas with them; then came Jesus and stood in the midst, and said, Peace be unto you" (John xx. 26). In reckoning time, the Jews always included the days from which, and to which, they counted, and hence the language of the evangelist intimates, that six entire days intervened between the first and second occasions on which Christ made his appearance to his disciples. "This second meeting," says Paley, "on the same day of the week has all the appearance of an appointment, a design to meet on that particular day." After our Lord's resurrection we know that the disciples still continued to observe the temple worship and to keep the Jewish Sabbath, and we may conclude that according to their custom they met together on the Sabbath—the Jewish Sabbath—that succeeded the resurrection; but since Jesus did not manifest himself to them on that day, but waited till the succeeding day, there is in this fact a sufficient designation of the first day of the week, as the day of the Sabbath on which he would meet with his assembled disciples and bless them.

The practice of the apostles in observing the first day of the week as the Sabbath, is sufficient intimation of the will of God. The apostles were inspired men: we may therefore rely upon them in such a matter as men directed by the Spirit of God. They had express authority given them to regulate the order worship and institutes of the Christian Church. "I will give unto thee," says Christ to Peter,—and the other apostles were invested with the same authority,—"I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven" (Matt. xvi. 19;

^b Wilson on the Lord's Day, Sermon iv.

see also xviii. 18). And on the evening of the first day of his resurrection, when he appeared in the midst of his assembled disciples, he said unto them, "As my Father hath sent me, even so send I you," thus clothing them with apostolical authority. According to Jewish usage, to bind and to loose, signify, to declare authoritatively what is lawful and what unlawful. The power of binding is recognized by Christ (Matt. xxiii. 2—4) as residing in the scribes and pharisees, and residing in them because they were the authorized expounders of the law. In our Lord's words to his disciples, he in effect says to them (Matt. xviii. 18), "You shall have the same official power of binding and loosing, under the new dispensation, which those who sit in Moses' seat have, in the old. It shall be yours, under my guidance, and instructed by the Holy Spirit, to teach what is lawful and what unlawful in my church. Your teaching shall be authoritative and binding. Receive ye the Holy Ghost. Under his influence go forth to your appointed work; regulate the worship and the ordinances of the church." And this power, that was so conferred on them, the apostles exercised. They made known the doctrines of the gospel and the terms of salvation. They ordered also all the affairs of the church, appointing its various officers (Acts vi. 3; xiv. 23; Titus i. 5; ii. 15), and its public charities (1 Cor. xvi. 1); correcting existing abuses, and prescribing the proper manner of observing the Lord's Supper (1 Cor. ii. 1—20; xiv. 23—30); and in regulating such matters they uniformly act as men having authority (1 Cor. vii. 17; 2 Thess. ii. 15; iii. 6; 2 Peter iii. 1, 2).

Seeing the apostles had, without doubt, power conferred on them by Christ himself, to bind and loose, to teach, and to order all the affairs of the Christian Church, the question is, Did the apostles, in the exercise of this power, change the Sabbath from the seventh to the first day of the week? If they did authorize such a change, then it is as authoritative as if it had been made by Christ himself.

It is obvious that the apostles and early disciples had stated times for public, religious worship (1 Cor. xiv. 23). Their exercises consisted in prayer and praise, and religious instruction (1 Cor. xi. 20—34), and sometimes in the observance of the Lord's supper, and that, not in private houses, but in the usual places of public worship. The meetings for the observance of the Lord's Supper, were meetings of the Church for public worship, and that these were held on every first day of the week, is affirmed by the unanimous voice of the early history of the Church. The first day of the week was set apart for their general and regular meetings; it was, in distinction from all

others, their religious day ; as truly distinctive as the Sabbath of old. Guided by the example of their Lord, in his appearing in the midst of them several times after his resurrection, not on the seventh, but on the first day, and instructed by the Holy Spirit, they regarded that day as sacred, and preferred it to the day of the Jewish Sabbath.

The change of the day was gradually introduced, and it was recognized by the whole Christian Church. The Jewish Sabbath gradually disappeared, and was succeeded by the Christian, without any express command for the change, but only by the silent influence of the apostles. They issued no public decree, formally abolishing the Jewish Sabbath, but waited the gradual and irresistible advancement of Christianity to effect the change. After the destruction of Jerusalem, the case was however somewhat altered. The time for conceding to the prejudices and feelings of the Jewish people had passed away, and from that time the Christian Sabbath—the first day of the week—appeared as the only day having divine authority for its sacred observance. The first day of the week was henceforth declared to be the Sabbath-day,—the Lord's day

About thirty years after the Resurrection, we read that Paul, when on a journey to Jerusalem, tarried seven days in Troas, "and upon the first day of the week, when the disciples came together to break bread, Paul preached unto them, ready to depart on the morrow."^c Paul was at this time hastening to Jerusalem, and would not turn aside in his course to visit Ephesus, but sent to the elders of the Church there to meet him in Miletus. But why, if he was in such haste, should he tarry seven days in Troas? Plainly, that he might have the opportunity of addressing the Christians, assembled there, on the first day of the week. It seems to have been the common practice of the disciples to meet together on the first day of the week, and the apostle knowing this, waited till their customary time of meeting together.^d Paul preaches to them, when they were thus

^c Acts xx. 7. The phrase here translated "and upon the first day of the week," is literally rendered "and upon one of the Sabbaths," and hence some have concluded that the time spoken of was one of the Jewish Sabbaths. But it is sufficient, in reply, to observe that in other passages, when the first day of the week is evidently designated, the phrase in the original is the same as in the passage before us (see Luke xxiv. 1 ; John xx. 1 ; Matt. xxviii. 1 ; Mark xvi. 2).

^d "It would seem that the apostle was anxious not to protract his stay at Troas a single day after he had enjoyed an opportunity of meeting with the assembled Church ; that the day of their meeting was the first day of the week ; and that for the arrival of that day the apostle had waited an entire week. Now from all this, we should infer that no special or extraordinary meeting had been called, but that he waited for the day on which they were accustomed to assemble." (*Burder's Law of the Sabbath*, p. 65.)

assembled for the public worship of God, and for the celebration of the gospel ordinances. They did not assemble specially to hear Paul. But being assembled for other purposes, Paul embraced the opportunity of addressing them. Nothing detained him in Troas, but the desire to be present with the whole Church at their customary time of assembling, on the first day of the week: accordingly on the succeeding day he departed on his journey. Had the Christians at Troas kept the Jewish Sabbath, then it is obvious that the apostle would have found them assembled on that day, and would have preached unto them. The whole narrative shews, that the first day of the week was that which was set apart by established custom as the day of Sabbath rest, and Paul's waiting till that day arrived is an approbation of that custom. Had the keeping of the first day been simply an accidental custom, or a human appointment merely, Paul would not have failed to correct the error.

But this practice was, we may be assured, common to other Churches also.^e There could be no diversity, in a matter of such public importance, throughout the early Christian Church. They had one faith, one Lord, one baptism. Their ordinances and customs, as well as their faith, were the same. In writing to the Corinthians (1 Cor. xvi. 1, 2), the apostle makes incidental allusion to the first day of the week, not in the way of enjoining its observance, but on the supposition that as a matter of course it would be observed, enjoining a special duty in addition to those duties which were ordinarily attended to on that day. He exhorts them to do what he had exhorted the Churches of Galatia to do, viz., on the first day of the week, to make collection for the poor brethren at Jerusalem.

"The wish of the apostle was to prevent the necessity of making collections on his arrival. This object could not be secured unless the brethren, not only set apart their respective contributions but also collected them together so as to make one common fund. They could only pour them into one common treasury when they were assembled together in one place. They were directed therefore to make a weekly collection, on that day on which they were accustomed to meet as a Church. The day specified is the first day of the week. On the first day of the week, therefore, they were accustomed to meet together for religious observances."^f

^e Luke (Acts xxi. 4) records a similar delay of Paul and his companions at Tyre for "seven days," doubtless for the same reasons for which he tarried at Troas.

^f "The whole direction about the regular weekly collection, went on the assumption, that the custom of the regular weekly meeting was to be permanent. In giving the direction, then, to make a regular weekly collection on the first day of the week, Paul virtually directed them to keep up their regular weekly meeting for public worship, at which the collection was to be made. The ordering of the one, was virtually an ordering to *persist* in the other. And what is this but *Apostolic appointment*?" *Phelps on the "Perpetuity of the Sabbath,"* p. 148.

The usual day for the Churches assembling together for religious worship was, therefore, fixed and well known,—it was the first day of the week. That day was, by common consent, recognized as the Christian Sabbath.

At the close of the first century after Christ's resurrection, John, the only surviving apostle, when about to record the Revelation made to him by the Spirit, says (Rev. i. 10), "I was in the Spirit on *the Lord's day*." He thus denotes the time when the Revelation was made to him, by mentioning the day under a name by which it was commonly known throughout the Christian Church. The appellation is not new, else it would not have been introduced in this incidental manner. By the "Lord's day" we are undoubtedly to understand the first day of the week. The appropriateness of the name, to that day, is at once apparent. This was

"The day on which 'the Lord,' after having died for the sins of his people, was raised again for their justification;—the day on which he 'saw the path of life,' arising in triumph over his conquered enemies—the day on which, having 'finished his work, he entered into his rest'—a day of joy and praise, of universal jubilee to the Church of God, on earth and in heaven. It is 'the Lord's day;' it is HIS : sacred to him and to the memory and celebration of his work. He seems to have intended by his appearances on this day to his disciples, after he was risen from the dead, to mark it as his own, and to intimate to his followers that they should so regard it and keep it sacred accordingly.'"^g

If the first day of the week is thus, by apostolic usage, called the "Lord's day," as the sacrament of the supper is called the "Lord's Supper," we have satisfactory evidence that the change of the day for the observance of the Sabbath has apostolic, and therefore divine sanction. The "Lord's day" specified a day set apart as the distinctive religious day of the followers of the Lord.

Passing from Scripture, we find abundant evidence in the early records of Church history, that it was the universal practice of Christians to observe the first day of the week, instead of the seventh, as the Sabbath, under the title of the "Lord's day."

Thus Ignatius, bishop of Antioch (A.D. 101), writing to the Magnesians a few years after the death of the apostle John, says, "Let us no more Sabbatize" (that is, keep the seventh day as the Jews did), "but let us keep the Lord's day." "Let every one that loves Christ keep holy the Lord's day, the queen of days, the resurrection day, the highest of all days." The Lord's

^g *Wardlaw on the Sabbath*, p. 103.

day was the resurrection day; it was the day which Christians kept holy, as the Sabbath.

Theophilus, bishop of Antioch (about 162 A.D.), says, "Both custom and reason challenge from us that we should honour the Lord's day, seeing on that day it was that our Lord Jesus completed his resurrection from the dead."

Irenæus, bishop of Lyons (A.D. 167), a disciple of Polycarp who had been a companion of the apostle John, says, "On the Lord's day every one of us Christians keeps the Sabbath, meditating on the law, and rejoicing in the works of God."

Dionysius, who lived in the time of Irenæus, writing to the Romans (A.D. 170), says, "We celebrate the Lord's day." He also informs them that the epistles of Clement were read in the Church of Corinth "while they were keeping the Lord's day holy."

Clement of Alexandria (about A.D. 192), says, "A Christian, according to the command of the Gospel, observes the Lord's day, thereby glorifying the resurrection of the Lord." Again he says, "The Lord's day is the eighth day," that is, the day which came after the Jewish Sabbath, viz., the first day of the week.

The Jews, the rejectors of the Gospel, continued to observe the seventh day sabbath. To some extent also even some of the Jews after they had embraced Christianity continued to do this; but at the same time also observing the first day of the week for Christian worship. Theodoret, speaking of the Ebionites, a sect of Judaizing Christians, says, "They keep the Sabbath" (seventh day) "according to the Jewish law, and sanctify the Lord's day in like manner as we do." "This," says Professor Stuart, of Andover, "gives a good historical view of the state of things in the early ages of the Church. The zealots for the law wished the Jewish Sabbath to be observed as well as the Lord's day; for about the latter there never appears to have been any question among any class of Christians, so far as I have been able to discover. *The early Christians, one and all of them, held the first day of the week to be sacred.*"

Pliny the Younger (A.D. 107), governor of Bithynia, writing to the Emperor Trajan concerning the Christians, says, "They are accustomed, on a stated day, to meet before daylight, and to repeat hymns to Christ as to a God, and to bind themselves by a sacred obligation not to commit any wickedness, but on the contrary to abstain from thefts, robberies, and adulteries; also not to violate their promise, or deny a pledge; after which it is their custom to separate, and meet again at a promiscuous and harmless meal." That the "*stated day*" here spoken of

was the first day of the week, is proved by the question which the Roman persecutors put to the Christians when brought before their tribunal, and the answer which was generally given to it. The question put was, "*Dominicum servasti?*" "Hast thou kept the Lord's day?" If the person questioned was a Christian, he answered, "*Christianus sum; intermittere non possum.*" "I am a Christian; I cannot omit it." That is, "The keeping of the Sabbath is a badge of my religion: the keeping of the Lord's day is the necessary evidence and result of my profession of the Christian religion."

Justin Martyr (A.D. 147), in his *Apology for the Christians*, addressed to the Emperor Antoninus, gives a particular account of the Christian day of religious worship. He says, "On the day called" (that is by the Romans) "Sunday, there is a meeting in one place of all the Christians that live either in the towns or in the country, and the memoirs of the apostles" (*i. e.*, the four Gospels), "or the writings of the prophets, are read to them, as long as is suitable. When the reader stops, the president pronounces an admonition, and exhorts to an imitation of those noble examples; after which we arise and begin to pray."

Similar testimonies, gathered from the records of early ecclesiastical history, might be greatly multiplied, all establishing the fact that all Christians, from the time of the apostles downward, have been unanimous in setting apart the first day of the week for public worship,—that it has been universally observed as the Christian Sabbath. The religious observance of the first day of the week as the Lord's Day, was the regular, universal, and distinctive custom of the Churches.

But whence this universal and distinctive custom of all the Christian Churches? The custom was not confined to any province or kingdom,—it is found wherever Christianity spread. It is distinctive of Christians. Whence could this custom have originated? By whose authority was it introduced? Plainly, it must have originated with the founder of Christianity itself; it must have been introduced on the authority of Him alone whom all Christians honour and obey.

Objections from passages of Scripture.

The passages of Scripture most confidently relied on by all the opponents of the Sabbath, are Colossians ii. 16, 17; "Let no man, therefore, judge you in meat or in drink, or in respect of a holy day, or of a new moon, or of the Sabbath days, which are a shadow of things to come, but the body is of Christ:" and Romans xiv. 5; "One man esteemeth one day above another,

another esteemeth every day alike. Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind."

With regard to Colossians ii. 16, 17, it must be noticed that they who quote it (and among the number is Archbishop Whately), with the design of shewing that the Sabbath was to be abolished, overlook the fact that the word here rendered "Sabbath days" is in the plural, and, besides, the word "Sabbaths" was used to denote the Jewish Sabbaths which accompanied all the feasts. The feast-days of the Jews had their accompanying Sabbaths. Thus the feasts of the Passover and of Tabernacles had each a Sabbath at the beginning of the feast, and also one at the end of it. Each of the other feasts had only a Sabbath at the beginning. The word "Sabbath days" is here, in the original, without the article, and it is never so found when it is used to denote the weekly Sabbath. The "Sabbaths" spoken of are the Sabbaths associated with meats and drinks, and new moons, which were all shadows of things to come. But to take what is said about these Sabbaths, which were by God associated with ceremonial laws, and apply it to the weekly Sabbath, is utterly unwarranted.

In the apostolic age the first day of the week was called by the distinctive name of "The Lord's day," and never, "The Sabbath." The seventh day was called "Sabbath," and never, "Lord's day." "It was not," as Professor Stuart observes, "till the party in the Christian Church had become extinct, or nearly so, who pleaded for the observance of the seventh day or Jewish Sabbath, as well as of the Lord's day, that the name Sabbath began to be applied to the first day of the week." So prevalent was the custom of the Ebionites of observing the seventh day as well as the first, that the council of Laodicea (A.D. 350), issued a decree condemning it. "It is not proper," said they, "for Christians to Judaize and to cease from labour on the Sabbath" (*i. e.*, the seventh day), "but they ought to work on this day, and to put especial honour upon the Lord's day" (*i. e.*, first day), "by refraining from labour as Christians. If any one be found Judaizing, let him be anathematized."

It was natural that the Jews, even after embracing Christianity, should cling with much tenacity to the rites and ceremonies of their fathers. Against the tendency, which was frequently apparent among Jewish converts, of placing reliance on these rites and ceremonies, the apostles often gave forth their warnings. The apostles never failed to testify that no reliance was to be placed on the ceremonies and observances of the Jewish religion, as grounds of salvation, but that they were all, as symbols and types, fulfilled in Christ. It would seem that some

among the Colossians wished to induce them to subject themselves to certain Jewish ordinances respecting meat and drink, and the new moon, and the Sabbath days. It is purely and obviously a question about Jewish ordinances that the apostle here discusses. The decision of the apostle was, that such observances were not obligatory, though the Jewish converts might be tolerated in their practice of them. They were not *obligatory* either on Jews or Gentiles. The whole discussion shews that it was not THE SABBATH, the weekly Sabbath, the apostle referred to, but those other ceremonial Sabbaths associated with Jewish feasts and ceremonial observances. But even supposing that the apostle here refers to the seventh day Sabbath, he merely teaches that Christians are not bound to keep that day. All Christians without exception observed the first day of the week. The Judaizers would also impose on them the observance of the seventh day. Paul declares that they are set free from the law designating that day; not that they are set free from the law setting apart the first day of the week to be kept holy, for it was not at this time called by the name Sabbath, but that the seventh day is no longer to be kept holy. Jewish Christians might be tolerated in the practice of observing both the seventh and the first day, but they cannot impose their practice on Gentile Christians. The first day of the week, the Lord's day, is alone holy in the estimation of Christians.

There is no evidence whatever that the apostle, in Rom. xiv. 5, makes any reference to the Sabbath at all. The name Sabbath does not anywhere occur in connexion with the verse. The "day" in question may have been some feast-day or holy day. It is altogether a *gratuitous assumption* to suppose that it is the Sabbath day, or the Lord's day, of which the apostle speaks. If the day was a Sabbath, the whole drift of the apostle's remarks shews that the reference is not to the seventh day Sabbath, nor to the first, but to the ceremonial Sabbaths connected with the Jewish festivals. The scope of the argument is, that Christians were at liberty to be fully persuaded in their own minds in respect to the observance of feast days, or holy days, and to observe them or not as they chose. There is not the slightest shadow of evidence that the apostle referred to any other than ceremonial days, and to suppose that the Sabbath was one of these ceremonial days is to beg the whole question at issue. All these ceremonial days had ceased to be *obligatory*, and so also had the seventh day Sabbath itself, yet the obligation to observe the Lord's day remained in all its force. The question of the observance of the Lord's day, is not that which the apostle, either here or in his Epistle to the Colossians, dis-

cusses at all; and, therefore, the objections from these passages against the observance of the first day of the week as the Christian Sabbath are altogether groundless. Among all the controversies of the early Church, the propriety of observing the first day of the week as the Christian Sabbath was never questioned. On this point,

“There appears,” says Professor Stuart, “never to have been any question among any class of the early Christians, so far as I have been able to discover. Even the Ebionites, who kept the Sabbath (seventh day), according to the Jewish law, kept also the Lord’s day. All were agreed, then, in the obligation to keep the Lord’s day. Now to raise the question in these circumstances, whether the seventh day Sabbath should be kept or not, was to ask, not whether the first day was to be kept, for that was settled, nor whether the seventh was to be observed in preference to or in place of the first, for this too was settled; but *must* the seventh be *also* observed. And to decide, as on the supposition before us the apostle did, that it *need not also* be observed, *i. e.*, was not also obligatory, was to decide that the other, viz., the Lord’s day, was obligatory. The conclusion, then, is certain, either that the passages in question refer only to the Jewish ceremonial Sabbaths, not including the seventh day Sabbath, and therefore have no bearing whatever on the question of the Sabbath as now agitated; or in declaring the seventh, as well as the ceremonial Sabbaths, no longer obligatory, they virtually declare that the first day Sabbath, or Lord’s day, is obligatory. In either case the argument from them to the non-observance of the Lord’s day is vain.”^h

Objections against the keeping of the Sabbath as a day of holy rest, not directly drawn from Scripture.

1. *That every day is alike.*

This objection is answered by the establishment of the divine origin, and permanent and universal obligation of the Sabbath day. If God has appointed one day in seven to be a holy Sabbath to himself, then that day is specially to be set apart to the worship and service of the Lord. And that Scripture does authoritatively set apart the Sabbath day, separating it from the other days of the week, and surrounding it by special sanctions, is easily proved. Every day in this respect is not alike. One is marked off from all the others as belonging not to earth; it is reserved for those exercises and occupations that tend to elevate the soul above the world, and prepare it for the enjoyment of heaven.

But this objection is urged, as if the friends of the Sabbath virtually held, that their zeal for the sanctity of that day gave them a license to sin during the other days of the week;—as if

^h See Phelps on the “*Perpetuity of the Sabbath*,” p. 158.

they held that religion was to be attended to on that day alone and neglected on the other days. This is a gross misrepresentation of the true doctrine of the Sabbath. Men ought to spend every day in living lives of holiness to the Lord. Religion ought to pervade the week,—to influence and guide our every action. Men ought to be holy everywhere and every day, as well as in the sanctuary and on the Sabbath. The Sabbath is designed not to excuse the neglect of religion on the secular days of the week, but to preserve against that very neglect. It is designed so to influence the heart and the mind by its various exercises, as to lead us to continue in the service of God in all that we do. And this is its actual tendency. They who value the Sabbath and keep it holy to the Lord, are not the persons who will neglect religion on the other days of the week.

The friends of the Sabbath hold no argument with its opponents on this question. Religion is an every day thing, and its duties ought to be attended to by every one, and every where. But the keeping of every day holy in this respect, plainly does not forbid the setting apart of one day in seven, as a day of holy rest, in order that it may be devoted specially to the duties of a religious nature. Such an arrangement, far from tending to exclude religion from the other days of the week, or to furnish an excuse to those who would so exclude it, is, on the contrary, evidently fitted in a very remarkable manner for preventing religion from being forgotten during the week, by giving a holy impulse to our affections, and so solemnizing our minds by familiarizing them with divine things, as, in the best sense, to render every day holy to the Lord.

“Extinguish the Sabbath, and religion has only the little intervals between the hours of labour in which to proclaim her lessons and to assert her claims. And if, even with the Sabbath on her side, which commands all to be silent that she may be heard, she finds it difficult to maintain her supremacy, what would be the case were her voice only to be raised amid the thousand discordant sounds of secular pursuits? You bid her fashion the iron, and you will not give her time to heat it; you bid her paint her image, but it is upon moving canvass. With one hand you propose to draw water from the cistern, while with the other you have cut off the communication of that cistern with the lake that feeds it. That man may be kept religious, he must give to the subject of religion more than the mere snatches of time, or half thoughts; hours upon hours must be set apart in which its hallowed associations and holy employments shall have opportunity to exert their full influence. Deprive him of this, and your every day Sabbath will soon turn out to mean no Sabbath at all.”ⁱ

None who value the Sabbath and call it a delight, the holy

ⁱ *The Christian Sabbath*, p. 92.

of the Lord, honourable, will seek to be excused from religious duties on the other days of the week by reason of their attendance to them on the Sabbath. The hypocrites and formalists may, indeed, so pervert the Sabbath, as to seek from it an excuse for their worldliness and neglect of religion on the other days of the week; but the genuine friends of the Sabbath never can and never will seek to be so excused. "The true genius of the Sabbath appointment is not that it may relieve us of our religion on common days, but that it may so revive our religion as to impel its healthy current into the remotest nook and corner of every-day duty."

2. *The plea of necessity and mercy.*

This plea is often brought forward in excuse of various forms of prevalent Sabbath desecration.

In the year 1838, a select Committee of the House of Commons gave it as their opinion "that the rule observed at the London Post Office of neither forwarding letters nor delivering them on Sundays, creates in business days, in every week throughout the country, one blank post-day to London, and another from London; *a resolution highly prejudicial to commerce and injurious to the revenue of the Post Office.*" Thus in order to promote the commercial interests of the country, and to increase the revenue, our legislators, who were appointed to inquire into the matter, gave it as their advice that regular postal business should be conducted in London on the Lord's day. The public interests of a country must be subordinated to the will of God, and never can, under any possible circumstances, require the violation of the divine law. There is a higher standard of duty than mere public convenience, or the commercial interests of a country.

"By the blessing of God, and as if to leave one remnant of Sabbath observance, whereby its excellence, were it general, might be proved, LONDON, the metropolis of government, politics, commerce, and wealth,—LONDON, the metropolis of the world,—OBSERVES THE SABBATH in its Post Office. . . . The world accommodates itself easily and naturally to the arrangement; and not only is inconvenience not felt, but so highly is the thing prized on the spot, that when, a few years ago, an unhallowed attempt was made to break in on the sanctity of the London Post Sabbath, there was an almost universal voice of remonstrance raised. The press, the public, the banks, the Stock Exchange, parish vestries, merchants, and numberless public bodies, including the Lord Mayor presiding in his court,—all lifted up their voices."^k

The fact that no mail leaves London on the Sabbath day, and that in America it has been stopped on thousands of miles,

^k *Sunday Railways Practically Discussed.* By J. Bridges, Esq. p. 8.

without any detriment to the country, nay, with the most hearty approbation of the great majority of the people, demonstrates the groundlessness of the plea of necessity and mercy for Sabbath labour in the Post Office, and the possibility of effecting an entire cessation of all postal traffic on the Lord's day.

About twenty-five years ago the subject of postal labour on the Sabbath, in America, became the subject of public attention. Many memorials, both for and against Sabbath labour in that department of the public service were presented to Congress. The Committee on post offices and post roads, decided at the time, that no alteration should be made in the existing custom, on the ground that "inconvenience would result from such a measure in the diminished activity of the ordinary business of life." In an able article in the *North American Review*, in which the decision of the Committee and the grounds of it are considered at length, the reviewer, after shewing that the labour of the community is more productive of real wealth by the entire suspension of labour on one day in seven, than it otherwise would be, goes on to say :—

"But this view of the subject, however important, is by no means the most so, of those which may be taken of it. The object of all this toil and trouble—these convulsive strainings and desperate enterprises—is, after all, the acquisition of the means of subsistence, and nothing more. But this, though a legitimate object of pursuit in life, is far from being the only one. It belongs entirely to our lower and animal nature. The intellectual and moral principle,—the God within the mind,—that loftier and nobler portion of our being, by which we hold affinity with the sublime spirit that created and informs the universe, this, too, has its claims; and they are of a far more urgent and momentous character than the other. But how can we do them justice if our thoughts are for ever absorbed, without the interruption of a day, an hour, a moment, in the routine of business? If we mean to rise in the scale of being above the tools we work with, or the brute animals that we employ, we must allow ourselves time for study, for solitary musings, or instructive conversation on elevated subjects. . . . Let it be enough that the business of the world is pursued with unremitted activity and perseverance from Monday morning to Saturday night. When Sunday comes, let the weary be at rest, let the laborer of any kind cease from his toil, and go up to the house of God, not to ruminate upon the affairs of the preceding week, or to lay new plans for the coming one, but to yield up his whole soul to the current of lofty contemplations which the scene and the service are fitted to inspire; to feel the ravishing influence of sacred song, to indulge the devout aspirations that lift the humble spirit in holy trances to the footstool of the Almighty. Nor let him think it too hard if, in the meantime, his letters remain unread in the post office. . . . His communion with God is of more consequence than his correspondence with his agent or

consignee. Whatever the mere man of business may think of it, this is, after all, a matter of high importance."

Let these words be echoed, and awake to serious thoughtfulness the votaries of mammon who are recklessly rushing forward in the race for riches. It is a solemn consideration, that the welfare of the soul is of infinitely more importance than that of the body. "What is a man profited if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul?"

Works of necessity and mercy, are, properly speaking, not exceptions from the Fourth Commandment. They are a part of its requirements. They are commanded, and in performing them we are obeying the law of the Sabbath, as much as when we rest from all works that are not of that character.

But what are works of necessity and mercy? "Some people," said Mr. Swan, to the chairman of the South-Eastern and Continental Steam Packet Company,

"Some people find it necessary to prefer duty to interest; necessity induces others to prefer pleasure to both; while a still larger class are prompted by an equally cogent necessity, to sacrifice alike their happiness, their interest and their duty without getting any return at all. I suppose it is necessity that prevents the Magician from carrying passengers between Dover and Boulogne on Sunday etc. . . . A necessity of a different description converts Folkestone Harbour into a scene like Greenwich Fair every Lord's day afternoon and morning . . . I do not believe that the plea of necessity is ever urged or ever thought of by three in a hundred of those who travel on Sunday, or could be consistently maintained by one in ten thousand . . . We are not constituted judges of the validity of the moral necessity that directs the passengers: grant for argument's sake that there does at times exist something akin to absolute necessity on their part, that does not necessarily imply an obligation on our part to carry them over, any more than the circumstances of a man being in imminent necessity of a pair of shoes on Sunday, would imply that all the shoemakers in Folkestone were to keep their shops open on that day. *May there not exist, I would ask, a counter necessity on our part, that preponderates a thousandfold, forbidding us to leave port? even the necessity of caring for hundreds of never-dying souls.* Is the necessity to be all on the side of the passengers, and to have no respect to those who carry them over, and no regard to the word that says, 'In seed time and in harvest thou shalt rest.' And truly it is a one-sided and equivocal necessity indeed that binds us over to sin against God and man, in order to keep the passage open, and yet necessitates us only to carry over those that can afford to pay'"!!!

These able statements are equally applicable to all the various forms of Sabbath travelling and Sabbath traffic that prevail in our land.

"The supreme authority and express command of the word of God,

by whose adjudication we must stand or fall, is the true necessity—paramount, unalterable, supreme,—which neither appeals to petty expediency, nor defers to popular clamour; a necessity that proclaims its own authority, and admits of no compromise. Forgetfulness of it cannot plant us beyond its domain, nor disregard raise us above its control.”

In the *Working Man's Charter* under the head of “Notices to Correspondents,” there is a question to the following effect proposed by a correspondent:—

“Do you consider the keeping water out of mines upon the Sabbath a work of necessity, and is it justifiable when those so employed occupy all their spare time in attending to their religious duties?”

The editor replies as follows:—

“Here are two questions proposed:—1. What are *necessities* that may be done on the Sabbath? 2. What are *employments* suitable to the Sabbath? Things *necessary* and therefore allowable on the Sabbath, must be such as have an *inherent* necessity. We may eat and drink, beasts may be foddered and led to the spring on the Sabbath, for these are the necessities of their nature. Is the keeping water out of mines of this nature? There is *a* necessity for doing so, as that the mine may be worked on the Monday, and the owner of the mine may become richer thereby. But is the making haste to be rich *a necessity* to justify Sabbath-breaking? We trow not. It is the very necessity that in the eyes of the railway directors justifies the running trains on the Sabbath.”

And we may add, justifies iron masters in keeping their works going on the Sabbath as on the other days of the week.

“Then, as to Sabbath employments, there is this rule, ‘Remember the Sabbath-day to keep it holy.’ Not a *part* of the day but the whole of it. The commandment does not say remember the one part and neglect another, but it is the day, the whole day, and no less than the day. Now the day is to be kept holy. If those ‘employed in keeping mines dry,’ etc., on the Sabbath are thereby keeping the day holy, their employment is justifiable.”

This illustration of the bearings of the plea of necessity on Sabbath work, distinctly shews how far that plea is applicable, and supplies an easy test by which it may be known whether our Sabbath work, and Sabbath travelling are justifiable in the sight of heaven.

The plea sometimes assumes the form of a benevolent concern for the comfort and happiness of the hard-working sons of toil. It is said that artizans and people in trade, who are confined closely to their exhausting labours during the week, need the healthful recreation which an excursion into the country on Sabbath supplies. To this plea Mr. Bridges, in his *Sunday Railways Practically Discussed*, has replied:—

¹ *Working Man's Charter*, 1848, p. 46.

“But do not the unhappy railway labourers require the same relief? Have they not bodies and souls as well as the rest of the public? Have they not wives and children as well as they? shall they be condemned to the helotry of unintermitted drudgery amidst the clouds and din of interminable railway agitation, in order that other labourers may be enabled—not to go to the country, for that they can do without a railway—but to go *a great* distance into the country on the Lord's day? Or, in another view, seeing that at present the sin and blunder of England is, that it overtakes its labouring population, and reduces them from the rank of moral and intelligent beings working for their bread, to the brute level of machines, perpetually on the stretch to obtain, not bread for themselves, but wealth, wealth, wealth, for their employers, is this vicious arrangement to be cured on the principle of superinducing a counter-vice in quarters where it does not exist? Is wealth to be encouraged in the overworking of its serfs six days in the week by compelling, or tempting them to misapply the seventh? Would it not be wiser to supersede the invasion of the Sabbath day by lessening the hours of work on the lawful days? The Sabbath profaners would establish two vicious arrangements where there is now but one; the Sabbath observer would render the new one unnecessary by putting an end to the old.”

The friends of the Sabbath are not opposed to recreations and amusements in their own time and place. Nay, have they not been among the foremost of the friends of the working men, in helping them to secure a lessening of their labours, a shortening of the hours of toil, that the Sabbath may under no circumstance need to be invaded, but may be preserved an unbroken day of holy rest? Is it not grievously insulting to the working men, to advise or encourage them to devote any part of their Sabbaths to recreation and amusement?

“Has not the working man a soul, as well as those most intellectual and disinterested guides? Is he cut off from the moral relations and the high destinies of an immortal being? And is there no need *why* he should hold up his horny hands, hard with honest toil, on a platform of equality with his master? What a mockery that he is to be the servant of others on common days, and that the highest dignity to which these false philanthropists would raise him on the Sabbath, is to hand him over like an infant to be amused.”^m

In replying to the most common and popular objection of those who would make the Sabbath a day for pleasure excursions and recreations, that it must be a burdensome institute which interdicts all such amusements and recreations as are supplied by excursions into the country, and by wandering at leisure through museums and libraries, and picture-galleries, and that they must be wanting in all benevolence and sympathy with the working

^m *News of the Church*, October, 1855, p. 253.

men, who would discourage or throw impediments in the way of their enjoying this privilege, Dr. Thompson of Edinburgh thus eloquently argues:—

“But on what pretence is the Sabbath to be charged with trenching on the enjoyments of the artizan? What is it but the Sabbath that has secured for him a seventh day of rest, and fencing it round with a divine barrier, has said to tyranny, This is the poor man's day, you may not wrest it from him; to secularity, you shall not buy it from him; to the poor man himself, you may not yield it up or sell it? Doubtless it is most intensely to be wished that far more time were allowed to the hard-wrought masses of our population for bodily recreation and amusement, and in a state of society which the principles of the bible thoroughly livened and regulated, this would most certainly be secured. But are not the intelligence and morality of a people of infinitely more importance, both to their individual happiness and to national strength? We wish to see secured for him time for religion too, and shall we be asked to sacrifice the more important for the less important? Would not recreation itself, without intelligence and morality, rapidly degenerate into brutal licentiousness? And how are these to be secured by those sons of toil, without a weekly recurring day to converse with divine truths and eternal realities?

“Let the real state of the case be clearly seen. The hours for recreation on common days have gradually passed from the hands of the working man—commercial enterprise has bought them up and changed them into hours of toil; and now when the question is asked, what time shall we have for recreation, the answer given is, his Sabbath day! Well, let us suppose the presumptuous and impious demand yielded, what security has he that his Sabbath, once given to recreation, would not soon be demanded for toil also, and the poor deluded artizan discover, when it is too late, that that blessed institute which had enshrined his dignity, his liberty, and his immortal interest, was lost; and that in an evil hour he had sold his birthright for a mess of pottage! The man of toil is insulted by that sentimentalism which never looks above his physical condition, and shuts out the idea that he is an immortal being travelling to an eternal world. And surely it is a far truer philanthropy which delights to behold him exchanging not merely animal toil for animal recreation, but moving with a virtuous household to that hallowed place where rich and poor meet together, raising his thoughts above all that is sordid and secular, holding converse with themes that at once dignify and purify, receiving motives to virtuous action, solace to grief, and with ‘looks communing with the skies,’ meditating on those things into which angels desire to look. These are the men that make an empire great, by keeping it virtuous, the salt of the earth, the light of the world.”*

* *The Christian Sabbath*, pp. 86, 87.

**ON THE WORD HELLENIST, WITH ESPECIAL REFERENCE
TO ACTS XI. 20.^a**

TO THE STUDENTS OF BISHOP'S COLLEGE.

“ Non mihi res, sed me rebus, submittere conor.”

MY DEAR PUPILS,—When I decided in lecture in favour of the received text of Acts xi. 20, against the authority of Griesbach, Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Bornemann, (to whom as I have found afterwards, might have been added many others, as Doddridge and Scott among the uncritical, and Alford among the critical commentators,) I did so with some hesitation; because, although my general impression as to the rights of the case was strong, I had never examined the evidence in detail. As I thought one or two of you inclined not only to take a different view from mine, (a thing which may be expected to occur occasionally,) but to do so on entirely wrong grounds,—mistaking, in fact, the very nature of the question that was under consideration, and allowing your acceptance of a Textual Reading to be determined (not by the *authority* of MSS. and other subsidiary critical evidence, but) by *presumptions* drawn from what you imagined to be the historical requirements of the narrative,—I took the first opportunity I could find of going into the whole matter.

I here present you with the results of my enquiry. I have thought it worth while to throw them into this systematic form, not so much on account of the intrinsic importance of the point discussed, though it is one of considerable interest, as because I think them well adapted to guard you against one of the great dangers of modern criticism. They may assist in teaching you that you are not to conform the text of an author to what you may think to be historical exigencies, but rather to make your view of history (and the same will hold good of authoritative doctrinal teaching), depend on a careful examination of the facts which your text, determined by its own proper critical evidence, supplies you with.

In this particular enquiry no *theological* truth is involved. This is, for my present purpose, an advantage; as it prevents its being said that the writer's view is biassed by doctrinal prepossessions.

^a By the Rev. W. Kay, M.A., Principal of Bishop's College, Calcutta. Reprinted from a paper published in Calcutta.

Incidentally, the remarks will shew you how unwise it is to give implicit credence to the opinions of even the most celebrated critics. However painful a conclusion it may be to come to, you must make up your mind to look on commentators as persons who are TO HELP YOU TO AN EXAMINATION OF FACTS, *not* as infallible guides. You have here a *consensus* of really pains-taking and learned men in favour of departure from the Received Text; and yet, I am much mistaken, if the following paper does not satisfy you that, whether critically or historically viewed, the received reading is beyond comparison the most satisfactory one.

Friday, June 13th, 1856.

I am, yours faithfully,
W. KAY.

I. ON THE READING,—Is *Ἑλληνιστάς* THE RIGHT ONE?

A. *Manuscripts.*

I. The Alexandrian and the Cambridge, the first belonging to the fifth century, the other to the seventh, have *Ἑλληνας*.

II. The Vatican, written before A.D. 350, the Laudian of the sixth or seventh (spoken of by Michaelis as a MS. of the highest importance), with two other *uncial* MSS. of the ninth century, and the whole body of *cursive* MSS., (above 170 in number,) have the received reading.

The balance therefore is most decidedly in favour of the received Text in any case. But if the two following remarks be taken into consideration, all doubt, I think will disappear.

1. The reading *Ἑλληνας* being itself an *easier* word, and I might add, yielding a more *obvious* antithesis, one can more easily account for its having supplanted *Ἑλληνιστάς* in a *few* MSS., than we could for *Ἑλληνιστάς* (the more exact, but less usual and more difficult term), having expelled *Ἑλληνας* in *nearly all* of them.

2. The Alexandrian MS., which is chiefly relied upon by those who would change the text, *reads* *Ἑλληνας* also at ch. ix. 27, where the editors all agree that *Ἑλληνιστάς* is the true reading. This is enough to deprive its testimony of any weight (*as to this particular point*) in the passage now under examination; at least when it is opposed to the great current of MS. authority.

B. *Versions.*

Tischendorf (followed by Alford) produces a most formidable

array of ancient versions, from the Syriac (of the second century) to the Vulgate (of the fourth), as favouring his innovation.

But this is altogether fallacious :—for

1. The two versions I have mentioned *employ here the same term which they employed in chap. vi. 1, where the reading is undoubtedly* Ἑλληνιστῶν. (There is no MS. variation there at all).

2. The Coptic^b and Arabic^c have precisely the same word in *all the three passages* (vi. 1, ix. 29, and xi. 20.)

It is evident therefore that their renderings in xi. 20, cannot be considered *inconsistent* with the Textus Receptus.

I have little doubt that similar observations will apply to all the other ancient versions.

C. *The Fathers.*

Eusebius, Chrysostom, Theophylact, and Œcumenius, are referred to in a general way by several editors, as authorities for Ἕλληνας.

A more careful examination produces the following as the *dernier mot* of criticism.^d

1. *For* the received Text ;—the *text* of Chrysostom, Œcumenius and Theophylact.

2. *Against* it ;—Eusebius, and the *commentaries* of Chrysostom, Œcumenius, and Theophylact.

Now, *Firstly*, on this statement it seems natural to ask, whether the *direct* quotation of the text ought not, *in any case*, to outweigh the *indirect* evidence which the commentary is thought to supply.

But this is not all.

There is, *Secondly*, very strong reason to doubt the fact here alleged. I have not access to Œcumenius and Theophylact,^e but an examination of St. Chrysostom may be sufficient to confirm what I have said. For how does the case stand ?

When we consider the tenor of his comment, we find it agree entirely with the supposition that the textual reading was the one he had in view. He says : ἴσως, διὰ τὸ μὴ εἰδέναι Ἑβραϊστὶ, Ἕλληνας αὐτοὺς ἐκάλουν. “They probably called them Hellens because of their not understanding Hebrew.” Now I will venture to say that if you were to strike out the word Ἕλληνας and put *x* in its stead, simply asking a person

^b Ed. Wilkins.

^c In Walton's Polyglot.

^d Mr. Alford.

^e As these commentators lived in the eleventh century, their evidence in a question of this kind is of less importance.

to determine from the sentence itself, for which of the two, 'Ελληνιστάς or "Ελληνας, *x* had been substituted, the answer would be 'Ελληνιστάς. For, to say, "they called them [i. e., the Gentiles,] Greeks because they were not acquainted with Hebrew," would be absurd: whereas "they called them [the religious body which was composed of the Greek-speaking Jews and Greek (or other) proselytes,] Hellenists, because they did not know Hebrew," is perfectly natural, and corresponds with the explanation the same Father gives of "Hellenist," in his comment on ix. 29; τοὺς 'Ελληνιστὶ, φησὶ, φθεγγομένους, "He means those who spoke Greek."

I consider therefore that the evidence furnished by this passage of St. Chrysostom is wholly in favour of the received reading.^f

D. *The Editions.*

The elder editions coincide with the MSS.

The Moderns (as Griesbach, Lachmann, Tischendorf, Bornemann, and Alford), adopt the other reading.

The spirit in which they have done so has been too much that of Doddridge, who on this passage says:—"Instead of 'Ελληνιστάς, the Alexandrian MS., which is favoured by the Syriac and some other ancient versions, reads "Ελληνας; which *common sense* would require us to adopt, even if it were not supported by the authority of any MS. at all."

What did he mean, we may ask, by *common sense*? *Whose* common sense? Were all the amanuenses of the numerous MSS. that have come down to us,—many of them the most intelligent scholars, probably, of their times,—destitute of this common sense?

I am glad to see that Scott censures this rash method of dealing with the text. "It would in my mind," he says, "be far preferable to *leave the point undecided*, or even to adopt Beza's exposition, than to alter the text without the authority of any MS.; for *who* can say how far men may proceed in altering the Scriptures by conjectural criticisms, pleading at the same time that common sense requires it?" This is what we might expect from Scott's sober and reverent character. It is true, he proceeds to say, "there is good ground to conclude

^f As regards the use of the word "Ελληνας in other places in the Homily, it should be remembered that the term "Hellenist" was an unusual term in the fifth century, and that one portion of the Hellenistic body (probably, in a place like Antioch, the larger and more influential portion) were actually "Ελληνες, Greeks by birth (cp. Acts xiv. 1; xvii. 4; xviii. 4).

that *Greeks* is the right reading;" but it is no disparagement to his many and great merits as an expositor, to say that philology was not his strong point. If proof of this were wanted, we need go no further than his comment on ver. 26 of this chapter, where he pronounces that a rendering, which runs counter to the usage of the Greek language, to the versions, ancient or modern, and to the all but unanimous consent of commentators and critics, is "indisputably the natural construction of the verse."^g

II. ON THE MEANING OF THE TERM 'Ελληνισταί.

I think all the evidence we have goes to shew that the term was applied to designate "those Jews and proselytes who used the Septuagint version of the Scriptures in their synagogues."

The existence of this distinction is put in a striking light by an anecdote in the Talmud, which Biscoe quotes.^h "Rabbi Levi ben Chaiatha, going down to Cæsarea, heard them reciting the Shema" (Deut. vi. 4, etc.), "in Greek (ἑλληνιστῶν = 'Ελληνιστῶν), and *would have forbidden them*; which when Rabbi Jose heard, he was very angry, and said: 'If a man does not know how to read in the holy tongue, is he not to read at all? Let him do his duty in whatever language.'"ⁱ I may add that the prejudice felt by the Judæan Jews against "Greek" (almost synonymous, in their minds, with "Pagan"),^j is well illustrated by another Talmudic passage,^k which says that Aristobulus, while besieging his brother Hyrcanus, uttered this imprecation: "Cursed be the man that keeps swine, and cursed be he that teaches his son the wisdom of the Greeks."

Thus, then, in all the great foci of Judaism we should have two classes of Jews, two kinds of Synagogues. The ground of the distinction was, *primarily*, the use of the Hebrew language by the one party, and of the Greek language by the other;^l but in course of time a much more radical difference grew up. The

^g His reference to Acts xi. 26, in the note on Rom. vii. 3, is a strange piece of inaccuracy.

^h On the Acts, p. 60.

ⁱ Whence 'Ελληνισμός is used, in 2 Macc. iv. 13, for Paganism. Indeed the literature, arts, and philosophy of the Greeks were all imbued with the Pagan spirit; and were felt to be the natural pioneers of Paganism in religion. Cf. 1 Macc. i. 14, etc.

^k Biscoe: *u. s.*

^l At the present day the Ashkenazim and Sephardim Jews in Jerusalem worship in separate synagogues, from a much slighter cause: for both use the same language, Hebrew; only, the one pronounce it in the broad German way, the other in the Spanish or Oriental way.

Hebrew synagogues would number very few on their rolls who were not Jews by birth; while the Hellenist synagogues would absorb the mass of the proselytes from Paganism. We have no information, that I am aware of, as to the relative numbers of these two classes. No doubt the ratio would vary indefinitely in different localities. In Jerusalem, of course, the Hebrew-speaking Jews would be the more numerous; in Egypt and Northern Syria, Asia Minor, and Greece, the Hellenist portion would in general preponderate. A similar variation would probably exist in the ratio of the Jewish and Greek elements which entered into the composition of a Hellenist Synagogue; *e.g.*, it might be expected that there would be a much larger number of Gentile proselytes in the Hellenist synagogues of a city like Antioch than in those of Jerusalem.

III. ON THE SUITABLENESS OF THIS MEANING TO THE CONTEXT.

Let us see first whether this explanation agrees with the narrative of the two passages in the Acts, where it is agreed that "*Hellenist*" is the true reading.

1. In ch. vi. 1, we find that the Hellenist converts complained that their widows had been neglected by the Hebrew-speaking converts (*Ἑβραῖοι*), in the distribution of alms. We find, too, that seven deacons (who were chosen, it would seem, especially to represent the aggrieved party), had all of them Greek names, while one of them, Nicolaus, is described as "a proselyte, a native of Antioch." The mention of *one* as being a proselyte implies that the others were not so, but Jews (or descendants of Jews), who had settled in the Greek-speaking countries.

It follows, therefore, that neither of the two rival explanations,—that which makes Hellenist mean, *exclusively*, those Jews who resided in foreign countries, and that which makes it mean, *exclusively*, proselytes or Pagans who had embraced Judaism,—is correct. The Hellenist synagogue must have included (as our explanation makes it include), both classes.

2. In ch. ix. 29, though there is no express contrast with the *Ἑβραῖοι*, there is a tacit one. So St. Chrysostom took it; "He means by the Hellenists the Greek-speaking Jews; for those other, the high-caste Hebrews (*οἱ βαθεῖς Ἑβραῖοι*), would not condescend even to look at him." St. Paul himself was a Jew by extraction, and well-versed in Hebrew; "a Hebrew of the Hebrews;"—but his embracing Christianity had severed

him completely from the *Hebrew* Jews; they felt him to be the opprobrium of their body;^m *they* would have nothing to say to him. But there was another body of Jews, who had no feelings of injured pride to restrain them; and whose zeal for Judaism was probably much warmer than that of the old high-caste Hebrews." It had been this body,—the Hellenists,—or a portion of it, men belonging "to the Synagogue of the Libertines, and Cyrenians, and Alexandrians, and them of Cilicia, and Asia," who had "*stirred up the people and the elders and the scribes,*" contrary to the policy of men like Gamaliel, to seize Stephen (himself a Hellenist). When Paul, who had *then* taken a most active part with them, came to Jerusalem "to preach the faith, which once he had tried to destroy," the Hellenists were the party to whom he addressed himself; and who sought to oppose him with the self-same weapons which they had employed against Stephen,—argument first, and then assassination: "*they went about to slay him.*"^o

In both these passages the explanation we have given of the term *Hellenist* fits in exactly with the facts of the history, and makes them stand out in bold and strong relief.

3. Does it so in the third passage?

The facts are these. On the persecution which followed the death of Stephen, the Christians of Jerusalem were scattered over Judæa and Samaria (ch. viii. 1); the consequence of which was the formation of Churches "throughout all Judæa and Galilee and Samaria." But the tide did not stop within these limits. While the home-churches were growing not only in piety and numbers, but in knowledge:—while they were being taught to extend their ideas of what God purposed His Gospel to effect in the world,—taught to "glorify God, saying, Then hath God to the Gentiles also (*καὶ τοῖς ἔθνεσιν*) granted repent-

^m There is a curious statement in Epiphanius (quoted by Beza on ix. 29), illustrative of this. The Jews, he says, vented their spite on Paul by spreading a story that he had gone over to the Christians, because the High Priest had refused to give him his daughter in marriage!

ⁿ St. Matt. xxiii. 15.

^o Although only indirectly connected with this part of our inquiry, it may be well to take this opportunity of remarking that the vision, which Paul speaks of as granted to him in the temple (Acts xxii. 17, 21), becomes very much heightened in interest, when we remember that it occurred during this first visit to Jerusalem. When he had gone into the temple,—perhaps, after one of his discussions with the Hellenists—Jesus appeared to him, and said, "Haste and depart quickly from Jerusalem; *for they will not receive thy testimony concerning me.*" "Nay, LORD," is the *effect* of Paul's answer, "they *must* receive it; they know my former zeal in persecuting Thy servants; they remember the part I took in the death of Thy martyr Stephen; and I of all men am the one who ought to speak to their convictions." But He, who sees not as man sees, said, "Depart; for My purpose is to send thee hence to *heathen* nations afar off." *How* and *when* this was to be fulfilled he learnt afterwards.

ance unto life" (xi. 18):—some of those, who had been driven from Jerusalem by persecution, wandered on "as far as Phenice, and Cyprus, and Antioch," carrying with them—amidst all their zeal—their former restricted views, and "preaching the Word to none but the Jews only" (ver. 19). What their success was in other places, is not recorded; but at Antioch a signal blessing was vouchsafed. Some of them,—Cyprians, and Cyrenians—and so (vi. 9), themselves probably Hellenists,—on arriving at that city went to the Hellenist Synagogue (which had already contributed a deacon to the mother Church in Jerusalem), and "the hand of the Lord was with them, and a great number believed and turned into the Lord" (ver. 21). When this event was reported to the apostles at Jerusalem, Barnabas (of Cyprus) was sent down to Antioch (exactly as Peter and John had been sent to Samaria, viii. 14);—and when he "saw the grace of God,"—here in Antioch, the political and commercial metropolis of Western Asia, working as mighty a change as the first effusion of the spirit had brought about in Jerusalem itself—"he was glad, and exhorted them all, that with full purpose of heart they would cleave unto the Lord."

There is no mention made as yet of preaching to the heathen (τὰ ἔθνη, xi. 18); although the foundation of the Church at Antioch out of the Hellenist body was the first providential step towards the first great mission to the heathen. For the present, the work to be done at Antioch was full of hope; and one can easily understand how Barnabas' thoughts should turn to his friend Paul. Who so qualified as he for handling all the topics that were necessary for the building up of the infant Church, and for the further spread of the truth among the Hellenistic community?—and who could say whether this might not (in some unknown way), lead to the fulfilment of the vision granted to Paul in the temple, in which "he was sent to the heathen?"

So it was to be. Barnabas fetched Saul to Antioch, and we may surely say, with much greater point, of this period in Paul's history, what Winer^p says of his controversy with the Hellenists at Jerusalem; it was his novitiate, in which he was trained for his approaching mission to the heathen.

Then, *in the course of years*,^q we find that the apostles Barnabas and Paul "turned to the Gentiles," and on their return, gathered the Church at Antioch together, and "rehearsed all

^p R. W. B., *Hellenisten*.

^q Cp. xi. 26, xiv. 3, &c. The probable date of xi. 19, is A.D. 41, that of xiv. 27, is A.D. 45.

that God had done with them, and *how He had opened the door of the faith to the Gentiles!*" (τοῖς ἔθνεσιν).

In other words, the complete antithesis to ch. xi. 19, is to be sought, not in verse 20, as the advocates of the reading "*Ἑλληνας assumed*," but in xiv. 27.

IV. ON OBJECTIONS URGED AGAINST THIS READING.

Our first endeavour was to determine *the true reading* on its own proper evidence. We then proceeded to establish a simple *explanation* of the term so supplied to us. Having now found that this meaning harmonizes with the context of all the passages in which the term is employed, we should be justified in closing the inquiry.

Since, however, it is a common weakness of the human mind to allow a few objections, warmly urged, to overpower an incomparably larger mass of positive evidence, it may not be amiss to examine the arguments employed against the received reading by one of the ablest English annotators—Mr. Alford. If you find that these arguments, when applied to the view we have been led to adopt, fall entirely pointless, I trust this result will confirm you in the resolution always to prefer the exercise of patient, inductive, criticism (or, in defect of that, an honest *suspense of judgment*), to that compendious method which is now so often resorted to, when men meet with something that does not seem to square with their preconceived notions,—I mean, a bold alteration of texts, and a supercilious disregard of authority.

1. Mr. Alford begins (in the very tone of Doddridge), by pronouncing *Ἑλληνιστάς* to be "*apparently altogether a mistake, as no sense can be yielded by it.*" And again, he says; "*That reading gives no assignable sense whatever.*"

A very distinct sense has been assigned in the preceding part of this paper.

2. He tries to justify his assertion by three reasons:—

I. The *first* of which is, that "*the Hellenists were long ago a recognized part of the Christian Church.*"

If this be an argument, it must mean something of the following kind;—

"Some Hellenists had been converted at Jerusalem; *therefore* St. Luke cannot be here narrating a wonderful extension of the Christian Church among the Hellenist body at Antioch."

"Why not?" we ask. "Because *we* have made up our mind that at this precise period a further *development of the*

Church's constitution took place." It is sufficient to reply; *That is a mere arbitrary assumption*; we are content to say with Newton, *Hypotheses non fingo*."

II. His *second* reason is, that "among these διασπαρέντες themselves were probably many Hellenists."

Certainly.—The great body of emigrants (it is implied),^r being Hebrew Jews, preached in the Hebrew synagogues; but on their reaching Antioch, the Hellenistic community of that great city would naturally call forth the energies of those who had the human qualifications for the work. But neither at Antioch nor previously, did they preach to the *heathen* directly.

III. His *third* reason is that "the term Ἰουδαῖοι includes the Hellenists." It *may* do so, when used loosely as a term of contradistinction to the *heathen*. But in other cases it is contrasted with persons who fall under the designation of "Hellenists." Thus in Acts ii. 10, we have "Jews" distinguished from "*proselytes*," and in xiv. 1, from the religious "Greeks" who attended the synagogue. Now both these classes,—proselytes of righteousness and proselytes of the gate,—came under the general term Hellenist. Consequently, although these Cyrenians and Cypriots acted only in accordance with their *principle* (of keeping to the synagogue) when they preached to these Hellenists, there was a vast expansion of their views introduced *incidentally*. And herein we may see an instance of the wisdom of him, who is "wonderful in counsel:" who is ever astonishing us with the unlooked-for progress of the various portions of his providential scheme, and yet "*nihil agit per saltum*." For we find that Judaism itself, by its long and gradual working on the consciences of the heathen, had provided in the Hellenistic body the broader platform on which Christianity was to prepare itself for its first direct aggression on heathenism.

3. Mr. Alford lays great stress on an opinion he had come to, that Barnabas was sent by the apostles, *not* "with the intent to sympathize with the work" at Antioch, but to *discourage* it; and that he was turned from his purpose by finding such evidences of "the grace of God" as he had not expected.

There is absolutely *nothing* in St. Luke's narrative to warrant so strange, and not very reverent, a hypothesis. The mission of Barnabas is described in very much the same way as that of Peter and John to Samaria. And it is obvious to ask, If the object had been not to encourage but (as Mr. Alford

^r "The historian has rendered it evident that the want of language was the reason they did not [preach in Greek], having observed that those who came thither and preached to the Hellenists were men of Cyprus and Cyrene" (Campbell's *Dissertations*, vol. i., p. 15).

ventures to say) to “deter” the evangelists at Antioch, why select “the son of exhortation” for the work? Verse 24 shews plainly what his qualifications for the work were,—“He was *a good man*, and full of the Holy Ghost and of faith,”—just the endowments that would fit him to help on, and strengthen this great—almost Pentecostal—turning to God. As for the expression, “the grace of God,” it is used precisely in the same way as in xiii. 43, where “*the Jews and* DEVOUT PROSELYTES” of Antioch in Pisidia are spoken of.

4. Mr. Alford adds another argument:—that if in the newly evangelized community at Antioch there had not been Gentiles (*i. e.*, converts from *heathenism*) mixed up with the converts supplied by the synagogue, the new designation “Christian” would not have been required.

This is a most precarious assertion.

The name “Christians,” was given by the populace as a term of reproach.^s It was formed on the model of the Latin adjectives, which had come to be used of factions, *e. g.*, “*Pompeiani*”=“of Pompey’s faction,” “*Pompeyites*.”—A great movement had taken place inside Judaism, which could hardly fail to attract attention.^t Whenever it was asked how this new and influential ‘sect’ differed from the other Jews, the answer would be, “They say that their Messiah—ὁ Χριστός—has come;” and their name would be set down as *Christians*.^t

V. CONCLUSION.

It may subserve my general purpose in discussing this subject at so great length, if in conclusion I point out how the received reading not only falls in with the general course of the history of the Acts, but throws a striking and vivid light upon it.

From chap. ii. 1, of the Acts up to chap. vi. 7, the Church had steadily advanced. The *Pharisees* advocated *toleration*: the apostles preached the Gospel *in the temple*; and very many *priests* joined the Church.

At that point (vi. 7) all changes. STEPHEN (himself probably a *Hellenist*) is found disputing with the *Hellenists* in Jerusalem, and is killed on a charge of compassing the overthrow of Judaism.

^s “Quos per flagitia invisos *vulgus* Christianos appellabat” (*Tacit. Ann.*, xi., 44).

^t The well-known sentence of Suetonius (*Claud.*, c. xxiv.), “Judæos, Chresto impulsore, assidue tumultuantes, Româ expulit,” is sufficient to shew, that Christianity was popularly looked upon as a movement going on *inside* the Jewish body.

The Church is then *scattered* from Jerusalem ; and two great series of events are narrated.

I. (viii. 4—xi. 18). Nearer home :—Judæa, *Samaria*, and *Galilee* are occupied with Christian Churches ; PHILIP, one of *Stephen's* fellow-deacons, being prominent in the work. One of *Stephen's* fiercest persecutors, PAUL, is converted ; and, under BARNABAS's patronage, takes Stephen's place for a short time as opponent of the *Hellenists*, but is soon obliged to retire. By a special divine intervention, the apostles at Jerusalem are convinced that " God has granted repentance unto life *to the heathen* (*ἔθνεσιν*)."

II. (xi. 19—xiv. 27). Other bands of refugees travel further from the holy city. Some of them, being *Hellenists*, on reaching Antioch address the *Hellenists* in that great metropolis, and make numerous converts. *Barnabas* comes down and fetches *Paul* to labour among them. AFTERWARDS *by special divine appointment*, Barnabas and Paul engage in MISSIONARY work in Asia Minor, and on their return proclaim to the Church at Antioch that " God had opened the gate of faith *to the heathen* ;" (*ἔθνεσιν*.)

It is evident that those who change the Received Text, wish to place at the *beginning* of this second series of events what forms its proper and natural *conclusion*.

Thus does history in the end justify and reward an honest and sincere adherence to the canons of inductive criticism.

Let us learn this lesson well. There are few more needed in the present day. Always abide by *facts*. Never oppose to them your " common sense,"—which in most such cases means, your hasty, and impatient, and superficial *surmises*. Examine the *evidence*, on which your facts are received, as carefully as you can ; but, when they have fairly and adequately stood the test, never relinquish your hold upon them, whatever seeming perplexities they may lead you into. You are safe under their guidance : they will bear you out prosperously and triumphantly in the end.

A truly philosophic temper, and a habit of sober, patient, criticism, far from being opposed to *faith*, are the best human preparations for a reception of divine truth. " Try all things : hold fast that which is good."



THE WILL, DIVINE AND HUMAN.^a

THERE cannot be any question of more importance to man than the inquiry whether he is really an agent, or a mere instrument; whether he is capable of exercising an influence, any measure of which can be attributed to himself, solely and personally, as its author and originator; or whether all things, even the most minute, follow one another as the links of an eternal and inexorable chain of necessity, binding even Deity itself. If there is any such thing as created agency, if God has delegated to created, and therefore limited beings, a power of originating any act or influence, then the existence of moral evil can be accounted for, and its origin is no longer inexplicable; and natural evil, as the corrector of moral evil, becomes equally intelligible. But deny this—make every created act the pure result of God's will—and then the existence, both of moral and natural evil, seem altogether irreconcilable with the belief of a Supreme Creator of perfect power, wisdom, and goodness. Inquiries of this character lie at the very foundation of all religion; for, however difficult it may be to trace the influence of any theoretical opinions, we may rest assured, that man's true and undissembled sense and acknowledgment of his responsibilities will always be proportioned to his belief of his power of self-influence.

Nor is this the only reason which attaches to such investigations an interest of the highest order. Men are liable to errors on both sides of this question. There are at times strong temptations to repudiate our real responsibilities, and at other times to exaggerate them. The former temptations are dangerous to our integrity, and invite men to make total shipwreck of their faith; the latter often threaten to crush to the earth the oversensitive and the scrupulous. Hence we deem that both an unphilosophical, as well as a disingenuous and therefore irre-

^a 1. *The Will, Divine and Human*. By Thomas Solly, Barrister-at-Law, of the Middle Temple, and Lecturer of the English Language and Literature at the University of Berlin, late of Caius College, Cambridge. Cambridge: Deighton, Bell, and Co. London: Bell and Daldy. 1856. pp. x., 291.

2. *Theological Essays*. Reprinted from the *Princeton Review*. First Series. With a Preface by the Rev. Patrick Fairbairn, D.D., Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. Royal 8vo, pp. vi., 574. 1856.

3. *The Doctrine of Scriptural Predestination: briefly stated and considered in its tendency to promote unity, and in contrast with the theories which have been substituted for it*. By Robert Knight, Perpetual Curate of Warton. 8vo, pp. xvi., 49. London: T. Bagster and Sons; Simpkin, Marshall, and Co. Oxford: J. H. and J. Parker. 1854.

ligious spirit, which excuses its slothfulness or its incapacity by treating the inquiry as of small importance, because a mere theoretical opinion.

The author of the first work on our list seems fully aware that the subject of which it treats is not a popular one even in the world of students, and he therefore endeavours to answer, in the first place, the objections of those who "have argued that the pleadings connected with it are but a vain wrangling, for ever revolving round the same point but never approaching it, and that there is no hope of man's arriving at a clear result on this side the grave." In answer to such statements, he replies, that "the indomitable perseverance with which the thinkers of all ages have ever returned to the same problem must be regarded as a sufficient answer to such desponding views, for it is an evidence of an instinctive faith in the powers of the intellect, far too strong and too universal to be regarded as a mere illusion."

To suppose that the question is one which cannot be solved, is to charge those who have in various ages attempted its solution with an undue confidence in their own powers; but dogmatically to pronounce it a question absolutely beyond the reach of human investigation, seems to be a piece of presumption on the part of those who pursue such a course, which richly deserves the reproofs which Mr. Solly administers to persons who pronounce those depths unfathomable, of which their own personal examination has failed to find the bottom. The vanity and egotism betrayed by such self-constituted determiners of the boundaries of human knowledge, are the more reprehensible when associated, as they often are, with proofs that the question is one which they have very superficially studied, and that they are entirely ignorant of much of what has been written on the subject. At the same time, we would distinguish, by a very wide margin, these aspirers to a position to which they have no claim, from the more reasonable and much more widely extended class who, without pretending to fix as dictators the boundaries of human research on this point, are impressed with strong misgivings of man's power to solve a question which has for so many ages baffled his investigations.

To this class of minds, who have not absolutely prejudged the question, arguments may be addressed with some hope of being heard; and, as there is every reason to believe that they are by far the larger class, every author who wishes even to obtain a trial will do well to endeavour, as a first and most important step, to shew cause why he should receive a hearing.

There seem to be three leading reasons, either of which may

account for the failure of the solution of this question ; and the great fallacy of those who pronounce it insoluble, seems to be that they have ignored two of them. The question of the will may have failed of a satisfactory solution either because it is a subject far transcending the powers of the human intellect, or because the existence of the will is a first principle, a primary element of knowledge, an axiom which men only obscure when they attempt to prove it ; or, lastly, it may be a question of so complicated a kind, that it could only be solved by an exhaustive system of investigation, each succeeding inquirer taking up the subject at the stage to which his predecessors had brought it.

We are very far from believing that all past efforts to place the question of the will on a satisfactory footing have failed, because it is a subject transcending human investigation ; and that, therefore, all future attempts are to be regarded as a hopeless waste of time and labour. But, while we agree with Mr. Solly on this point, we think, that the foundation on which he rests the past labours of those who have pursued the inquiry, and on which he builds man's hope of its future solution, is a defective, if not an erroneous one. His statements on this point require at the least a large measure of qualification. "Instinctive faith" can scarcely err ; and the indomitable perseverance with which the thinkers of all ages have ever returned to the same problem" may be regarded "as an evidence of an instinctive faith," but not simply "in the powers of the human intellect." There are problems to which thinkers in all ages have again and again returned, and in which they have been as frequently baffled,—problems that are as far as ever from a satisfactory solution. There is a pride of intellect ; there is an overweening confidence in the powers of man's mind, the germs of which exist in every heart, and which neither past failures nor present difficulties can restrain from aiming to raise itself above its level. If its votaries cannot ascend the heights and fathom the depths of all knowledge, they seek to dwarf its proportions. They prove themselves the inheritors of that fell ambition which animated those who were tempted to aspire to be as gods, knowing good and evil.

Between such idolaters of human intellect, and the mass of those who have pursued with unremitting ardour the investigation of the question of the will, a wide line of demarcation must be drawn. The labours and researches of the latter have rested on a wider and holier foundation than a mere faith in the powers of man's intellect. They have pursued the inquiry with untiring assiduity, because it was a practical one of the deepest importance—because it seriously affected man's responsibility—

because, on the alternative, the issue was suspended, whether man was a mere machine, moving as he was moved, or a self-determining agent. On the decision of this question, in every man's mind, depends his belief, either in an atheistic fate, or a personal and self-determining God. In the minds of all consistent Theists a belief that the solution of a question of such vital practical importance is, to some extent, within the power of the human intellect is so natural, if not necessary, that it may be called an instinctive faith; but it is not an instinctive faith in the mere powers of the human intellect: it is a faith in the wisdom and goodness of God, which forbids men to suppose that a subject, exercising so powerful an influence on man's views both of God's being and nature, and of man's own character and position, should be placed beyond the reach of man's inquiries.

Hence the investigation of this question is one which has not been confined to the mere thinkers among men, in the general acceptance of the term. It is a subject on which all men in all ages have thought who have entertained any belief in a God, who have ever reflected in any measure on the subject of man's responsibility, who have thought of good and evil. Nor is it a subject on which they have merely thought; it is one on which every man has arrived at some conclusion who has entered upon the inquiry. Not that every man has examined the subject philosophically. In this, as in every other question of the same kind, the solution arrived at has been such as each man's faculties, and education, and opportunities permitted. But every man who has given in his adhesion to that recognition of his responsibility which society enforces upon all its members, has practically solved the question, and has, although vaguely and indirectly, perhaps, come to a conclusion.

Hence the consideration of this question is as universal as the human mind itself; its proximate solution runs parallel with the extent of human society, and no consistent Theist can for a moment believe that no data have been given for its elucidation; or, even, that the data given have been insufficient or limited to profound thinkers.

At the same time, it seems equally clear that the question of the will is not of such a character as to place all men on a level in its investigation. It is not one of those primary truths which are only obscured by attempts to prove them; on which all men find themselves constrained to arrive at the same conclusion.

It is one, on the contrary, in which there seems to be an all but infinite variety of gradations of belief. Even amongst those most widely opposed in their theoretical views, there is a certain

measure of practical uniformity, inconsistent, in some respects, with the extreme statements of both parties; but their theoretical views are so far from being totally inoperative, that every man's practical conduct is, and must be, modified in its more hidden springs by the opinion which he holds on the question of the human will. Nor does this remark hold merely of individuals; the fatalistic, and arbitrary, and fortuitous theories have imperceptibly moulded the characters, not only of philosophical and religious sects, but of nations and of empires.

Another argument against its being such a primary and simple element of human knowledge, as to render all reasoning upon it vain and fruitless, is derived from the violent undulations of opinion which have been associated with it, and the influence which has been exercised upon mankind by those leading names which have been distinguished in the controversies connected with it. In this respect how wide a difference is there between it, and the subject of the existence of an external world, and of a perceiving mind, of a subjective and an objective in creation. With what different interest do men, generally, at least, if not universally, consider the arguments on these respective questions. And what is the reason of this? Not surely that the one is a less practical question than the other; for there can be no question of greater practical importance than that of self-existence. The reason is, that the question of self-existence and of the distinct existence of an external world, is one of those primary and universally received, or rather impressed, truths, which no philosophical reasonings can render clearer. The most untutored savage has as clear and distinct an impression of subjective and objective, and as firm a conviction of his existence as a thinking unity, and of the existence of an external world, as what is possessed by the philosopher who has written with the greatest ingenuity upon the subject. All the reasonings of the whole world of philosophers, German and Germanizing, have not added one measure of strength to the convictions of the human mind on this point. And this conviction necessarily exercises a powerful influence on the feelings with which men read the disquisitions of the learned on this topic. They are mere exercises of mental ingenuity—proofs of a truth which no man has ever been able to succeed in doubting, all his reasonings to the contrary notwithstanding, laboured evidences of an axiomatic or self-evident proposition. In this respect the controversy on the will presents a marked contrast with that of the existence of a subjective and an objective. The human mind has not been more powerfully or universally agitated by any questions than that of the will and its collaterals. Each side has had its advocates, whose labours

have placed their names among the monuments of history, as those of men who have greatly swayed the human mind, not merely in their own, but during many generations. There seems to be no instance on record of a greater or more extended influence than what has been exercised by the great advocate of those opinions upon the will, which cast into a theological mould, and associated (how justly may be fairly disputed) with particular scriptural statements, have assumed the name of predestinarian. It seems, therefore, a very injudicious step to mix up, with the examination of the nature of the will, a large measure of those lucubrations on the doctrine of the subjective and the objective, which only serve to perplex the argument, and the extent to which this is done in Mr. Solly's book, is a serious defect, and one calculated to deter many from its perusal.

Having noticed two of those leading reasons which might be supposed to account for the failures connected with the investigation of the existence and nature of the will, and having pointed out some of the arguments which tend to prove that they are fallacious, it remains to consider the third reason which has been indicated, namely, the manner in which the investigation has been pursued. If the existence of the will, and the character of its relations to God, and to the external world, is neither too profound a subject for the human mind to fathom satisfactorily, nor one of those first truths which are only obscured by reasonings upon them, and which are so universally and strongly impressed, that no arguments can add to the power or clearness of men's convictions respecting them, the failure of a satisfactory solution seems necessarily to rest upon the manner in which the inquiry has been pursued.

This inference will, we think, be strongly confirmed by a consideration of the actual history of the controversy, and by the absence of that exhaustive and systematic investigation by which alone so important a question is likely to be solved. There are so many professed teachers, whose writings prove them to have barely mastered the first elements of what has been written hundreds of years ago, and said and reiterated hundreds of times since,—there is such a ceaseless course of repetition, resembling strikingly the labours of those unfortunate animals which are doomed to tread the same round, ever advancing, but never emerging beyond the marked out circle, that it would require no small labour to free the debate from its embarrassing accumulations. Even the reasonings which form the strength of Edwards's argument, and which have so baffled those of the contrary opinion, by compelling them to ascend *ad infinitum* for a first determination of the will, are to

be found in Augustin, and some of the philosophical reasonings of Augustin are of a date long prior to Augustin himself. And if such is the case with leading minds, whose writings are landmarks in the agitation of the inquiry, what is to be said of the hosts of those whose names have been as ripples on the ocean! The man who would undertake to give a summary of the state of the question such as Milner's, but more full and complete, and to give the various arguments upon both sides in the spirit of Burnett's remarks on the Seventeenth Article of the Church of England, bringing it up to the present day, would confer a boon upon mankind, and pave the way for such exhaustive approximations to a solution as there is every reason to believe might be thus attained.

The characters of the works written on the will are various. Some have attempted a settlement by one distinct line of argument; such is that, for instance, of Dean Graves, who takes the line of consciousness. These works are the most satisfactory: they select one point of attack upon the fatalistic theory or its opposite, and conduct the argument in a manner which shews that they know what they have undertaken. Others are of a very different stamp; and the discursive exertions of their authors resemble the incessant flutterings of a bird in a cage, which indicate no definite view of any particular point of issue, but merely suggest the conviction, that the creature is uncomfortably confined, and would fain escape from its position.

It is rather difficult to say in which class of works Mr. Solly's book should be placed. The lengthened disquisitions on causality and *à priori* knowledge seem, at first, to promise an original and well-defined system of treating the subject. If any person could demonstrate the existence of any measure of original and independent causality in the human soul, the question of the will would be settled; and the matter, as well as the form of the first chapters of his work, naturally lead to the expectation of an attempt, at least, to give such a demonstration. The point at issue is neatly and concisely expressed in the two following statements; the first giving the necessarian view, namely, "The whole human soul is subject to the law of causality;" the other the libertarian view, "Every human soul contains a principle of action not dependent on the law of causality." Had the essay been carried out with an ability corresponding with the conciseness and correctness of these statements, it would, at any rate, have had a just claim to be ranked with the works which selected some definite weakness in the necessarian theory, and applied to its refutation an equally definite line of argument. But the execution of the work by no means fulfils its

early promises; for, granting to the author all that he seeks to establish in his chapters on the conception of causality, his reasoning simply resolves itself into an appeal to consciousness—its only distinctive feature being that it is a circuitous and complicated appeal. His whole argument seems capable of being very briefly summed up in his own words at the conclusion of his reasonings upon “causality,” *à priori* knowledge, etc., p. 127.

1. “It follows, therefore, that causality is not only subjective in the form of its application through abstract ideas, but subjective also in its origin, and consequently that it is not predicable of things in themselves, but only of objects of possible experience, that is to say, of such things alone as the subject can represent to itself as objects;” or as it is more briefly and intelligibly expressed, p. 70, “though it (causality) arises in the subject, it can only be predicated of objects.” “But,

2. “Upon reflection, however, we find that there is a certain something in us of which we can never be conscious as an object, as we can never present it to ourselves in any one conception whatever” (p. 129).

3. Therefore, “The only answer, then, to be given to the above question, is, that the whole soul is not an object for us, as it contains a principle which we can never objectivize, and which therefore is entirely subject to the law of causality.”

In this train of reasoning there are several serious defects. In the first place, there seems to be a confusion of the *conception* of causality and *causality* itself, which appear to be used as convertible terms in the passage from which a quotation has been already made. “Hence it follows from the nature of *causality*, as explained above, that though it arises in the subject, it can only be predicated of objects. This then is the result of our analysis of the *conception of causality*.”

In the next place, there are only two ways in which we can reason respecting any faculty or act. If we cannot objectivize it, and prove its existence and its character by objectivizing its “activity,” nothing remains but to appeal to the general or universal sense or consciousness of its existence, and as Mr. Solly denies the possibility of the former, his argument resolves itself simply into an appeal to consciousness. “All I have said amounts to this,—that we know nothing of the actor except through his activity, and that neither the one nor the other can ever be made an object, or in any way envisaged either to the outer or inner sense” (p. 130). On this subject the author of the *Princeton Essay* on the “Power of Contrary Choice,” says, “Neither does consciousness testify to the existence of any such faculty, though most of all relied on and appealed to, to bear

such testimony. But this is a vain refuge. For consciousness is the mind's cognizance of its own operations; it never beholds naked abstract faculties separate from their workings. It discerns them in and by these workings, and so becomes conscious of their existence and nature. This, and nothing else, is the office of consciousness. How, then, can it be conscious of operations which do not exist?" (p. 215). In these words we have a summary statement of the long and laboured explanation of the office of consciousness given by Mr. Solly, with a denial of that appeal to consciousness into which his reasoning resolves itself.

The attempt to prove the existence of a measure of causality in the mind itself is a failure, and the endeavour to free the will from the control of motive is not more successful. The necessarian view is, that volitions are always the results of certain objects, presented to certain states of mind, and acting according to a certain fixed power, which their adaptation to the state of mind renders necessary. This Mr. Solly controverts by asserting a measure of self-energy free from motive. If this could be proved, it would be a refutation so far of the necessarian theory. But here, as before, Mr. Solly fails, and not only fails, but contradicts himself, by pronouncing worthless any act resulting from, or rather associated with, that absence of motive which he endeavours to establish in order to refute the necessarian theory. Thus, p. 190, the author concludes his reasonings in favour of the absence of motive in these words, "Allow therefore to motives as large a field as you will, you must still concede ultimately a certain degree of moral susceptibility which is *entirely unmotivated*;" while at p. 186 he says, "Now if we would get rid of the motive, as Reid and some others have done, by denying its existence *entirely*, the action becomes not only blind, but also an absolutely fortuitous occurrence, without either end for the man or reason in the universe,—a mere inexplicable nonentity, having no relation to moral responsibility or any other principle that could make the liberty of performing it desirable." Now is it not evident, that, if the entire absence of motive thus degrades an action, rendering it fortuitous and worthless, any measure of absence of motive must proportionally depreciate it? And is not the element of pure liberty which non-necessarians regard as the great constituent of virtuous acts thus described, on the contrary, as the faulty element in human agency?

If these statements appear contradictory, the manner in which Mr. Solly endeavours to prove the measure of absence of motive for which he contends, is still more surprising. In con-

tinuation of the passages which we have already quoted above from p. 186, and in which he condemns an action without motive as worthless, he thus proceeds to state his method of getting clear of motives :—" But let us suppose the motive to be got rid of, not by the supposition of the absolute non-existence of a reason for the act, but by the identification of the act and its own reason, thus making the distance between them to vanish, and with it the anticipation, and the relation of means to an end, which are essential elements in a motive." And a little farther ; " But the self-determination of the subject is no dead fact, first deriving life and meaning from without, but on the contrary, is, in itself and throughout its whole essence, its own motive ; for in whatever degree a man is morally *good*, he is so for the sake of the goodness *itself*, and not with any ulterior object." According to these statements, motives seem to possess the peculiar property of becoming smaller the nearer they approach the acts connected with them ; and, owing to this peculiarity, they may not only be reduced to infinitesimal proportions, but converted into vanishing quantities, and made entirely to disappear. Such a method of solving an important difficulty is altogether unworthy of any author professing to write upon a great question. Goodness itself is as much a motive as any ulterior object, and stoics and epicureans of the nobler order are equally under the influence of motive. And, so far are motives from diminishing in power or dimensions by their being brought nearer, that the reverse is the case ; and, of two motives equally powerful in themselves, the nearer is proportionally more influential. The man who walks, because he likes the exercise, is as much governed by motives as the man who moves with pain, but takes a journey with an ulterior object.

The relation of the freedom of the will to the omniscience of God is one of the most difficult problems connected with the controversy. Edwards contends, with much appearance of conclusive reasoning, that divine and certain prescience proves that all things are necessary. It is not to be hence supposed that he argues that the prescience of God influences the will. Any person may form a tolerably correct estimate of the course which will be pursued under certain circumstances by a friend whose character is intimately known to him. Now the knowledge thus possessed does not in any way influence the conduct of his friend ; but it can only exist in connection with motives and circumstances which will be sure to lead to a particular course of conduct, and nothing less than necessity will serve as a foundation for a certain knowledge of a future event.

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From this difficulty Mr. Solly takes refuge in the old resource of the *punctum stans*, or the statement that with God there is neither past nor future, but one eternal now. The examination of this dogma would require an article by itself. It may be sufficient to observe, at present, that admitting this notion to be one of which man can entertain such a conception, as may serve as a foundation for reasonings upon the subject of the relation of the will to the divine knowledge, the difficulty only seems to be removed from one point to another. If the divine existence is one eternal present, does this supposition do away with all succession? If God fills all duration, as he does all space, does this destroy that sequence of human events so intimately connected with causality and necessity? Can we form any conception of an event as now occurring, and being in this sense present to God himself, which is to be brought about by some being not yet born? Does not this refuge present some suspicious indications of the fallacious resource of wrapping up a difficulty, which is found beyond solution, in words for which we have no corresponding ideas or notions. Is it not like the last hopeless device of the ostrich—when she hides her head from her pursuers, and, not seeing them, fancies she is not seen.

We have referred to the *Princeton Essays* on this subject, and given the answer which they supply to the argument from consciousness; but our principal reason for referring to them was, to notice some disparaging remarks which they make upon those clergymen of the Church of England who are opposed to Calvinistic views on the predestinarian question. We believe that the theological doctrine of predestination affords a more advantageous foundation for arriving at unanimity of opinion, than any philosophical speculations on the subject of the will; because it is simply a question of fairness, and candour, and judgment in the interpretation of God's Word. We also believe that much of the heat and rancour with which the question was agitated has disappeared; and that there is a disposition on the part of those who hold opposite views to take up common ground, if any consistent reconciliation of apparently contradictory statements can be pointed out. Under these circumstances the following extract from the *Princeton Essays*, as evidencing a very different spirit, seems justly open to animadversion:—

“This strong prejudice against the doctrine of predestination is not confined to men of the world; it has entered the Church; and by a large majority of those men who have assumed the office of interpreters of the mind of God it is rejected with abhorrence; and by many of them scouted as not only absurd, but subversive of all morality. And, which is somewhat surprising, ministers of churches, which formerly held this doctrine

firmly, and expressed it strongly in their formulas of faith, do strenuously oppose it; and contrary to all common usage of words, and correct rules of interpretation, pretend that it is not contained in their articles of religion. If a thousand impartial intelligent men could be brought to peruse the *Seventeenth Article of the Church of England*, and of the *American Episcopal Church*, whatever might be their own belief, they would, as we suppose, unanimously declare that the doctrine of predestination, *as held by Calvinists*, is clearly and strongly expressed in that Article; and the whole history of the Reformation in the Church of England goes to prove that this interpretation is correct, for in the early days of that Reformed Church, all her distinguished ministers were predestinarians, just as much as were the ministers of Geneva," etc., etc.

To controvert at large the correctness of this statement, particularly the historical and documentary portion of it, would be out of place here; but so far as the question hinges upon the common usage of words, and correct rules of interpretation, we believe that the Seventeenth Article may be signed and maintained, as it no doubt has been, and is, in thousands of cases, with quite as good faith by those who hold that the views of Calvin are unscriptural and pernicious, as by those who are his followers and admirers. On this point the author of the *Essay on Predestination*, which we have associated with the work of Mr. Solly and the *Princeton Essays*, observes, p. 45,

"The Article of the Church of England upon this subject is drawn up, not only in accordance with the spirit of God's Word, but framed in a great measure from the very words of Scripture, a wise course in all cases, but specially so in proportion as the question which is examined is controverted or difficult, since any fresh light, thrown upon the passages of Scripture which refer to the controversy, is thus reflected with undiminished clearness upon the Article itself."

The attempt to cast upon those ministers of the Church of England who have signed the Seventeenth Article, but who have done so in a very different sense from what Calvin or the authors of the *Princeton Essays* would have attached to it, the imputation of a want of conscientiousness, by charging them with unfairness of interpretation of the language either of the Seventeenth Article or of Scripture itself, seems as ungrounded as it is uncharitable and illiberal. At any rate, it behoves those who bring a charge of this kind against so large a body of the ministers of Christ as the "majority," and, we earnestly hope, a very large majority of the clergy of the Church of England, to come into court with clean hands, and to be above even the suspicion of a want of ingenuousness.

We fear, however, that an examination of the Essays, so far from establishing the reputation of the essayists for that ardent

love of truth, which views with just indignation all tortuous and disingenuous devices, will lay them justly open to the rebuke, "Why beholdest thou the mote that is in thy brother's eye, but considerest not the beam that is in thine own eye?" In making this statement we will not follow the example of the essayists, by bringing forward vague and general charges, unsupported by particular proof, but we will adduce what seems to us a subterfuge, and that not on any subordinate or collateral point, but on the very essence and substance of the question, altogether unworthy of the intellectual position of the authors, and as inconsistent with that Christian temper which prefers truth to victory.

The combination of the philosophical theory of necessity with the theological doctrine of predestination claims Edwards as its author. The work in which this was effected has been highly lauded, as a masterpiece of reasoning; and, we are ready to admit, that we believe that it has not been satisfactorily refuted in any professed answer. On Edwards and this work in particular, the essayists highly pride themselves, speaking of its principles and reasonings in the following terms of the highest possible commendation:—

"While we build not our faith on the wisdom of men, but on the sure testimony of God, is it not lawful, nay, obligatory, to ward off the boastful assaults of a pretended philosophy, by shewing that it is a 'philosophy falsely so called,' evincing its folly and humbling its pride? Has not this been the method of the most successful defenders of the faith? On this subject let the illustrious Edwards, though dead yet speak; whose own *immortal treatise on this very subject*, is a most noble example and confirmation of what he says."

And, after quoting his words in favour of a philosophical discussion of such subjects, the essayist adds,

"Was this written near a century ago by so accurate a draftsman as Jonathan Edwards? If it truly delineates what then was, could it better describe what now is? Who more valiant for the truth, or *mighty in counsel* and act for its defence, than he? Shall *we not heed his counsels* as well as revere his name? There is no new thing under the sun. If his history was prophecy as to the danger, shall not *his counsel be so as to the remedy*."

The italics are our own, and we have added them to mark out more emphatically how consistently the essayists have adhered to the wise counsels of this redoubted champion of the *true* faith, as exhibited in the *Princeton Essays*.

We believe that a great deal of the controversy which has existed on this subject has been the result of a looseness and ambiguity in the use of language, and that the antagonistic

parties have very frequently misunderstood each other. This is a circumstance which, however injurious in its results, only brings home to the contending reasoners, the charge of a want of judgment and discrimination, and of due reflection. But there are other elements of the controversy of a more criminal character. There has been on the part of some of the controversialists, an "artful sophistry by which truth and error have been confounded," and which have greatly added to the difficulties of that right understanding, which is one great point towards a satisfactory conclusion. So far we quite agree with the words of the Princeton essayists; but here we must diverge. They say that the ambiguity and sophistry have been introduced by those who are opposed to the views of Calvin and Edwards; we, on the contrary, assert that these elements have been introduced by those who hold the fatalistic theory and its theological parallel and counterpart, and to place the matter on the most satisfactory ground, we will abide by the evidence of the essayists themselves on this very point.

In the *Essay on the Decrees of God* (p. 60), we find the following pertinent remarks:—

"We are persuaded that were it not for the ambiguity of certain words, and the artful sophistry with which truth and error are confounded by those who oppose the doctrine (?), very few persons would experience any difficulty on this subject. If a man of plain sense should be informed by prophecy that he would certainly kill a fellow-creature the next day or year, and that in perpetrating this act he would be actuated by malice, it would never be likely to enter his mind that he should not be guilty of any crime, because the action was certain before it was committed. But if you *change the terms*, and say that he would be under a *necessity* to perform this act; that it being absolutely certain he could not possibly avoid it; immediately the subject becomes perplexed, and involved in difficulty; for every man of sense feels that he cannot justly be accountable for what he could not possibly avoid; and that for what he does from absolute necessity, he cannot in the nature of things be culpable. Here the whole difficulty is produced by the use of ambiguous and improper terms. While nothing was presented to the mind but the certainty of the event, coupled with voluntary action, no relief from responsibility was felt; but the moment we speak of the act as produced by necessity, and as being unavoidable, the judgment respecting its nature is changed. These terms include the idea of a compulsory power acting upon us not only without, but in opposition to, our own will. A *necessary event* is one which *cannot be voluntary* or free; for if it were spontaneous it could not be necessary; these two things being *diametrically opposite*," etc., etc.

With a large portion of what is here observed we perfectly agree; nor do we think that the doctrine, that any man has been, from eternity, fated or necessitated to commit any crime,

can be viewed with too great an abhorrence, or that those who have associated the scriptural doctrine of predestination with the theory of philosophical necessity can be too severely reprehended. Such men, we think, should be justly regarded as dangerous corrupters of the truth and simplicity of the faith, and as subtle, though, perhaps, unconscious agents in laying deep the foundations of Atheism and Infidelity.

Supported by the statement of the Princeton essayists, we will not shrink from maintaining this view, even if it should involve any name however high; and, therefore, although we may be considered rash in so doing, we must join with the essayist in numbering among the corrupters of the faith, and the authors of the sophistry with which this great question has been imbued, no less a name than that of Jonathan Edwards himself. More than this, we have no hesitation in charging him with being the great and leading agent in introducing that confusion of certainty and necessity, so strongly condemned by the author of the *Princeton Essay on the Decrees of God*. Let not our readers suppose that we are going to drag them through a long course of argument to support this statement, or to plunge into the depths of metaphysical subtlety in which Edwards takes refuge. The proof is brief and patent:

“Metaphysical or philosophical necessity is *nothing different* from their *certainty*; I speak not now of the certainty of knowledge, but the certainty that is in things themselves, which is the *foundation* of the certainty of the knowledge of them; or that wherein lies the ground of the infallibility of the proposition which affirms them.”^b

And again,

“Philosophical necessity is really nothing else than the full and fixed connection between the things signified by the subject and predicate of a proposition, which affirms something to be true. When there is such a connection, then the thing affirmed in the proposition is necessary, in a philosophical sense, whether any opposition or contrary effect be supposed, or supposable in the case, or no. When the subject and predicate of the proposition, which affirms the existence of anything, either substance, quality, act, or circumstance, have a full and certain connection, then the existence or being of that thing is said to be necessary in a metaphysical sense. And *in this sense* I use the word necessity in the following discourse, when I endeavour to prove that necessity is not inconsistent with liberty.”

In condemning this confusion of certainty and necessity, we agree with the essayists; and, notwithstanding the enthusiastic commendations bestowed by them on Edwards, we trust that they will excuse us when we say we believe that many

^b Edwards' *Inquiry*; Andover Edition, 1840. Part i., sec. iii., p. 33.

would prefer subscribing to their statement, that "a necessary event is one which cannot be voluntary or free; for if it were spontaneous, it could not be necessary, these two things being *diametrically opposite*;" and again, "the idea of a necessary volition is absurd and contradictory" (p. 61); rather than to Edwards when he says (part ii., sect. viii.), "that the acts of the will are *never* contingent or *without necessity*, in the sense spoken of; inasmuch as those things which have a cause or reason of their existence must be connected with their cause." But there is another statement, in which we must agree with Edwards, in opposition to those who, notwithstanding their representations, which describe him as a great champion of the faith, have so entirely abandoned his principles. In the quotation which we made from p. 61 of the *Princeton Essay* on decrees, there is not only an open disavowal and reprobation of what is the great principle with which Edwards sets out in his treatise, but also an attempt to blink, if not to deny, another very important conclusion to which he comes, and to which we have already referred, p. 310, namely, that God's certain foreknowledge of the future volitions of moral agents infers a necessity of the volition as much as an absolute decree. In opposition to this the Princeton essayist draws a distinction between certainty and necessity, which Edwards pronounces to be the same; and, then, endeavours to shew that certain foreknowledge involves no necessity, while Edwards maintains that it does. We do not intend to adjudge here between Edwards and his recreant admirers; we may be allowed to say for the present, "*non nostrum tantas componere lites*:" but it is certainly surprising to find men who profess to adhere to the principles and to follow the counsels of Edwards, sheltering their doctrine from odium by taking refuge under the wings of Whitby, as he is quoted by Edwards,^c with a view of convicting Whitby of a fallacy. We think we have said enough to prove that the admiration of Edwards is a blind one, or that those who have denied his great arguments on this question, have done so, either because they believed them unsound, or to suit a purpose; and candour compels us to add, with regret, that we are driven to the conclusion that the latter is the truth, and that a want of that conscientious-

^c "I allow what Dr. Whitby says to be true, 'That mere knowledge does not affect the thing known, to make it more certain or future.' But yet I say it *supposes* and proves the thing to be already *future* and certain; i. e., necessarily future. Knowledge of *futurity* supposes *futurity*; and a *certain knowledge* of futurity supposes *certain futurity* antecedent to that certain knowledge. But there is no other certain futurity of a thing, antecedent to certainty of knowledge, but a prior impossibility that the thing should prove true; or (which is the same thing) the necessity of the event" (Edwards, part ii., sect. xii.)

ness which we trust that many clergymen of the Church of England have held fast while they signed the Seventeenth Article, lies at the root of the contradictory statements of the essays in question. There seems strong reason to suspect, that Edwards's reasoning is disavowed for the purpose of relieving the doctrine of absolute decrees from the abhorrence with which it is justly viewed by a large majority of well-ordered minds. "It is not uncommon," remarks the author of the essay on Decrees, "to find serious people, whose feelings are so affected with the mere contemplation of these doctrines, that they are thrown into deep distress, and even agony, whenever they occur to their minds." To meet this very natural feeling, the doctrine of necessity, which Edwards not only advocates, but which is the very groundwork of his treatise, is disavowed; but, when the doctrine of absolute decrees is to be defended, then recourse is had to his reasonings and to that very line of argument, which, when another purpose was to be accomplished, was denounced as sophistry. Such, we say, is the natural conclusion which the inconsistency in the essays suggests. At any rate, it can only be avoided by supposing, that the writer of the essay on Decrees was ignorant of Edwards's reasoning, and that the periodical which advocates such antagonistic views is unworthy of any confidence in its consistency. We feel the more strongly called upon to direct attention to this subject, because it has been too much the fashion of late not only to submit to such sneers at the clergy who are opposed to Calvinistic views of the Seventeenth Article, but, in the case of some men, who might know better, and who should be above the desire of so vulgar a popularity, to find them pandering for a reputation for liberality, by stating that, without doing violence to the phraseology of Scripture the Calvinistic view cannot be denied, and thus admitting indirectly, that the interpretation of the Seventeenth Article, and of the portions of Scripture bearing upon it, adopted by the non-Calvinistic body, are unfair and disingenuous.

The following is one of those instances of what may be called almost arrogant statement on this subject:—"The fact cannot be denied, that the doctrine of absolute decrees; or the divine purposes; or predestination; or election; or by whatever terms it may be expressed, is viewed by most men—and not the unlearned only—as an absurd and unreasonable doctrine, etc., etc. *Seldom*, however, are we favoured with any *calm, impartial reasoning* on this subject,"^d etc., etc. We think we should have little difficulty in pointing out to the essayist many specimens of

^d *Princeton Essays*, p. 61.

reasoning as calm as his own, and much more impartial and ingenuous on the part of those who are opposed to the doctrine of absolute decrees. What are we to think of the impartiality of the reasoning which, to establish its point, confounds the character of past and future certainty as if they rested on the same foundation? "And if certainty affected the character of an act before it occurred, why should not absolute certainty after the event have the same effect? When an act is performed, its certainty is so great, that no power can render it uncertain; and no good reason can be assigned why this should not destroy its freedom as much as previous certainty." To this sophistry we will reply in the words of one to whom the essayist can scarcely refuse to subscribe, and who thus points out the distinction between the evidence of past and future events; "An evident thing must be either evident *in itself*, or evident in *something else*." A past event is evident in itself; a future event can only be evident in something else, *e. g.*, its cause.

We have associated the last work at the head of this article with that of Mr. Solly, and with the *Princeton Essays*, because, although it has been published for a little time, it treats upon the same subject, and discusses it both in its philosophical and theological aspects. Its two important features, are its limiting the measure of the exercise of the will to an extent which vindicates it from the character of being a perfectly arbitrary and capricious principle, a charge for which the rash statements of many of the advocates of the freedom of the will have given too much reason, and also in urging the bearing of general laws upon the question. If God deals with men by general laws, it may be imagined that these laws are less favourable to the human race as a whole than almighty power and perfect wisdom and goodness might have made them; but there can be no room for charging them with that blind personal partiality, associated with the doctrine of absolute individual decrees.

The doctrine of absolute predestination, although the nearest counterpart to the doctrine termed philosophical necessity, differs from it in many important points. One of these Mr. Knight points out in the following quotation:—

"The great foundation of his (Augustine's) error was an almost complete insulation of the individual members of a system of the most complicated nature, and in which the mutual dependence extends, not only from one link to its immediate predecessor, but in greater or less degree to the first in the system. Grounding their conclusions upon an error in the opposite extreme, Edwards and other necessarians made the inter-

dependence so rigid and entire, that they altogether merged the individual in the system; so that each individual was and could be nothing else, in character and destination, than what a chain of necessary precedents and consequents made him."

"The truth lies between these extremes, both of which contain a portion of it. . . . Though influenced more or less by what precedes him, even to that first fatal act which contaminated his nature, no man is so entirely and rigidly dependent upon what precedes or surrounds him in the system, as to be deprived of all voluntary or self-originated influence on the one hand, or so as to be precluded from direct communication with the original author of man's being on the other."—p. xi.

This quotation gives a fair statement of Mr. Knight's view of the philosophical question, but his work is principally occupied with the theological doctrine. On this subject he maintains that the scripture, which gives the fullest and most systematic statement of the doctrine of predestination, is the epistle to the Ephesians, and that the doctrine there stated is not a doctrine of individual and personal decrees, but of one great decree terminated to Christ, and to the means of salvation as laid up in him.

It is to be regretted, that, either from an intention of writing his work for those who had already studied the question, or from taking it for granted that its leading elements were more familiar to the generality of readers than they really are, or, from forgetting the caution, "*Brevis esse laboro, fio obscurus*," Mr. Knight's book is not written popularly enough to make it palatable to the generality of readers, a fault which also attaches to Mr. Solly's book, *e. g.* in its mathematical illustrations of the limited measure of the power of will. There are, for instance, terms in Mr. Knight's phraseology which, though used by some of our older divines, would require explanation even to some professed students. The "termination of the decree to Christ" is one of this class which, although found in Jackson, calls for some definition to readers of the present day, and as it expresses a great leading idea in Mr. Knight's theory, it is impossible to understand his views without a clear comprehension of the meaning of this expression.

In opposition both to Armenians and Calvinists, both of whom hold that there are as many decrees as there are individuals, or that every member of the human race is the subject of a decree by which his final destination has been fixed from all eternity, and which decree attaches to him personally and individually, Mr. Knight denies all personal and individual decrees. He maintains that there is only one decree, of which Christ himself is the subject, which is terminated and does not go beyond him,

except virtually, and which only attaches to individuals according to their actual relation to him. The difference between these views may be familiarly illustrated by human laws and legislators.

A human legislator would coincide with the Calvinistic view of God's decrees, who, looking on a number of transgressors against the welfare of society, should arbitrarily and without any difference in the subjects, select certain individuals personally, and by name, for pardon and favour, and consign other individuals, by name, to punishment. The Armenian view, on the other hand, would require for the illustration of its views of God's manner of dealing in predestination, a legislator who, in the same circumstances, resolved upon admitting to favour such transgressors out of the mass as would comply with certain conditions, and who, being able to discriminate beforehand between those who would and those who would not do so, selected the former personally and by name, and condemned the others in the same way. In both these cases, there are as many separate declarations of favour or the reverse as there are persons. Every man is actually the subject of a direct law or decree which attaches to him personally.

The human legislator who would illustrate Mr. Knight's view would proceed differently. He would publish one law which would comprehend all who accepted its terms, and exclude all who did not, but which would be terminated to its own conditions, and which would not take any direct cognizance of any persons or individuals as such, either for pardon or the reverse. In this way, however numerous the individuals affected, there is only one law and decree, and, to judge of their state men have only one resource, namely, to examine the relation in which they stand to that one great law as embracing or rejecting it.

This view is brought out more plainly perhaps in one of the foot notes, which we shall presently quote, than in any part of the body of the work.

There is however one element of the question which our illustration does not sufficiently bring into view. According to both the Armenian and Calvinistic theories, every man, before he is born, or has done good or evil, has been the subject of a decree fixing his destiny. From all eternity James, and John, and William have been personally the subjects of decrees which have fixed their state among the blessed, and Arthur, Henry, and Philip have been personally decreed to be condemned. It is true, that the Armenian theory modifies the repulsiveness of this doctrine, by maintaining that God foresaw how they would respectively act; but this does not alter the truth, that, from

eternal ages before they were born, a decree existed, attaching to them personally, and which precludes all supposition or possibility of any man being different from what he is according to this decree. And if, as Edwards maintains, certain foreknowledge involves necessity as certainly as an absolute decree—a position which we have never seen refuted, and which we believe to be beyond refutation—the Armenian qualification does not remove the repulsiveness of the doctrine.

A great law or decree taking no cognizance of individuals at the era of its promulgation, but only as they actually obey or disobey it when they come into existence—not attaching to particular persons from eternity, but only at the time of their existence, and according to their actual and present relations to it, is a widely different thing; and seems free from the objections which lie against both the Calvinistic and Armenian theories, by removing in toto all personal decrees, by directing men's attention without distraction to Christ, and the agencies and instrumentalities of salvation as laid up in him, and by removing all suspicion of any under-current of influence, or private and personal eternal decree, which can, in any way, interfere with the freedom and fulness of God's declarations of mercy—of his *bond fide* willingness to receive all who come to him, and of its being his pleasure that none should perish, but that all should come to the knowledge of the truth.

Practically this view is calculated to recommend itself to those who are opposed to the views of Calvin and Edwards; but Mr. Knight professes to be one who is desirous of reconciling differences, and the decided manner in which he maintains the *absolute* character of God's decree seems calculated to recommend his theory to the favourable consideration of those who think it derogatory to God's honour that his decree should be dependent upon his prevision, and, through that, upon human agency. In this aspect of the question he asserts, as fully and strongly as Calvin or Edwards could do, the absolute nature of God's decree, and its entire independence of man's obedience or the reverse, as the following statement in the foot note, to which we have just referred, will prove:—

“To suppose that God's decree is dependent upon his provision of man's acceptance or rejection of the gospel, or accommodated to it, is to make the decree dependent upon man, and degrades God's purpose below that of a human lawgiver. In the establishment of a code of justice, and in enacting those great laws which involve the deepest principles of justice, the wisest and best lawgiver does not concern himself with enquiries as to who will, or who will not be likely to obey the law; but the great enquiry is, Whether the law is such as should be obeyed—such as does

justice between man and man ; and the more clearly he sees, and is satisfied with its agreement with the great principles of justice, the less concerned will he be as to the individual results of its actual application. Now, as God knows perfectly the entire agreement of his purposes with the highest principles of justice and mercy too, the result of its individual application, though perfectly known, is subsequent in order of nature, and vastly inferior in importance to the establishment of the purpose and decree itself, which cannot be conceived as in the most minute degree dependent even upon God's omniscient provision. That God foresees all the details of its application, and that some are elect according to this foreknowledge, is a widely different thing from making the decree dependent upon it, or from supposing that election according to *foreknowledge*, and election according to an *individual decree*, are the same thing, or identified either in order or constitution."

There are several passages of Scripture which, according to both the Calvinistic and Armenian interpretation, contradict Mr. Knight's theory. Of these the principal are those in the epistle to the Romans, particularly in the eighth and ninth chapters. For an answer to the objections derived from these passages, he refers to his commentary upon that epistle, in which he adduces reasons for concluding that the prior knowledge there spoken of is not an eternal foreknowledge of individuals under the Christian dispensation, but God's earlier knowledge of the Jews compared to the heathens, of which God speaks when he says of the former, "You only have I known of all the nations of the earth;" and again, "Israel is my first-born, and the first fruits of my increase." As God's knowledge of, and marking out, the Jews as his peculiar people, and his justification of them in the vindication of their claim to this position, by judging in their favour in their collisions with the heathen, were intended to be an illustration of his dealings with his people at large in all ages, any ultimate failure of his good purposes towards the Jews would paralyze the confidence of the Israel of Christ in God's great purpose of salvation to the ends of the world.

We wish very much that the writers of the *Princeton Essays*, or Dr. Fairbairn, who so highly commends them as their English editor, would give Mr. Knight's volume a thorough sifting, and, if its positions are not true, attempt their refutation. Mr. Knight is a close reasoner, and his published works are not hasty productions, and deserve attention. The work we have now noticed is but a small one, and we recommend its perusal to all our readers who feel an interest in the important subject it so ably discusses.

We have dwelt at some length on these works because we

believe the doctrine of necessity to be a pernicious one, which, followed to its logical conclusions, tends to undeify God, and that, when the doctrine of predestination is linked with it in an unhallowed union, it leads naturally to universalism and to the denial of sin as a real evil. This is the issue to which it has led Crombie in his work on necessity; and we believe it to be the natural and logical issue of that theory.

For the association of the necessity called philosophical with any doctrine of Scripture there is nothing approaching to a necessity. The one rests upon the mere reasonings of men, and is a matter of pure philosophical controversy; the other rests upon the declarations of God's revealed Word, and the controversy is to be decided by the interpretation of Scripture. The present seems a favourable time for attempts to reconcile differences upon what really is a controversy of controversies, since there is an evident and widely-spread craving for such a result. To have any prospect of success, those who discuss the subject, or who propose any common platform, must be students who have long and intently examined the subject, and who are masters of the principal theories at least which have been formerly propounded. And to these qualifications they must add an open and ingenuous spirit, seeking truth and peace, not plausible subterfuges and mere victory.

ST. PAUL IN CRETE.*

MR. SMITH'S work on the *Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul*, was reviewed in the *Journal of Sacred Literature* by the late Dr. Kitto, who was enabled from personal knowledge of the localities in Malta and other parts of the Mediterranean to add a valuable testimony to the soundness of Mr. Smith's conclusions. A second edition has just been published, containing important original matter respecting the proceedings of the apostle and his companions in Crete, and to that part of the work we mean at present to confine our remarks.

Neither Mr. Smith nor Dr. Kitto had visited those parts of Crete which are mentioned in the sacred narrative, and it is precisely in this portion of the Acts that the evidence respecting the localities which are there noticed is most defective. In fact, the only places which the laborious and learned Biscoe was unable to identify were in Crete; upon this he remarks:—

“We have now examined the journies and voyages of St. Paul and his companions; and of the numerous places named therein we find but seven which are omitted by Strabo, the chief of the ancient geographers that are come down to us. The rest are described in exact agreement with the history of the Acts. Of the seven omitted by him five are fully and clearly spoken of by other ancient authors. There remain only two therefore of which a doubt can be admitted” (p. 383).

He adds in a note, “The two are, *The Fair Havens* and *Lasea*.”

The question respecting Fair Havens was set at rest by Dr. Pococke, whose *Description of the East* was published soon after Biscoe's work. He says:—

“In searching after LEBENA farther to the west, I found out a place which I thought to be of greater consequence because mentioned in Holy Scripture, and also honoured by the presence of St. Paul; that is, the Fair Havens near unto the city of Lasea; for there is another small bay about two leagues to the east of Matala, and which is now called by the Greeks Good or Fair Havens (*Λιμενες Καλους*)” (vol. ii., p. 250).

This place had been previously visited by Rawolf, who calls it Calismene, and by Fynes Moryson, who calls it Calis Mi-

* *The Voyage and Shipwreck of Saint Paul: with Dissertations on the Life and Writings of St. Luke, and the Ships and Navigation of the Ancients.* By James Smith, of Jordanhill, Esq., F.R.S., etc. Second Edition, with additional Proofs and Illustrations. London: Longmans. 1856. 12mo., pp. 312.

niones, but neither of them was aware of its identity with the *Καλούς Λιμένας* of the Acts. The exact position of Phenice was also uncertain, and that of Lasea altogether unknown. With respect to Phenice Mr. Smith observes:—

“The only traveller who has collected evidence upon the spot bearing upon this point is Mr. Pashley. It is not so complete as could have been wished, because that part of his work has been left unfinished; he has however stated enough to confirm the foregoing evidence. He found, a short distance above Lutro, two villages bearing the names of Anopolis and Aradena, and observes that, ‘The mention of an ancient city called Aradena along with Anopolis and Port Phoenix, in the Synecdemus of Hierocles, seems to point plainly to Lutro as the site of the last named city.’”

Mr. Smith, by a laborious investigation of the data furnished by ancient authors, arrived at the conclusion that Lutro was the ancient Phenice, but he could discover no hydrographical description of the harbour in any sailing directions, ancient or modern, and he found that it was the general impression of naval officers familiar with the Levant that there were no ship harbours in this part of Crete. Of the three places mentioned in the narrative, therefore, Fair Havens was the only one about which no doubts could be entertained. Mr. Smith’s enquiries have however had the effect of calling the attention of qualified observers, who have had an opportunity of testing his conclusions by a personal examination of the localities, and the result has been to add a new page to the evidence of the authenticity of the writings of St. Luke—a new and independent demonstration of the impossibility that the voyage could have been drawn from any other sources than personal observation.

The position of the city of Lasea has been till now unknown. A late writer in the *Edinburgh Review* observes that,—

“Lasea is a place totally unknown to geographers. Pliny mentions Lasos among the inland towns, and the Pentingerian tables mention Lisia sixteen miles to the east of Gortyna, both of them too far from Fair Havens to suit the passage. Pliny mentions also a maritime city called Elæa, and although not a single manuscript gives this reading, Beza has chosen to get rid of the difficulty by adopting it. Before we adopt new readings, however, on the mere conjecture of Beza or any other critic, it may be well to examine the old ones. Two of the MSS., and one of these the Alexandrian, read Alassa, and the Vulgate translation gives Thalassa. But have we any corroborative evidence in support of this variation in the readings? We have the weighty and almost conclusive one of coins. The coins of a city called Thalassa are met with not unfrequently in that very district—where the Fair Havens still

preserve their name in the Romaic *Στοὺς καλοὺς Λιμῶνας*; and from the style and character of these coins, it is proved that Thalassa was a flourishing city in the time of St. Paul.”^b

We conceive it quite possible that Lasea, Alassa, and Thalassa may be variations in the name of the same city, but whether they are or are not, we have now the most satisfactory evidence that the ruins of a city still bearing the name of Lasea exist in the exact position where the narrative of St. Luke would lead us to look for them. In January last, Mr. Tennent, of Well Park, Glasgow, visited in his yacht every one of the Cretan localities mentioned in the Acts, and executed a careful survey of the whole: his journals and charts are given in the appendix of Mr. Smith’s work. Seldom have the difficulties of an ancient author been so thoroughly cleared up, or his veracity more firmly established by modern discovery, than they have in the present instance, and we may now say with respect to the Cretan portion of the voyage what Mr. Smith observed respecting the Melitan, that—

“A searching comparison clears up every difficulty, and admits but of one explanation, namely, that it is a narrative of real events written by one personally engaged in them.”

The following is the account of the discovery of the ruins of the city of Lasea given by the Rev. George Brown, who accompanied Mr. Tennent. After several days spent at Fair Havens, he says:—

“Nothing now remained to be done but to ascertain the exact position of Lasea, a city which Luke says was nigh to the Fair Havens. Mr. Smith notes that it is mentioned by no other writer, and that its ruins have not been observed. I asked our friend the Guardino, ‘*Ποῦ ἐστὶ Λάσσεα*’ (*Λάσσα*)? He said at once that it was two hours’ walk to the eastward, close to Cape Leonda; but that it is now a desert place (*τοπῶ ἐρημῷ*). Mr. Tennent was eager to examine it; so getting under weigh we ran along the coast before a S.W. wind. Cape Leonda is called by the Greeks *Λεωνά*, evidently from its resemblance to a lion couchant, which nobody could fail to observe either from the west or the east. Its face is to the sea, forming a promontory 350 or 400 feet high. Just after we passed it, Miss Tennent’s quick eye discovered two white pillars standing on an eminence near the shore. Down went the helm; and, putting the vessel round, we stood in close, wore and hove to. Mr. H. Tennent and I landed immediately just inside the cape to the eastward, and found the beach lined with masses of masonry. These were formed of small stones, cemented together with mortar so firmly that even where the sea had undermined them huge fragments lay on the sand. This seawall extended a quarter of a mile along the beach from one rocky face to

^b *Edinburgh Review*, July, 1856; p. 176.

another, and was evidently intended for the defence of the city. Above we found the ruins of two temples. The steps which led to the one remain, although in a shattered state, and the two white marble columns noticed by Miss Tennent belonged to the other. Many shafts, and a few capitals of Grecian pillars, all of marble, lie scattered about, and a gully, worn by a torrent, lays bare the substructions down to the rock. To the east, a conical rocky hill is girdled by the foundations of a wall, and on a platform between this hill and the sea the pillars of another edifice lie level with the ground. Some peasants came down to see us from the hills above, and I asked them the name of the place. They said at once, 'Lasea;' so there could be no doubt. Cape Leonda lies five miles east of the Fair Havens."

The ruins in question, according to the chart which accompanies the journal, are those of a city of considerable extent, and could not fail to arrest the attention of those in a ship coming to Fair Havens from the eastward. It stands on the shore, and is literally a city set upon a hill: hence the notice taken of it by St. Luke. It will naturally be asked, how it happens that a place so conspicuously situated should have remained till now unknown. We apprehend that the reason is, that modern geographers, misled by the common reading of Ptolemy, have placed Lebena exactly where Mr. Tennent and his friends discovered a city still bearing the name of Lasea. Mr. Smith has shewn that the ruins in question cannot be those of Lebena, which, according to Strabo's account, must have been situated in the Gulf of Messara, to the west of Fair Havens. As this is a point of importance, we deem it necessary to enter somewhat more fully into the question than Mr. Smith has done. According to the received reading of Ptolemy, Lebena is immediately to the east of Cape Leonda; but in the first place there is another reading, *Aeia*, which may be a contraction or error for Lasea; in the next place, Strabo, who evidently was well acquainted with Crete, describes the position of Lebena so particularly as to leave no doubt with respect to it. According to him, it is one of the seaports of Gortyna, and distant from that city ninety stadia, or nine geographical miles. Gortyna is situated on a river, which flows through a plain into the Gulf of Messara at the distance of about nine geographical miles; whereas the city in question is at a much greater distance, has no harbour, and is separated from Gortyna by a chain of mountains. Dr. Pococke's reasoning is quite conclusive as to this. He says,—

"According to Strabo, Lebena could not be farther east (than Gortyna), but must have been where the sea approaches nearest to Gortyna, consequently somewhere in the bay where the plain ends, and probably at the mouth of the old river" (vol. ii., p. 250).

That this conjecture of Pococke's is true is confirmed by the old Latin version of Strabo, which gives a reading which proves that the river which passes Gortyna takes its rise from Lebena, "hic (ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ποταμός) vero ortum traxit ex Lebena" (l. x., p. 376): this can only mean that the river terminates at Lebena.

In 1853, Capt. Spratt, R.N., discovered ruins and an ancient causeway in the same direction from Fair Havens, but only two miles from it, which he considered to be Lasea, the causeway running out towards a small island which served as its port. He has not given his reasons for supposing it Lasea, but from his mentioning Thalassea as its proper name in ancient authors, we suppose that he argues from the fact noticed in the *Edinburgh Review* of ancient coins inscribed with the name Thalassa being discovered in this district of Crete. It is quite clear that this ancient harbour must have been that of the city in question, for there is no other near it. We can scarcely suppose that the buildings at the harbour were continuous with those of the city, nor is the supposition necessary. The port of Phenice lies at a greater distance from the city of Phenice than the ruins discovered by Capt. Spratt do from the city discovered by Mr. Tennent; yet St. Luke does not distinguish them, neither does he distinguish the port of Myra from the city of that name, although also at a considerable distance from each other. The discoveries of Mr. Tennent and Capt. Spratt are quite consistent with each other, and whether St. Luke meant the city which still retains the name of Lasea, which he could not avoid observing, or the harbour which in fact forms the eastern boundary of the bay of Fair Havens, it is immaterial, the truth of the narrative is equally confirmed.

The next difficulty which has been removed by these recent discoveries regards Phenice, the winter harbour to which the ship was proceeding when she encountered the gale. Mr. Smith had fixed upon Lutro as the place which agreed best with the notices in ancient authors, but says that he "found it to be the general impression amongst naval officers acquainted with the navigation of these seas, that there are no ship harbours on the south side of Candia." Upon reading this, Mr. Urquhart, M.P., well known for his works on the East, wrote to Mr. Smith, assuring him from his own knowledge, that "Lutro was an admirable harbour," and that next to Grabousa it was the most important piratical station in Crete; and that, "excepting Lutro, all the other harbours looking to the southward are exposed to the south or east." Mr. Urquhart also incidentally accounts for its having escaped the notice of seamen navigating

the Cretan coasts: he was in a man of war chasing a pirate, which escaped into Lutro. He says, "We thought we had cut him off, and that we were driving him right upon the rocks. Suddenly he disappeared, and rounding in after him, like a change of scenery the little basin . . . revealed itself." Mr. Tennent also in his yacht in proceeding to Lutro from the west ran past it, "owing . . . to the circumstance that the port in question makes no appearance from the sea." Capt. Spratt's opinion confirms Mr. Urquhart's. He thus writes to Mr. Smith:—"Having in 1853 examined generally the south coast of Crete, I was fully convinced that Lutro was the Phenice of St. Paul; for it is the only bay to the westward of Fair Havens in which a vessel of any size could find shelter during the winter months." The harbour is open to the east, but he adds, "The wind would not blow home against such a mountain as the white mountain so immediately over the bay." When Mr. Tennent and his friends visited it, they were informed by the health officer that, "though the harbour is open to the east, yet the easterly gales never blow home, being *lifted* by the high land behind, and that even in storms the sea rolls in gently (*piano piano*). He says *it is the only secure harbour in all winds on the south coast of Crete.*" They were here informed that during the wars of the Venetians and Turks, as many as twenty or twenty-five war galleys found shelter in its waters. They enquired what were the ancient names of Lutro and the island of Gozzo, and were answered at once Phoeniki and Chlanda, or Chlanda Nesa (*Χλανδα* or *Χλανδα νησος*). They thus found all the places mentioned by St. Luke still retaining their Greek names. They even found traces of the prolonged stay of a ship of Alexandria at Lutro, pointing, as Mr. Smith observes, to a case of wintering in the island. A votive inscription was discovered amongst some ruins, and is important in more respects than one: we give it entire with the translation.

JOVI. SOLI. OPTIMO. MAXIMO.
 SERAPIDI. ET. OMNIBUS. DIIS. ET
 IMPERATORI. CAESARI. NERVAE
 TRAJANO. AUG. GERMANICO. DACICO.
 EPICTETVS. LIBERTVS. TABVLARIVS
 CVRAM. AGENTE. OPERIS. DIONYSIO.
 SOSTRATI. FILIO. ALEXANDRINO. GVBERNATORE.
 NAVIS. PARASEMO. ISOPHARIA. CL. THEONIS

Which Mr. Smith thus renders:—

"Epicletus, the freed man and recorder (notary) to Jupiter O.M. to Serapis and all the gods, and to the Emperor Cæsar, Nerva. Trajan. Aug.

Germanicus. The work was superintended by Dionysius of Alexandria, the son of Sostratus, and master of the ship whose sign is Isopharia, of the fleet of Theon."

On this Mr. Smith makes the following remarks :—

"It proves in the first place the prolonged stay of a ship of Alexandria at Port Phenice, otherwise the master of the Isopharia could not have had time to superintend 'the work,' whatever it was—clearly pointing to a case of wintering in this harbour; and in the next place, it proves the accuracy with which St. Luke employs the nautical terminology of Alexandrian seamen in his designations of the master *τῷ κυβερνήτῃ* (xxvii. 11), 'Gubernatore' (inscrip.), and of the ship *παρασημῷ* (xxviii. 11), *parasemo* (inscr.) The Tabularius was an officer of importance in the fleets of the ancients, as appears from the inscription given in the *Lexicon Antiquitatum* of Pitiscus, i., 458,

CINCIO. L. F. SABINIANO. TABVLARIO. CLASS. RAVENN."

It appears from one of Seneca's epistles that the Alexandrian wheat ships sailed in fleets. He gives a graphic account of the arrival of the Alexandrian fleet at Puteoli. We may suppose that the Isopharia was separated in a gale, or had taken shelter in Port Phenice, and been forced to winter there.

We have now ascertained the positions of all the places in Crete mentioned in the narrative of the voyage, and have only to enquire how far the events recorded agree with the incidental notices regarding them as well as with the experience of modern visitors. The ships just before arriving at Fair Havens came from the eastward, and must have passed close to the city of Lasea, with its sea walls, its Acropolis, and marble temples; immediately afterwards the port discovered by Capt. Spratt would present itself, with its shipping. Nothing therefore could be more natural than the mention made of it by St. Luke in connexion with the bay in which the ship was obliged to anchor; for, as Mr. Smith has shewn, they could not advance farther with the winds, with which they had been contending ever since they left Myra, in consequence of the trending of the coast. When the wind became fair, however, the master and owner of the ship naturally wished to proceed to a better sheltered harbour than Fair Havens. This St. Paul opposed; his reasons for doing so are not given; and Mr. Smith, in his first edition, could only remark that, "The event justified St. Paul's advice, but that a bay open to nearly one half of the compass could not have been a good winter harbour." Mr. Tennent's chart, however, shews that the anchorage at Fair Havens is by no means so much exposed as it was supposed to be. The small island on the outside of the anchorage would serve to a certain extent as a breakwater; the bottom is stiff clay, and we know

the ship had at least five anchors and cables. We are told that the subject was discussed on board the yacht "whilst anchored at Fair Havens, and the conclusion arrived at was that a ship might winter there without much danger." On the other hand, these recent observations prove that a ship could not, at a season when "sailing was dangerous," attempt the passage from Fair Havens to Phenice without a great risk of being blown out to sea, which to a vessel unprovided with a compass, when neither sun nor stars appeared, was a situation all but desperate. Now the experience of every one of the recent observers proves that the Gulf of Messara is peculiarly liable to gales similar in effect to that experienced in St. Paul's ship. Mr. Urquhart writes to Mr. Smith that he spent a month between Gozo and the main, *i. e.*, between Clauda and Crete, in a Greek sloop of war. He says,—“We were constantly blown off our cruising ground; and although she was a splendid vessel, all we could do was to hold our own.” Capt. Spratt writes,—“In respect to the gale of wind I met with after starting from Fair Havens for Messara Bay; we left with a *light southerly wind* and a clear sky, every indication of a fine day, until we rounded the Cape (Matala) to haul up for the head of the Bay. There we saw Mount Ida covered in a dense fog, and met a strong northerly breeze—one of the summer gales, in fact, so frequent in the Levant, but which in general are accompanied by terrific gusts and squalls from those high mountains.”

The experience of Mr. Tennent is still more to the point. He twice crossed the Gulf of Messara, and each time his yacht was “caught,” to use the language of St. Luke and of the master of the yacht, who says, “We were twice caught with the Tramontana, or north wind, which blows off in fearful squalls.” The first time the yacht—a powerful vessel of nearly two hundred tons—was blown off the island whilst Mr. Tennent and his friends were landing: they were left ashore all night. Their adventures on shore are exceedingly interesting, but foreign to our present purpose. We confine ourselves to the description of the storm by Mr. Brown, which affords a fresh proof of the extraordinary precision with which St. Luke on every occasion uses the language of seamen. He neither explains, nor describes, but merely states facts; but in doing so, it is invariably in the most appropriate terms. He tells us that the wind called Euroclydon was a typhonic wind, *ἀνεμος τυφωνικός*. Mr. Smith, on the authority of Pliny and Aulus Gellius, explains it thus:—

“The term, ‘*typhonic*,’ by which it is described, indicates that it was

accompanied by some of the phenomena which might be expected in such a case, namely, the agitation and whirling motion of the clouds caused by the meeting of the opposite currents of air when the change took place, and probably also of the sea *raising it in columns of spray*. Pliny, in describing the effects of sudden blasts, says, that they cause *a vortex* which is called 'typhoon;' and Gellius, in his account of a storm at sea, notices frequent *whirlwinds*, and the dreadful appearances of the clouds, which they call typoons."

Compare this with the effects of the gale which drove Mr. Tennent's yacht out to sea :—

"It (the gale) was now spreading rapidly over the sea, and opposite to every glen was raising clouds and *vortices of spray*. . . . The vessel was two miles off, or at least a mile and a half, labouring heavily under a three-reefed mainsail and fore staysail. Sometimes her hull disappeared behind the seas, and sometimes we lost sight of more than her hull in the *whirlwinds of spindrift*. . . . The euroclydon blew a gale all night, which made the sailors observe that no wonder St. Paul was blown off the coast in such weather."

We can now see that the discussion which arose respecting the propriety of remaining at Fair Havens or of moving to Phenice became inevitable. The voyagers had a choice of evils; for after the experience of the modern observers, it will not be said that the attempt to reach Phenice was not attended with considerable risk of being blown out to sea. An objector, however, might ask, How came it that Paul, a landsman and a prisoner, should have taken part in the discussion? We answer this, in the first place, by quoting Dr. Kitto's review of the work, "We see the ruder men of the sea slowly yielding their minds to this master-spirit." But independent of this consideration, or of his being taught by direct revelation, when we take into consideration the facts and probabilities of the case which have now come to our knowledge, it will appear that the advice which he gave might be supported even on nautical grounds. At the time he offered it, he could have no personal knowledge of the circumstances; but the anchorage was not more than half a mile from the mole discovered by Capt. Spratt, which we are satisfied was the port of Lasea, and with a ship with nearly three hundred persons on board the intercourse with the shore must have been daily and hourly. Luke was not a prisoner; his nautical knowledge would enable him to make the necessary enquiries, and his notice of the aspect of Port Phenice shews that he had made such enquiries. We must remember also that they were in a ship which depended altogether on celestial observations when out of sight of land, and that the season had arrived when such observations could

not be depended upon. The question therefore resolved it to this, could they count on reaching Phenice before a northerly gale came on? We apprehend from what we now know that they could not, and that St. Paul's advice was a sound one.

The demonstration of the authenticity of the voyage is now complete down to the minutest objection which ingenuity or unbelief could raise against it, and we congratulate the author on the confirmation which actual observation has given to the inferences he drew from the scanty evidence respecting this part of the voyage which existed when he undertook this investigation.

THE LAW OF BURIAL AND THE SENTIMENT OF DEATH.^a

ONE of the oldest church edifices in New York, yielding to the rapid encroachments of trade upon what, fifty years ago, formed the arena of eligible dwellings, has recently been sold, and at the same time several feet of the cemetery attached thereto were appropriated by the city to widen one of the most frequented thoroughfares. Two legal questions arose from these incidents: the trustees of the property claimed a specific indemnification for the public occupancy of their land, and a descendant of one of the individuals buried within these precincts claimed that the church should provide another and satisfactory place of sepulture, and assume the expense of the reinterment. This latter demand involves the consideration of the rights inherent in, and related to, the dead and their resting-place,—a subject, in its ultimate and indirect consequences, of large and peculiar interest, and one which, in the absence of precedents, requires a distinct code. The court appointed Samuel B. Ruggles to examine the laws bearing on the case, and report a legal opinion, and the reasons thereof, as to the rights of the church, the city, and the kindred of the deceased respectively. The result has been, not only a satisfactory statement of conflicting claims on a basis of sound judgment and equity, but a valuable treatise on the law of sepulture. Not satisfied with bringing his re-

^a *An Examination of the Law of Burial, in a Report to the Supreme Court of New York.* By Samuel B. Ruggles, Referee. New York: D. Fanshaw. 1856. [This paper is from the *American Christian Examiner* for November, 1856. We have preferred to print it entire, although some portions are not quite fitted to the latitude of Great Britain.—Ed. J. S. L.]

searches and arguments to bear on the special case thus submitted to him, Mr. Ruggles has taken a comprehensive, historical, and detailed view of the general subject; and demonstrated the defects of the present laws, as well as the social and religious importance of adequate legislation adapted to the exigencies continually arising, and based on the spirit of our institutions, which obviously require provisions in this regard anticipated in older countries by ecclesiastical law and religious authority. The scope of the question, in the present instance, is thus briefly stated :—

“The proper disposal of this question by this court will be important, not so much in the pecuniary amount involved in the present instance, as in furnishing a rule for other cases, where cemeteries may be disturbed, either by their proprietors or by public authority. It broadly presents the general question, which does not appear to be distinctly settled in this State —Who is legally and primarily entitled to the custody of a dead body? and as a necessary result, who is legally bound to bury it? and further, if a body be ejected from its place of burial, who then is legally and primarily entitled to its custody, and who is bound to re-bury it?

“The widening of Beekman Street by the Corporation of New York removed every building and other impediment which stood in its way. Among them was the grave, the ‘*domus ultima*’ of Moses Sherwood, over which a marble tombstone, inscribed with his name, had been standing more than fifty years. His skull and bones, and portions of his grave-clothing, were found lying in his grave. Had any one any legal interest in that grave, or any right to preserve the repose of its occupant? or any legal interest in the monument, or right to preserve its repose? Do these rights come within the legal denomination of ‘private property,’ which the Constitution forbids to be taken for public use without just compensation?

“Property has been concisely defined to be, ‘the highest right a man can have to a thing.’ Blackstone spreads out the definition into the ‘sole and exclusive dominion which one man claims and exercises over the external things of the world, in total exclusion of the right of any other individual in the universe.’ (2 *Black. Comm.* 2.)

“The things which may thus be exclusively appropriated, and thereby made ‘private property,’ are not confined to tangible or visible objects, for light and air are ‘property,’ and belong exclusively to the occupant so long as he has possession. The right to the mere repose of a grave, although intangible or invisible, may none the less be property. The dividing line between ‘property’ as a thing objectively appropriated *by* a person, and a ‘personal right’ as subjectively belonging *to* a person, is not always entirely distinct. The proprietary right to a gravestone, and the personal right to its undisturbed repose, may measurably partake of both. In a certain sense, even a purely personal right may be said to be appropriated. Nor is the distinction very essential; for if there be a right

in a grave or its contents, or appendages, which the law will recognize, it matters little whether the right is appropriated by or belongs to its possessor. Is there, then, a right of which a court of justice will take cognizance?"—pp. 33, 34.

He subsequently illustrates the requisiteness of the protection insisted on:—

"The necessity for the exercise of such authority, not only over the burial, but over the corpse itself, by some competent legal tribunal, will appear at once, if we consider the consequences of its abandonment. If no one has any legal interest in a corpse, no one can legally determine the place of its interment, nor exclusively retain its custody. A son will have no legal right to retain the remains of his father, nor a husband of his wife, one moment after death. A father cannot legally protect his daughter's remains from exposure or insult, however indecent or outrageous, nor demand their re-burial if dragged from the grave. The dead deprived of the legal guardianship, however partial, which the Church so long had thrown around them, and left unprotected by the civil courts, will become, in law, nothing but public nuisances, and their custody will belong only to the guardians of the public health, to remove and destroy the offending matter, with all practicable economy and despatch. The criminal courts may punish the body-snatcher who invades the grave, but will be powerless to restore its contents.

"Applied to the case now under examination, the doctrine will deny a daughter, whose filial love had followed her father to the grave, and reared a monument to his memory, all right to ask that his remains, uprooted by the city authorities and cast into the street, shall again be decently interred. In England, with judicial functions divided between the State and the Church, the secular tribunals would protect the monument, the winding-sheet, the grave-clothes, even down to the ribbon (now extant) which tied the *queue*; but the Church would guard the skull and bones. Which of these relics deserves the legal protection of the Supreme Court of law and equity of the State of New York? Does not every dictate of common sense and common decency demand a common protection for the grave and all its contents and appendages? Is a tribunal like this under any legal necessity for measuring its judicial and remedial action by the narrow rule and fettered movement of the common law of England, crippled by ecclesiastical interference? But may it not put forth its larger powers and nobler attributes as a court of enlightened equity and reason?"—pp. 43, 44.

We have not space to follow Mr. Ruggles through the very able reasoning, and the eloquent applications of the facts of history and jurisprudence, to the elucidation of these questions. It is seldom that a legal report contains so much to excite and enlist the better sympathies of humanity. It is, in fact, a learned and finished discourse on the Law of Burial, as a great social interest and sacred private duty, with examples drawn

from antiquity and hallowed by the universal instinct of mankind. The inference arrived at is condensed in the following five points, which should be the basis of that legislative enactment which we trust will reward this effective plea.

"1. That neither a corpse, nor its burial, is legally subject, in any way, to ecclesiastical cognizance, nor to sacerdotal power of any kind.

"2. That the right to bury a corpse, and to preserve its remains, is a legal right, which the courts of law will recognize and protect.

"3. That such right, in the absence of any testamentary disposition, belongs exclusively to the next of kin.

"4. That the right to protect the remains includes the right to preserve them by separate burial, to select the place of sepulture, and to change it at pleasure.

"5. That, if the place of burial be taken for public use, the next of kin may claim to be indemnified for the expense of removing and suitably re-interring the remains."—pp. 58, 59.

Meantime we cannot better promote the object in view than by improving the occasion to consider the importance, in this age and country, of not only protecting by law, but encouraging through art and by the most emphatic recognition, memorials of the departed,—the feeling of our common nature which environs Death with sacredness,—the sentiment of retrospection and reverence which embalms for ever the examples of the benefactors of our race, and endears the loved and lost of our affections.

It is rare for American legislation, or discussions incident thereto, to go beyond economical and material interests; and when, as in the instance before us, it is proposed to vindicate a sentiment by law, to attest a right founded entirely upon the better instincts, we deem the circumstance memorable and suggestive. The only constant minister to the sense of the beautiful among us is Nature, the only universal appeal to reverence is Death; historical associations are too recent, and Art too much of a luxury, to awaken and confirm these divine and neglected elements of humanity; but through the affections and the idea of a common destiny, what may be called the sentiment of Death—that is, the memory of the departed, the places of their sepulture, the trophies of their worth—lures the least aspiring mind to "thoughts that wander through eternity," and promotes that association with the past which the English moralist declared essential to intellectual dignity. Accordingly, this plea for the authority of the living to protect the dead,—this invocation of law to guard as sacred what has no relation to thrift, is a practical recognition of the claims of reverence as a principle of civilized life which we desire gratefully to record.

Never did a Christian nation manifest so little of this conservative and exalted sentiment, apart from its direct religious scope, as our own. This patent defect is owing, in a measure, to the absence of the venerable, the time-hallowed, and the contemplative in the scenes and the life of our country ; it is, however, confirmed by the busy competition, the hurried, experimental, and ambitious spirit of the people. Local change is the rule, not the exception ; scorn of wise delay, moderation, and philosophic content, the prevalent feeling ; impatience, temerity, and self-confidence, the characteristic impulse ; houses are locomotive, church edifices turned into post-offices, and even theatres ; ancestral domains are bartered away in the second generation ; old trees bow to the axe ; the very sea is encroached upon, and landmarks are removed almost as soon as they grow familiar ; change, which is the life of nature, seems to be regarded as not less the vital element of what is called local improvement and prosperity ; the future is almost exclusively regarded, and the past condemned.

If a man cites the precedents of experience, he is sneered at as a "fogy;" if he has a competence, he risks it in speculation ; newspapers usurp the attention once given to standard lore ; the picturesque rocks of the rural way-side are defiled by quack advertisements, the arcana of spirituality degraded by legerdemain, the dignity of reputation sullied by partisan brutality, the graces of social refinement abrogated by a mercenary standard, the lofty aims of science levelled by charlatan tricks, and independence of character sacrificed to debasing conformity ; observation is lost in locomotion, thought in action, ideality in materialism. Against this perversion of life, the sanctity of death protests, often vainly, to the general mind, but not ineffectually to the individual heart.

When it was attempted to secure the collection of Egyptian antiquities brought hither by Dr. Abbott, of Cairo, for a future scientific museum to be established in New York, the representatives, commercial, professional, and speculative of "Young America," scorned the bare idea of exchanging gold for mummies, sepulchral lamps, papyrus, and ancient utensils and inscriptions ; yet, within a twelvemonth, a celebrated German philologist, a native biblical scholar, and a lecturer on the History of Art, eagerly availed themselves of these condemned relics to prove and illustrate their respective subjects ; and the enlightened of Gotham's utilitarian citizens acknowledged that the trophies of the past were essential to elucidate and confirm the wisdom of the present. It is this idolatry of the immediate which stultifies republican perception. Offer a manu-

script to a publisher, and he instantly enquires if it relates to the questions of the day; if not, it is almost certain to be rejected without examination. The conservative element of social life is merged in gregarious intercourse; the youth looks not up to age; the maiden's susceptibilities are hardened by premature and promiscuous association; external success is glorified, private consistency unhonoured; hero-worship grows obsolete; art becomes a trade, literature an expedient, reform fanaticism; aspiration is chilled, romance outgrown, life unappreciated; and all because the vista of departed time is cut off from our theory of moral perspective, and existence itself is regarded merely as an opportunity for instant and outward success, not a link in an eternal chain reaching "before and after." Hence the peculiar value we attach to an able argument for the legal protection of sepulchres, monuments, and cities of the dead, an able exposition of the law of burial as a social interest environed by the sanctities of love and grief, and consecrated by memory and hope. It is of the Christian obligations involved in the discussion that we would speak,—as one of the few objects of governmental care that directly springs from humanity.

Sentiment is the great conservative principle of society; those instincts of patriotism, local attachment, family affection, human sympathy, reverence for truth, age, valour, and wisdom, so often alive and conscious in the child and overlaid or perverted in the man,—for the culture of which our educational systems, habitual vocations, domestic and social life, make so little provision,—are, in the last analysis, the elements of whatever is noble, efficient, and individual in character; in every moral crisis we appeal to them, as the channels whereby we are linked to God and humanity, and through which alone we can realize just views or lawful action. In our normal condition they may not be often exhibited; yet none the less do they constitute the latent force of civil society. To depend upon intelligence and will is, indeed, the creed of the age, and especially of this republic; but these powers, when unhallowed by the primal and better instincts, re-act and fail of their end. It is so in individual experience and in national affairs. The resort to brute force in the highest deliberative assembly of the land, and the recognition of the alternative by a large body of citizens, are disgraceful and alarming facts, chiefly because they indicate the absence of the sentiments which the pride of intellect and the brutality of self-will thus repudiate; to them is the final appeal, through them the only safety. And the great lesson taught by these and similar errors is, that the life, the spirit, the faith of the country has, by a long course of national pros-

perity and a blind worship of outward success, become gradually but inevitably material; so that motives of patriotism, of reverence, of courtesy, of generous sympathy,—in a word, the sentiments as distinguished from the passions and the will, have ceased to be recognized as legitimate, and the reliable springs of action and guides of life. It was the repudiation of these which horrified Burke at the outbreak of the French Revolution; he augured the worst from that event, at the best hour of its triumph, because it stripped humanity of her divine attribute of sentiment, and left her to shiver naked in the cold light of reason and will, unredeemed by the sense of justice, of beauty, of compassion, of honourable pride, which under the name of Chivalry he lamented as extinct. He spoke and felt as a man whose brain was kindled by his heart, and whose heart retained the pure impulse of these sacred instincts, and knew their value as the medium of all truth and the basis of civil order. They were temporarily quenched in France by the frenzy of want; they are inactive and in abeyance here, through the gross pressure of material prosperity and mercenary ambition. Hence whatever effectively appeals to them, and whoever sincerely recognizes them, whether by example or precept, in a life or a poem, through art or rhetoric, in respect for the past, love of nature, or devotion to truth, and beauty, excites our cordial sympathy. In this age and land, no man is a greater benefactor than he who scorns the worldly and narrow philosophy of life which degrades to a material, unaspiring level the tone of mind and the tendency of the affections. If he invent a character, lay out a domain, erect a statue, weave a stanza, write a paragraph, utter a word, or chant a melody which stirs in any breast the love of the beautiful, admiration for the heroic, or the chastening sense of awe,—any sentiment, in truth, which partakes of disinterestedness, and merges self “in an idea dearer than self,”—uplifts, expands, fortifies, intensifies, and therefore inspires,—he is essentially and absolutely a benefactor to society, a genuine though perhaps unrecognized champion of what is “highest in man’s nature” against what is “lowest in man’s destiny.” And not the least because the most universal of these higher and holier feelings is the sentiment of Death, consecrating its symbols, guarding its relics, and keeping fresh and sacred its memories.

The disposition of the mortal remains was and is, to a considerable extent, in England, an ecclesiastical function; in Catholic lands it is a priestly interest. Indignity to the body, after death, was one of the most dreaded punishments of heresy and crime; to scatter human ashes to the winds, expose the

skulls of malefactors in iron gratings over city portals, refuse interment in ground consecrated by the Church, and disinter and insult the body of an unpopular ruler, were among the barbarous reprisals of offended power. And yet, in these same twilight eras, in the heathen customs and the mediæval laws, under the sway of Odin and the Franks, the sentiment of respect for the dead was acted upon in a manner to shame the indifference and hardihood of later and more civilized times. With the emigration to America, as Mr. Ruggles shews, this sentiment looked for its legal vindication entirely to the civic authority. With their reaction from spiritual tyranny, our ancestors transferred this, with other social interests, to popular legislation and private inclination. Hence the comparatively indefinite enactments on the subject, which it is the indirect purpose of this able Report to remedy, by a uniform code, applicable to all the States, and organized so as clearly to establish the rights both of the living and the dead, and to preserve inviolable the choice of disposition, and the place of deposit, of human remains.

The practical treatment of this subject is anomalous. Amid the scenes of horror, outraging humanity in every form, which characterized the anarchy incident to the first dethronement of legitimate authority in France, how startling to read, among the first decrees of the Convention, provisions for the dead, while pitiless destruction awaited the living! And, in this country, while motives of hygiene limit intermural interments, and a higher impulse sets apart and adorns rural cemeteries, our rail-tracks often ruthlessly intersect the fields of the dead, and ancestral tombs are annually broken up to make way for streets and warehouses. The tomb of Washington is dilapidated; the bones of revolutionary martyrs are neglected, and half the graveyards of the country desecrated by indifference or misuse. The conservative piety of the Hebrews reproaches our inconsiderate neglect, in the faithfully tended cemetery of their race at Newport, R. I., where not a Jew remains to guard the ashes of his fathers, thus carefully preserved by a testamentary fund.

Modes and places of burial have an historical significance. The pyre of the Greeks and Romans, the embalming process of the Egyptians, the funeral piles of Hindoo superstition, and those bark stagings, curiously regarded by Mississippi voyagers, where Indian corpses are exposed to the elements,—the old cross-road interment of the suicide,—the inhumation of the early patriarchs and Christians,—all symbolize eras and creeds. The lying-in-state of the royal defunct, the sable catafalque of

the Catholic temples, the salutes over the warrior's grave, the "Day of the Dead" celebrated in Southern Europe, the eulogies in French cemeteries, the sublime ritual of the Establishment, and the silent prayer of the Friends, requiems, processions, emblems, inscriptions, badges, and funereal garlands, mark faith, nation, rank, and profession at the very gates of the sepulchre. Vain is the sceptic's sneer, useless the utilitarian's protest; by those poor tributes the heart utters its undying regret and its immortal prophecies, though "mummy has become merchandize," and to be "but pyramidically extant is a fallacy in duration;" for, as the same religious philosopher^b of Norwich declared, "it is the heaviest stone that melancholy can throw at a man, to tell him he is at the end of his nature;" and therefore, in the grim Tuscan's Hell, the souls of those who denied their immortality when in the flesh, are shut up through eternity in living tombs. How the idea of a local abode for the mortal remains is hallowed to our nature, is realized in the pathos which closes the noble and sacred life of the Hebrew lawgiver: "And he buried him in a valley of the land of Moab, over against Beth-peor; but no man knoweth of his sepulchre unto this day" (Deut. xxxiv. 6).

Natural, therefore, and human is the consoling thought of the poet, of the ship bringing home for burial all of earth that remains of his lamented friend:—

"I hear the noise about thy keel;
I hear the bell struck in the night;
I see the cabin-window bright;
I see the sailor at the wheel.

"Thou bring'st the sailor to his wife,
And travelled men from foreign lands;
And letters unto trembling hands;
And thy dark freight, a vanished life.

"So bring him: we have idle dreams:
This look of quiet flatters thus
Our home-bred fancies; O, to us,
The fools of habit, sweeter seems

"To rest beneath the clover sod,
That takes the sunshine and the rains,
Or where the kneeling hamlet drains
The chalice of the grapes of God,

^b Sir T. Browne.

“ Than if with thee the roaring wells
Should gulf him fathom deep in brine,
And hands so often clasped in mine
Should toss with tangle and with shells.”^c

Doubtless many of the processes adopted by blind affection and superstitious homage, to rescue the poor human casket from destruction, are grotesque and undesirable. Had Segato, the discoverer of a chemical method of petrifying flesh, survived to publish the secret, it would be chiefly for anatomical purposes that we should appreciate his invention; there is something revolting in the artificial conservation of what, by the law of nature, should undergo elemental dissolution; and it is but a senseless homage to cling to the shattered chrysalis when the winged embryo has soared away :

“ All’ ombra de’ cipressi e dentro l’ urne
Confortate di pianto, è forse il sonno
Dello morte men duro ?”^d

The fantastic array of human bones in the Capuchin cells at Palermo and Rome; the eyeless, shrunken face of Carlo Borromeo embedded in crystal, jewels, and silk, beneath the Milan cathedral; the fleshless figure of old Jeremy Bentham in the raiment of this working-day world; the thousand spicy wrappings which enfold the exhumed mummy whose exhibition provoked Horace Smith’s facetious rhymes,—these, and such as these, poor attempts to do vain honour to our clay, are not less repugnant to the sentiment of death, in its religious and enlightened manifestation, than the promiscuous and indecent putting out of sight of the dead after battle and in the reign of pestilence, or the brutal and irreverent disposal of the bodies of the poor in the diurnal pits of the Naples Campo Santo. More accordant with our sense of respect to what once enshrined an immortal spirit, and stood erect and free, even in barbaric manhood, is the adjuration of the bard :—

“ Gather him to his grave again,
And solemnly and softly lay,
Beneath the verdure of the plain,
The warrior’s scattered bones away;
The soul hath quickened every part,—
That remnant of a martial brow,
Those ribs that held the mighty heart,
That strong arm,—strong no longer now !

^c Tennyson’s *In Memoriam*.

^d *Dei Sepolchri*, di Ugo Foscolo.

Spare them, each mouldering relic spare,
Of God's own image; let them rest,
Till not a trace shall speak of where
The awful likeness was impressed."

Yet there are many and judicious reasons for preferring cremation to inhumation; the prejudice against the former having doubtless originated among the early Christians, in their respect for patriarchal entombment practised by the Jews, and their natural horror at any custom which savoured of heathenism. But there is actually no religious obstacle, and, under proper arrangement, no public inconvenience, in the burning of the dead. It is, too, a process which singularly attracts those who would save the remains of those they love from the possibility of desecration, and anticipate the ultimate fate of the mortal coil "to mix for ever with the elements;" at all events, there can be no rational objection to the exercise of private taste and the gratification of personal feeling on this point. "I bequeath my soul to God," said Michael Angelo, in his terse will, "my body to the earth, and my possessions to my nearest kin;"—and this right to dispose of one's mortal remains appears to be instinctive: though the indignation excited by any departure from custom would indicate that, in popular apprehension, the privilege so rarely exercised is illegally usurped.

The outcry in a Western town, a few months ago, when cremation was resorted to, at the earnest desire of a deceased wife, and the offence taken and expressed in this city, when it became known that a distinguished surgeon, from respect to science, had bequeathed his skeleton to a medical college, evidenced how little, among us, is recognized the right of the living to dispose of their remains, and the extent to which popular ignorance and individual prejudice are allowed to interfere in what good sense and good feeling declare an especial matter of private concern. Yet that other than the ordinary modes of disposing of human relics are not absolutely repugnant to endearing associations, may be inferred from the poetic interest which sanctions to the imagination the obsequies of Shelley. Although it was from convenience that the body of that ideal bard, so misunderstood, so humane, so "cradled into poetry by wrong," was burned, yet the lover of his spiritual muse beholds in that lonely pyre, blazing on the shores of the Mediterranean, an elemental destruction of the material shrine of a lofty and loving soul, accordant with his aspiring, isolated, and imaginative career.

Vain, indeed, have proved the studious precautions of Egyptians to conserve from decay and sacrilege the relics of their

dead. Not only has "mummy become merchandize," in the limited sense of the English moralist ; the traffic of the Jews in their gums and spices, the distribution of their exhumed forms in museums, and the use of their cases for fuel, is now superseded by commerce in their cerements for the manufacture of paper ; and it is a startling evidence of that human vicissitude from which even the shrouds of ancient kings are not exempt, that recently, in one of the new towns of this continent, a newspaper was printed on sheets made from the imported rags of Egyptian mummies.

Of primitive and casual landmarks, encountered on solitary moors and hills, the cairn and the Alpine cross affect the imagination with a sense alike of mortality and tributary sentiment, even more vividly than the elaborate mausoleum, from the rude expedients and the solemn isolation ; while the beauty of cathedral architecture is hallowed by ancestral monuments. Of all Scott's characters, the one that most deeply enlists our sympathies, through that quaint pathos whereby the Past is made eloquent both to fancy and affection, is Old Mortality renewing the half-obliterated inscriptions on the gravestones of the Covenanters, his white hair fluttering in the wind as he stoops to his melancholy task, and his aged pony feeding on the grassy mounds. Even our practical Franklin seized the first leisure from patriotic duties, on his visit to England, in order to examine the sepulchral tablets which bear the names of his progenitors.

A cursory glance at the most cherished trophies of literature indicates how deeply the sentiment of death is wrought into the mind and imagination,—how it invests with awe, love, pity, and hope, thoughtful and gifted spirits, inspires their art, elevates their conceptions, and casts over life and consciousness a sacred mystery. The most finished and suggestive piece of modern English verse is elegiac,—its theme a country churchyard, and so instinct are its melancholy numbers with pathos and reflection, embalmed in rhythmical music, that its lines have passed into household words. Our national poet, who has sung of Nature in all her characteristic phases on this continent, next to those ever-renewed glories of the universe has found his chief inspiration in the same reverent contemplation : "Thanatopsis" was his first grand offering to the Muses, and "The Disinterred Warrior," the "Hymn to Death," and "The Old Man's Funeral," are but pious variations of a strain worthy to be chanted in the temple of humanity. Shakespeare in no instance comes nearer what is highest in our common nature and miraculous in our experience, than when he makes the philosophic Dane ques-

tion his soul and confront mortality. The once popular and ever-memorable "Night Thoughts" of Young elaborate kindred ideas in the light of Christian truth; the most quaintly eloquent of early speculative writings in English prose is Sir Thomas Browne's treatise on Urn-Burial. The most thoughtful and earnest of modern Italian poems is Foscolo's *Sepolchri*; the Monody on Sir John Moore, Shelley's Elegy on Keats, Tickell's on Addison, Byron's on Sheridan, and Tennyson's "In Memoriam," contain the most sincere and harmonious utterances of their authors. Not the least affecting pages of "The Sketch-Book" are those which describe the Village Funeral and the "Widow's Son;" and the endeared author, we are told in the pamphlet before us, has marked his own sense of the local sanctity of the tomb by erecting that of his family in "Sleepy Hollow," in the midst of scenes endeared by his abode and his fame. Halleck has given lyrical immortality to the warrior's death in the cause of freedom; and Wordsworth, in perhaps his most quoted ballad, has recorded with exquisite simplicity childhood's unconsciousness of death; even the most analytical of French novelists found in the laws and ceremonial of a Parisian interment, material for his keenest diagnosis of the scenes of life in that marvellous capital. Hope's best descriptive powers were enlisted in his sketch of burial-places near Constantinople, so pensively contrasting with the more adventurous chapters of Anastasius. If in popular literature this sentiment is so constantly appealed to, and so enshrined in the poet's dream and the philosopher's speculation, classic and Hebrew authors have inscribed its memorials in outlines of majestic and graceful import; around it the picturesque and the moralizing, the vivacious and the grandly simple expressions of the Roman, the Greek, and the Jewish writers seem to hover with the significant plaint,—heroism or faith,—which invokes us, with the voice of ages, to

" Pay the deep reverence, taught of old,—
The homage of man's heart to death;
Nor dare to trifle with the mould
Once hallowed by the Almighty's breath."

The monitory and reminiscent influence of the churchyard, apart from all personal associations, cannot, therefore, be overestimated; doubtless in a spirit of propriety and good taste, it is now more frequently suburban, made attractive by trees, flowers, a wide landscape, and rural peace, and rendered comparatively safe from desecration by distance from the so-called march of improvement, which annually changes the aspect of

our growing towns. Yet wherever situated, the homes of the dead, when made eloquent by art, and kept fresh by reverent care, breathe a chastening and holy lesson, perhaps the more impressive when uttered beside the teeming camp of life. When the traveller gazes on the marble effigy of Gaston de Foix at Ravenna, and then treads the plain where he fell in battle, the fixed lineaments and obsolete armour bring home to his mind the very life of the Middle Ages, solemnized by youthful heroism and early death; when he scans the vast city beneath its smoky veil, thick with roofs and dotted with spires, from an elevated point of Père la Chaise, the humble and garlanded cross, and the chiselled names of the wise and brave that surround him, cause the parallel and inwoven mysteries of life and death to stir the fountains of his heart with awe, and make his lips tremble into prayer; and, familiar as is the spectacle, the more thoughtful of the throng in New York's bustling thoroughfare, will sometimes pause and cast a salutary glance from the hurrying crowd to the monuments of the heroic Lawrence, the eloquent Emmet, the gallant Montgomery, and the patriotic Hamilton. Those associations which form at once the culture and the romance of travel are identified with the same eternal sentiment. Next in interest to the monuments of genius and character are those of death; or rather, the inspiration of the former are everywhere consecrated by the latter.

"Take the wings
Of morning, and the Barcan desert pierce,
Or lose thyself in the continuous woods
Where rolls the Oregon, and hears no sound,
Save his own dashings,—yet—the dead are there!"

We enter a city of antiquity,—memorable Syracuse or disinterred Pompeii,—through a street of tombs; the majestic relics of Egyptian civilization are the cenotaphs of kings; the Escorial is Spain's architectural elegy; Abelard's philosophy is superseded, but his love and death live daily to the vision of the mourners who go from the gay capital of France, to place chaplets on the graves of departed friends; the grandeurs of Westminster Abbey are sublimated by the effigies of bards and statesmen, and the rare music of St. George's choir made solemn by the dust of royalty; deserted Ravenna is peopled

* "How can we reconcile this pious and faithful remembrance with the character of a nation generally thought so frivolous and inconstant? Let this amiable, affectionate, but slandered people, send the stranger and the traveller to this place. These carefully tended flowers, these tombs, will speak their defence."—*Memoir of Harriet Preble*, p. 70.

with intense life by the creations of Dante which haunt his sepulchre; Arqua is the shrine of affectionate pilgrims; the radiant hues and graceful shapes of Titian and Canova become ethereal to the fancy, when viewed beside their monuments; St. Peter's is but a magnificent apostolic tomb; and the shadow of mortality is incarnated in Lorenzo's brooding figure in the jewelled temple of the dead Medici. What resorts are Mount Vernon, Saint Paul's, and Saint Onofrio! what a goal, through ages, the Holy Sepulchre! How the dim escutcheons sanctify cathedrals; and sunken headstones the rural cemetery! how sacred the mystery of the Campagna hid in that "stern round tower of other days," which bears the name of a Roman matron! The beautiful sarcophagus of Scipio, the feudal crypt of Theodric, the silent soldier of the Invalides, the mossy cone of Caius Cæstus in whose shadow two English poets yet speak in graceful epitaphs, Thorwaldsen's grand mausoleum at Copenhagen, composed of his own trophies,—what objects are these to win the mind back into the lapsing ages and upward with "immortal longings!" We turn from brilliant thoroughfares, alive with creatures of a day, to catacombs obscure with the impalpable dust of bygone generations; we pass from the vociferous piazza to the hushed and frescoed cloister, and walk on mural tablets whose inscriptions are worn by the feet of vanished multitudes; we steal from the cheerful highway to the field of mounds, where a shaft, a cross, or a garland, breathes of surviving tenderness; we handle the cloudy lachrymal, quaint depository of long-evaporated tears, or admire the sculptured urn, the casket of what was unutterably precious even in mortality,—and thereby life is solemnized, consciousness deepened, and we feel, above the tyrannous present, and through the casual occupation of the hour, the "electric chain wherewith we're darkly bound." Thus perpetual is the hymn of death, thus ubiquitous its memorials,—attesting not only an inevitable destiny, but a universal sentiment; under whatever name,—God's Acre, Pantheon, Campo Santo, Valhalla, Potter's Field, Greenwood, or Mount Auburn,—the lasting resting-place of the body, the last earthly shrine of human love, fame, and sorrow, claims, by the pious instinct which originates, the holy rites which consecrate, the blessed hopes which glorify it, respect, protection, and sanctity.

There is, indeed, no spot of earth so hallowed to the contemplative as that which holds the ashes of an intellectual benefactor. What a grateful tribute does the Transatlantic pilgrim instinctively offer at the sepulchre of Roscoe at Liverpool, of Lafayette in France, of Berkeley at Oxford, of Burns at Alloway Kirk, and of Keats, and Goldsmith,—of all the bards,

philosophers, and reformers, whose conceptions warmed and exalted his dawning intelligence, and became thereby sacred to his memory for ever! How fruitful the hours, snatched from less serene pleasure, devoted to Stratford, Melrose, and the Abbey! To realize the value of these opportunities, the spirit of humanity enshrined in such "Meccas of the mind," we must fancy the barrenness of earth stripped of these landmarks of the gifted and the lost. How denuded of its most tender light would be Olney,^f Stoke Pogis, the vale of Florence, the cypress groves of Rome, and the park at Weimar, unconsecrated by the sepulchres of Cowper and Gray, Michael Angelo, Tasso, and Schiller, whose sweet and lofty remembrance links meadow and stream, mountain and sunset, with the thought of all that is most pensive, beautiful, and sublime in genius and in woe!



ANALYSIS OF THE EMBLEMS OF ST. JOHN.—Rev. i.—iv.

Introduction.

IN no department of human research have the results been more unsatisfactory than in the attempts which have from time to time been made to penetrate the hidden meaning of the emblems employed in the visions of St. John. The conclusions attained are almost as diverse as the peculiarities of mind which have distinguished the many enquirers who have engaged in this interesting but difficult study. This failure (for such it must be deemed) raises a strong presumption that the enquiries hitherto pursued have been conducted upon wrong principles, and that, to ensure success, some new method must be devised.

One of the greatest difficulties attending this investigation is to free the mind from bias—from the domination of some idol of the fancy—before which reason is made adoringly to bow. The chief source of error appears to have lain in the attempt of each individual to do too much; for each has endeavoured, not only to penetrate the meaning of the emblems, but also to discover their application to the events of history. Hence it has arisen, that the efforts of the same mind in one branch of the enquiry have vitiated its researches in the other; for the explanation of the emblems, and the events of

^f Cowper is not interred at Olney.—*Ed. J. S. L.*

history, have been forced into a correspondence, according to the peculiar views of the enquirer.

There frequently present themselves in physical science subjects of investigation which require the independent efforts of two minds. In practical astronomy, for instance, there is what is well known to observers as the *personal equation*, arising from individual peculiarities in the modes of observation followed by different observers,—a source of error which can be removed, only by changing the persons employed. So also where the investigation involves long and intricate calculations, and where the accuracy of the method enters, as a material element, into the correctness of the result, little confidence can be placed in the researches of any single investigator. But if two independent minds undertake the task, and, following different methods, arrive at the same conclusion, such a result commands respect.

The investigation of the apocalyptic emblems seems to present a parallel case. It is needful to eliminate the *personal equation*. To secure this end, it appears requisite to divide the enquiry into two distinct branches, to be pursued by two individuals; or sets of enquirers working independently and without concert. The first branch should be the determination of the exact meaning of the emblems, using no other aid than the light furnished by the Divine Word itself. In prosecuting this research, all that has been already written on the subject must be temporarily cast aside. The events of history must be for a season banished from the mind; and all anticipations of finding a correspondence between those events and the emblems are to be, as much as possible, in the meantime resisted. The enquirer must endeavour to place himself in the position of the favoured seer, or of one of his contemporaries, and try to penetrate the hidden truths involved in the emblems, with no other lights than were available at that time.

After one or more enquirers, following this course, shall have determined, by this method, the meaning of the emblems, then one or more independent minds may, with great advantage, take up the second branch of the enquiry, and, adopting as a basis the results obtained by their forerunners, endeavour to trace the correspondence between such of the emblems as involve a prophetic meaning, and the events of history.

The conclusions which might thus be attained would be much more satisfactory to the philosophic mind than any which might be reached by each individual engaging in both branches of the enquiry; while, if four investigators, pursuing this separate method, should arrive at the same results, their probability would acquire a very high degree of strength.

The following analysis is an essay in this method, and is exclusively devoted to the first branch of the enquiry. It has been undertaken, and is now to be presented, in the hope that some other individual, approving of the mode of investigation suggested, may be induced to undertake the same branch, on the same principle. When this shall have been done, and the results thus obtained by two independent enquirers shall have been thoroughly sifted on their own merits, irrespective of their application to history, there will then be laid a sound basis for the second branch of the investigation—the correspondence of the emblems with historical events. If one or more independent inquirers should thereafter be induced to avail themselves of that basis, and endeavour in a candid spirit to trace out that correspondence, there might then be good hopes of arriving at some satisfactory results, possessing a claim to the confidence of the reasoning mind, similar to that accorded to the conclusions reached by the independent investigations of several persons engaged in the same subject of physical research.

Many of the conclusions attained by the following analysis are only alternative, and may be regarded as probable in various degrees. But the researches of other enquirers may tend to remove some of those alternatives, and to free the results from any reasonable doubt.

CHAPTER I.

The apostle John, after a preliminary address, commences the account of his vision with the following words: "I John, who also am your brother, and companion in tribulation, and in the kingdom and patience of Jesus Christ, was in the isle that is called Patmos, for the word of God, and for the testimony of Jesus Christ. I was in the Spirit on the Lord's day, and heard behind me a great voice as of a trumpet."

Before proceeding to analyze any of the emblems, it is well to consider what is meant by this statement of the apostle, that, being in the isle of Patmos, he was *in the Spirit* on the Lord's day. This phraseology is obviously designed to guard the reader against the supposition that, during any part of this vision, the apostle was subjected to any actual translation in space. He remained in the isle of Patmos during its whole course, and the entire scenic representation was exhibited to him during the lapse of one Lord's day. The expression "I was in the Spirit" is evidently intended to intimate that the scenes which he describes were not seen by his external eye, and that the words

which he heard were not imbibed by his outward ear; but that his mind was placed under the immediate influence of the divine Spirit, which acted directly on his internal organs of perception and thought in the absence of all outward impressions whatever, from which his faculties were for the time withdrawn.

Hence we are not to suppose that any of the images presented to him have any real existence in nature. They were merely ideal pictures, exhibited to the eye of his imagination for the purpose of imparting to his mind important truths, and of foreshadowing future events. So with all that he heard, whether the words directly addressed to him, or the voices and other sounds which seemed to impress his ear. None of these had any outward existence; the whole were impressions produced by a peculiar excitement applied to his internal organs of hearing by the direct action of divine power.

It appears, however, from sundry expressions employed by the apostle, that he wrote down all that he saw and heard in the course of the vision, while it was in progress. This circumstance may be accounted for in two ways. We may suppose that between each scenic representation there was allowed him sufficient time to write what he had seen and heard, and that, during those intervals, he was restored to his usual state of external sensation. Or we may suppose his condition during the whole vision to have resembled that peculiar species of somnambulism, in which the sleep-walker is capable of performing certain external acts, notwithstanding his mind is absorbed by internal impressions, produced on his inner organs of perception and thought.

Whatever opinion may be formed on this point, it is most necessary, in the perusal and examination of this prophecy, to guard the mind from ever, for a moment, losing sight of the fact that it is a record of the apostle's imaginings, that none of the scenes which he describes were viewed with his outward eyes—that none of the words which he testifies to having heard were real articulate sounds perceived by his outward ear—but that the whole, both sights and sounds, were mere internal impressions. They were of the same species with those lights and colours often seen when the eyes are closed, and which are produced by mere pressure on the organs of sight, although, of course, of a far more exalted kind, and impressed on his sensorium with a special design.

We are accordingly to expect that everything presented to the apostle's mind in the course of the vision is purely of the nature of an emblem intended to symbolize some great truth, or some future event; and we must guard ourselves against

supposing any of them to be objects really existing in any region of space, unseen by the natural eye, but which would become visible to any one who should be thrown into the same spiritual condition as that in which the apostle was placed.

The first of these scenic representations thus exhibited to his mental eye, the apostle describes in the following words: "I was in the Spirit on the Lord's day, and heard behind me a great voice, as of a trumpet, saying, I am Alpha and Omega, the first and the last: and, What thou seest, write in a book, and send it unto the seven churches which are in Asia; unto Ephesus and unto Smyrna, and unto Pergamos, and unto Thyatira, and unto Sardis, and unto Philadelphia, and unto Laodicea. And I turned to see the voice that spake with me. And being turned, I saw seven golden candlesticks; and in the midst of the seven candlesticks one like unto the Son of man, clothed with a garment down to the foot, and girt about the paps with a golden girdle. His head and his hairs were white like wool, as white as snow; and his eyes were as a flame of fire; and his feet like unto fine brass, as if they burned in a furnace; and his voice as the sound of many waters. And he had in his right hand seven stars; and out of his mouth went a sharp two-edged sword: and his countenance was as the sun shineth in his strength. And when I saw him I fell at his feet as dead. And he laid his right hand upon me, saying unto me, Fear not; I am the first and the last: I am he that liveth, and was dead; and, behold, I am alive for evermore, Amen; and have the keys of hell and of death. Write the things which thou hast seen, and the things which are, and the things which shall be hereafter; the mystery of the seven stars which thou sawest in my right hand, and the seven golden candlesticks. The seven stars are the angels of the seven churches: and the seven candlesticks which thou sawest are the seven churches."

This last verse removes all doubt as to the emblematical nature of this scene; and we are thus relieved from any trouble in finding out the meaning of its leading features. This explanation appears to have been given with the further design of intimating that all the future scenic representations were to be of a like kind, and to be interpreted in a similar manner.

In proceeding to analyze this opening scene, the first question that presents itself for consideration is, Why are seven golden candlesticks selected as fit emblems to symbolize the seven Asiatic Churches? The purpose of a candlestick being to hold a candle, there seems to be here an allusion to the saying of our Saviour (Matt. v. 14, 15): "Ye are the light of the world. Neither do men light a candle, and put it under a bushel, but

on a candlestick; and it giveth light to all that are in the house.”

In these words, the metaphor used to designate the true disciples of Christ is not a candlestick, but a candle spreading light around it. Hence the emblem of a candlestick, being employed for a Church, appears to signify, that it represents the corporate body of those professing Christianity—embracing not only true disciples, but also many who are merely nominal Christians. This view is strengthened by the address of Christ to the Churches, in which he declares that, in the Society represented by the candlestick were embraced many who were not true disciples.

As it appears that only the candlesticks, and not the candles were visible to St. John, this circumstance may indicate that the true disciples are discernible only by him whose eyes are as a flame of fire.

From the candlesticks being made of gold, it may be legitimately inferred that each separate portion of the visible Church is valuable in the sight of Christ, as affording the means of containing, supporting, and exhibiting, the candles—the true disciples, who are the light of the world. The precious material of the candlesticks may perhaps also signify that a Christian Church is in itself a beautiful object, and that all the members, even those who may be only mere professors, have their outward deportment purified and adorned by the influence of Christianity. The substance of the candlesticks being gold may farther imply that the Christian Church can undergo, unharmed, the action of fire—the fire of persecution and affliction, and is rather purified by those trials, than injured or destroyed.

The circumstance of there being *seven* candlesticks, may not only correspond to the seven churches then established in Asia, but may also intimate that it is not the divine intention that there should be only *one visible* church, united as a single body, but that there should be many such; while there is, nevertheless, only one true *invisible* Church, composed of the whole body of those who, being led by the Spirit of God, have become the sons of God.

This view appears to be confirmed, by its being said that Christ appeared in the midst of the candlesticks, and his afterwards describing himself (ii. 1), “as he who walketh in the midst of the seven golden candlesticks,” thus intimating that the presence and influence of Christ is not confined to one candlestick, or church, but is equally distributed over many.

While it cannot be doubted that the seven Christian churches then subsisting in Asia are what are primarily represented by

the seven golden candlesticks, yet it does not appear too great a stretch of the symbolical principle of interpretation to suppose that these seven churches were themselves, to a certain extent, types; that the peculiarities by which they were severally distinguished, were such as might be expected to be of perpetual recurrence among the various Christian Churches which were, from time to time, to arise in the world; and that these peculiarities should distinguish, not only the churches, viewed as corporate bodies, but also certain individuals in every church.

We may hence gather that there shall always be some, like the Ephesians, distinguished for labour, patience, and zeal for the truth, but deficient in charity; others, like the Smyrnians, exposed to labour, tribulation, persecution, and poverty, yet rich in faith and good works; others, like the Pergamites, having their dwelling in the midst of Satan's seat, but holding fast the name of Christ, and not denying his faith, yet partially tainted by the surrounding immorality and heresy; others, like the church of Thyatira, fruitful in good works, charity, faith, and patience, and ever advancing towards greater perfection, yet suffering to remain among them those who adulterate the truth, and seduce men into idolatry, viewing with too much indifference such evil proceedings; others, again, like the church at Sardis, having a name to live, and yet being dead, through lack of watchfulness, falling into backsliding; others, like the Philadelphians, possessing little strength, yet keeping the words of Christ, and not denying his name; others, lastly, like the Laodiceans, neither cold nor hot, but lukewarm, yet puffed up with spiritual pride, imagining themselves possessed of every spiritual grace, while destitute of all; looking only to themselves and their own poor attainments, instead of directing their eyes towards him from whom cometh every good and perfect gift.

The divine spirit of prophecy, foreseeing that there shall always be both churches and individuals characterized by these peculiarities, has here recorded the opinion entertained of them by their great head; and all his warnings, admonitions, rebukes, and encouragements, are addressed to the churches in Asia, not for their use alone, but for the benefit of all churches and individuals, to arise in all time coming, whose character shall correspond to those described in the message, with which the apostle was charged. That this view is correct, is rendered evident by the phrase repeated at the end of the address to each church. "He that hath an ear, let him hear what the spirit saith unto the churches."

The person who appeared in the midst of the candlesticks, is said to have been "like unto the Son of Man." This seems

designed to intimate that he who presented this glorious appearance was no other than he who formerly appeared on earth as “the Son of Man,” that being the appellation by which Christ always designated himself. The long garment, clothing him from head to foot, may accordingly be an emblem of his righteousness; while its being a flowing robe, covering the whole body, a seamless garment, may signify the perfection of that righteousness, especially when contrasted with the righteousness of man, which Isaiah compares to “filthy rags.” This idea is confirmed by the circumstance of white raiment being used as a type of righteousness in other parts of the Apocalypse, and throughout the Scriptures generally. The robe being fastened by a girdle may signify that it represents an everlasting righteousness, the girdle being an emblem of eternity. Further, seeing the bosom is the symbolical site of the human affections; Christ’s being girded about the region of the bosom with a golden girdle, may typify the purity of his human affections, and moreover imply that these affections had been refined in the furnace of affliction, the girdle being of pure gold, tried in the fire. In confirmation of this view we observe that charity is called by St. Paul (Col. iii. 14), “the bond of perfectness,” so that the golden girdle may signify the perfection of charity in the bosom of Christ.

Why are Christ’s head and hair said to be white like wool, white as snow? The head may signify the intellectual, as distinguished from the moral powers; and the whiteness may symbolize purity and clearness of intellectual perception and conception. The hairs being distinguished from the head, and each hair being said to be white as snow, may signify, not only a general purity of the intellect, but that each individual thought or idea, in the mind of Christ, is perfectly pure and clear.

His eyes being as a flame of fire, may import that Christ sees the inward man, and tries the hearts and reins,—no concealment or hypocrisy being able to elude his penetrating glance.

His feet being like fine brass, may be regarded as an emblem of the perfection and purity of his ways, and as bearing more special reference to the perfection of his walk, while he sojourned on earth; and his feet appearing as if they burned in a furnace may symbolize his having passed through the furnace of affliction during his mortal career.

Why is the voice of Christ said to be like the sound of many waters? This comparison may signify the pleasantness of the message which he brings to man, his voice being agreeable to the ear, like the pleasant murmur of many waters—a sound most cheering to the thirsty traveller as proclaiming abundant

refreshment near. Not less cheering to the thirsty soul is the voice of him that saith, "If any man thirst, let him come unto me and drink." The many waters may also be an emblem of the many voices employed in proclaiming the Gospel of Christ.

The angels or ministers of the seven churches being represented by seven stars, appears to involve an allusion to the declaration of Daniel (xii. 3), "They that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament, and they that turn many to righteousness as the stars for ever and ever." The circumstance of the stars being in the hand of Christ, appears to denote that his ministers are to be regarded as instruments in his hands to do—not their own, but his pleasure. The ministers of Christ being represented by stars in his hand, may also signify that they are not to shine by their own light, but only to reflect the light falling upon them from the countenance of Christ, the sun of righteousness; just as the planets reflect the light of the natural sun. Seeing the ministers of Christ are represented as held in his hand, and not as supported by the candlesticks, or subsisting in any material connexion with them, it may be thence fairly inferred that the Church is neither composed of her ministers, as a distinct corporate body, nor intended for the support or exhibition of such, but is designed only for the support of the candles, and as the means of exhibiting their light; the candles being, not the clerical body, but the whole true disciples of Christ existing in the Church. Is it not a great error, then, to conceive of the Christian Church as a body composed of ecclesiastics, or as a system of ecclesiastical government, erroneously styled the kingdom of Christ? The circumstance of the ministers being denominated "angels," may signify that they are ambassadors sent forth by Christ, that they should be imbued with a missionary spirit, and not seek after an abiding home in the Church, but be ready to go wherever duty calls.

St. Paul, in Ephesians vi. 17, calls the Word of God "the sword of the spirit;" and in Hebrews iv. 12, he says, "For the Word of God is quick and powerful, and sharper than any two-edged sword, piercing even to the dividing asunder of soul and spirit, and of the joints and marrow, and is a discernor of the thoughts and intents of the heart." These passages appear to explain the emblem of the two-edged sword, proceeding out of the mouth of Christ.

The countenance of Christ is said by John to have appeared "as the sun shining in his strength." This seems intended to denote that he is the fountain of light, fervour, and life, to the mind of man, as the sun is to the natural world. If, when John first saw this emblematic representation of Christ, the face

shone like the sun, how could he distinguish the eyes as being like a flame of fire? May it not be fairly inferred that, when first seen, the countenance was not so brilliant as to prevent John from discerning the eyes to be like a flame of fire, and that it was only after he had gazed upon it for awhile, that it appeared to shine like the sun in his strength? This circumstance may be intended to teach us, that when man begins to look towards Christ, his attention is first arrested by his eyes appearing as a flame of fire, penetrating the recesses of his soul, bringing to view all the hidden secrets of his heart, and rousing him from his slumber by the flames of an awakened conscience; and that it is not till the mental gaze is steadily fixed upon Christ, that we see in his countenance the beams of the sun of righteousness. We may hence learn, moreover, that the longer and steadier the gaze which we direct towards the countenance of Christ, the brighter will it appear to our eyes, until it come to excel the sun in glory.

CHAPTER IV.

Verse 1, "After this I looked, and behold a door was opened in heaven, and the first voice which I heard was as it were of a trumpet talking with me, which said, come up hither, and I will shew thee things which must be hereafter." The opening of a door in heaven seems to import the disclosure of lofty mysteries. The first voice being like that of a trumpet, may signify that the revelation thus made was to be proclaimed abroad throughout the earth. The voice saying, "Come up hither," may imply that the soul must be raised above all worldly objects of contemplation, in order to understand such mysteries. This view is confirmed by John adding, "And immediately I was in the Spirit:" a statement which further shews that John was not translated to any distant part of space, but that his mind was merely withdrawn from all external perceptions, so that he might be more thoroughly wrapt in spiritual contemplation of the emblems presented to the eye of his imagination.

"And I will shew thee things which must be hereafter," or "after these things." These words appear to imply that the main, though, as will afterwards appear, not the exclusive object of the vision, was to convey to the mind of John a knowledge of future events.

It is not said that the voice which John heard was that of an angel, and from its being described in the same terms as the voice that spoke in the first vision, it may be inferred that the speaker in both cases was the same, namely, Christ himself.

“And behold a throne was set in heaven, and one sat on the throne.” The throne set in heaven, while it may be regarded as an emblem of the divine sovereignty over the universe, both of mind and matter, appears to signify, in a more special sense, the establishment of the kingdom of heaven, and “one sitting on the throne” seems to imply the reign of a *personal* Deity. Seeing that to him who sat on the throne divine worship was paid, and that Christ is declared to be the sole medium of personal manifestation of the Deity to man, we may fairly conclude that by “one sitting on the throne,” we ought to understand Christ, viewed in his divine nature, as united with the Father. We must not for a moment imagine that this throne either has itself, or represents anything having a real physical existence: it is a mere spiritual symbol.

Seeing Christ declares that the kingdom of God is *within us*, we may regard this vision, in its integrity, as symbolizing the nature and effects of the setting up of the kingdom of God in the heart and mind of man, and we ought therefore to take all the details in a spiritual or metaphysical sense. According to this view, the throne being set in heaven and not on the earth, may signify that Christ’s sway is over the higher nature of man, over his intellectual and moral powers and faculties, as contradistinguished from a rule over the body, such as that exerted by an earthly sovereign. It may also denote that Christ’s reign is spiritual, commanding the affections and inclinations of the heart, as contradistinguished from a mere external homage or bodily worship. It may farther imply that the kingdom of Christ is a heavenly kingdom, which, although *in* this world, is not *of* this world, nor partaking of the characteristics of an earthly kingdom. If this view be correct, it is surely an error to suppose the kingdom, over which Christ rules on earth, to be any system of ecclesiastical polity, having Christ for its *nominal* head, but actually governed by men arrogating to themselves the authority of his delegates or vicegerents.

“And he that sat was to look upon like a jasper and a sardine stone.” Seeing that John, in chap. xxi. 11, describes the jasper as a stone most precious, clear as crystal, it is likely that by the word jasper some transparent gem is meant, and not the dull-red mineral to which we give that name. As the stone is generally allowed to be of a red colour, the Oriental ruby may be considered to be most probably the gem which John designates under the name “jasper.” The sardine being also a stone of a red colour, and resembling the other, may not improbably be the blood-coloured garnet, or, perhaps, the cornelian. The ruby and the garnet, however, so closely resemble each other,

that they are more likely to be the two gems here meant, since the occupant of the throne resembled both.

Seeing these gems were two of those set in the breastplate of Aaron as types of the tribes of Israel, and seeing Christ combined in himself the kingly office of the tribe of Judah, with the priestly office of the tribe of Levi; his being like a jasper and a sardine, may signify this combination of the priestly and kingly offices in his person. Further, the ruby being of the colour of fire, and the garnet of blood; the former may be an emblem of the zeal of him of whom it is said, "the zeal of thine house hath eaten me up;" and the latter, of Christ having sealed the new covenant with his blood.

It is remarkable that no more particular description is given of him that sat on the throne, than that he was like a jasper and a sardine stone. This circumstance may be intended to teach us that when Christ begins to reign in the human mind, the mental eye looks—not to the personal aspect of the Saviour, nor seeks to enquire what might have been his appearance as a man, nor to draw any supposed likeness of his human form,—but regards him simply in the relations in which he stands to us as a king and high priest—contemplating not the features of his face, but the zeal by which he was animated in undertaking the work of our salvation, and the sufferings unto blood by which that work was finally accomplished. The absence of all form or outline in the description of him that sat on the throne, may have this farther signification, that, although in Christ dwelt all the fulness of the Godhead bodily, yet the Godhead or divine nature was not thereby limited in its presence; but while, in a peculiar manner, centralized in the person of Christ, continued universally present without limit or form; it being only the human soul of Christ that was limited in its presence by his bodily frame.

"And there was a rainbow round about the throne in sight like unto an emerald." There seems to be here an allusion to the covenant made with Noah, of which the rainbow was an abiding type. This rainbow being like a brilliant green emerald, may accordingly signify that the kingdom of Christ is a new covenant; the green colour being an emblem of freshness; while the same type of enduring greenness may further signify that it is also an everlasting covenant.

"And round about the throne were four and twenty seats," or "thrones." If we are to understand by the throne set up in heaven, the dominion of Christ over the mind, or higher nature of man, as contra-distinguished from an earthly throne, whose dominion extends only to the body; these twenty-four thrones

round the throne may be regarded as symbols of twenty-four subordinate dominions established in the human mind and heart, for the use of the word "throne" implies dominion.

It would be exceedingly difficult to identify the twenty-four elders occupying these thrones with any twenty-four scriptural personages, or indeed with any individual persons whatever. The idea that they represent the twelve patriarchs under the old, and the twelve apostles under the new dispensation is inadmissible. For, in the first place, it is far from clear that the characters of the twelve patriarchs were such as to warrant our regarding them as raised to this high eminence; and in the next place, one of the elders must have represented the apostle John himself—a very incongruous notion. Nor does the idea that these elders represent the twenty-four courses of the Levitical priesthood, possess any higher claim to probability. For St. Paul informs us that everything connected with the material temple at Jerusalem, and the Mosiac ordinances and ritual, was emblematical of something relating to the heavenly or true spiritual temple. It would, therefore, be a reversal of the principles of interpretation, applicable to such types, were we to regard the twenty-four elders who are evidently connected with the heavenly temple to be types or representatives of the twenty-four courses of the Levitical priesthood. It is much more likely that the latter were types of the former, or rather that the twenty-four elders personify the same spiritual ideas which the twenty-four courses of the Levitical priesthood were designed to foreshadow. We must, therefore, look for some more abstract, or metaphysical meaning for these elders, and regard them as impersonating spiritual ideas. If this view be correct, the most probable inference appears to be that these twenty-four elders are emblems or personifications of twenty-four virtues, ruling in the mind when the kingdom of Christ is established in the heart. If these be twenty-four virtues, their being symbolized by twenty-four individuals, may imply that the whole are never fully developed in any single individual mind, but that one is conspicuous in one person, and another in another. Their being represented by elders, or aged men, may further signify that the discipline of years is required for the full development of those graces. Their being called elders or presbyters, the title given to ecclesiastical teachers, may be intended to indicate that the graces which they impersonate, ought to be particularly conspicuous in those holding the office of elder, and may also denote that these virtues exercise a spiritual control over the heart; while the circumstance of the elders sitting on thrones, may signify the established and enduring sway of those

virtues over the mind. The elders being clothed in white raiment, seems intended to represent the purity and perfection of the graces which they impersonate; their having crowns on their heads, may symbolize the reward which Christ bestows on those virtues; while the crowns being of gold, may typify the excellence and permanence of that reward.

That the twenty-four courses of the Levitical priesthood might foreshadow the same spiritual ideas as do these twenty-four elders, will appear probable if it be considered that the priests were divided into those courses, for the express purpose of securing regularity in the discharge of all the duties connected with the temple service. Now St. Peter informs us, that all Christians are members of a holy and royal priesthood, set apart to offer unto God spiritual sacrifices, by which he doubtless means the due observance of all the Christian duties and virtues. The Levitical priesthood may accordingly be regarded as foreshadowing this more spiritual priesthood, of which every true Christian is a member; and the offices, which the Levitical priests were required to perform, may typify the various duties, which the Christian is, by his profession, called to discharge. The division of the ancient priesthood into twenty-four courses, may have the same signification as the number twenty-four here assigned to the elders; namely, as denoting twenty-four departments of Christian duty.

This interpretation seems to be strengthened by the consideration, that, on the reign of Christ becoming established in the mind, these virtues exercise a conjunct dominion over it along with the divine king. Any specification must not, however, be viewed as necessary to this interpretation; for we must bear in mind, what will become evident from the sequel, that twelve is one of the apocalyptic numbers of perfection; consequently, that twice twelve implies perfection in two particulars. Hence this emblem may, without symbolizing individual graces, indicate perfection in every active and in every passive virtue; the ability to do and to suffer all things, as being a characteristic of the mind in which the throne of Christ is reared in the fulness of power, and over which he exercises supreme sway.

Their encircling the divine throne, appears farther to denote that the graces and virtues thus symbolized are possessed by the Deity himself; and viewing the number twelve, as implying perfection, the idea intended to be conveyed, seems to be that the Deity possesses every active and every passive virtue in the fullest perfection. This view is confirmed by a circumstance, which will be afterwards more fully noticed, that, in a future scene of the vision, these twenty-four elders become joint reci-

pments of the homage paid to the Divine Sovereignty by angels and men ; a circumstance, which appears absolutely to exclude the notion of their being representative persons, and to shut us up to the conclusion that they are personifications of adjuncts or concomitants of the Divine Sovereignty, exercising sway over the rational mind of the creature, wherever the sway of the Deity himself is duly felt and loyally obeyed. Now the only subordinate sovereignties which can be recognized by the spiritual mind, as entitled to have dominion over it, are the Christian graces and virtues which must accordingly be held to be what these elders personify.

We are next informed that “out of the throne proceeded lightnings, and thunderings, and voices.” These may represent the flashes of conviction, which dart into the mind, from the overruling power of Christ—the threatnings and warnings, and persuasions, contained in the Divine Word, by means of which his government over the mind is exercised—also the many voices by which his word is preached. These may likewise represent generally the discipline of his providence, by which his sway over the mind is maintained.

“And there were seven lamps of fire burning before the throne, which are the seven spirits of God.” This explanation shews that the whole scene presented to the eye of John was symbolical, and that every particular detail is to be viewed as a spiritual emblem, and not to be taken in a natural sense. It also goes far to justify our regarding the twenty-four elders, not as individual men, but as personifications of virtues. What is meant by the *seven* spirits of God? We are elsewhere taught that there is but *one* Spirit of God, and these can therefore be regarded only as separate manifestations of that one Spirit. This view is strengthened by the circumstance of these seven spirits being afterwards represented by different and duplicate emblems. There may be distinguished three separate sets of these manifestations of the Spirit, each embracing seven varieties, which may possibly be symbolized by those lamps ; the first set being manifestations flowing from the divine mind towards the created mind ; the second set being the powers conferred by the Divine Spirit on the human mind ; and the third set being the fruits of the influence of the Spirit on the human mind. Thus the first set may embrace the following seven :—1st, The spirit of love ; 2nd, of compassion ; 3rd, of mercy ; 4th, of forbearance ; 5th, of faithfulness ; 6th, of justice ; 7th, of sanctifying and saving power. To this classification it might be objected, that justice is here but out of place, as not being specially brought into play by the scheme of man’s redemption through Christ.

But this objection is met by the statement of John, that, "If we confess our sins, God is faithful and just to forgive us our sins;" *just* because Christ has purchased our pardon by his propitiation; so that it would be an act of injustice were it withheld. Hence, while it was mercy to devise and execute the scheme of man's redemption, it is justice, and not mercy, that is exercised in granting man's salvation for Christ's sake. These seven spirits are aptly symbolized by lamps; for a lamp is a light that is of use only in the midst of darkness: and these spirits, proceeding from God, cheer and enlighten the darkness, that would, in their absence, pervade the human mind.

The following may be regarded as the seven miraculous powers conferred by the Divine Spirit, viz., 1st, the power of healing; 2nd, of tongues; 3rd, of prophecy; 4th, of perceiving the thoughts of men; 5th, of casting out devils; 6th, of raising the dead; 7th, of controlling the elements. These are also aptly symbolized by lamps, because wherever there is light in the midst of darkness, it is an evidence of the active agency of divine power in that spot. So, wherever such miraculous powers are exhibited, they are evidences of the active agency of the Spirit of God, working through the medium of the individual so endowed.

The seven following may be deemed the results of the spirit's action on the mind:—1st, the spirit of admiration; 2nd, of gratitude; 3rd, of veneration; 4th, of confidence; 5th, of hope; 6th, of joy; and 7th, of peace. These are also rightly symbolized by lamps; for they shed a cheering light over the mind, and likewise afford evidence of the active agency of the spirit upon the heart.

"And before the throne there was a sea of glass like unto crystal." "A glassy sea" would perhaps be a better rendering of the phrase here employed. This feature in the vision may be considered in two different aspects. It will be remembered that there was in Solomon's temple a large laver, for the purification of the priests and offerings, called "the brazen sea." Now the object seen by John may have been a sort of reproduction of that great laver; only, instead of its being brazen, it was formed of glass. On the other hand, we may regard the term "glassy" as referring, not to the material of the great vessel containing the water, but to the appearance of the water itself: and we may understand the description to import that before the throne there was a vast expanse, or sea, of placid water, smooth as glass, and clear as crystal, reflecting, with all the brilliancy and distinctness of a mirror, every one of the glorious objects around it.

If we adopt the former view, we may regard the laver of glass as an emblem of baptism—the washing of the body with water, to symbolize the purification of the heart, and cleansing of the affections by the influence of the Holy Spirit. It may be viewed as representing to the eye the laver of regeneration; while the substitution of glass for metal, as the material of the vessel, in order to shew the perfect purity and transparency of the water it contains, may be designed to convey the idea of the greater amount of mental purification, which is effected by the dispensation of the Gospel, than was attainable by the sacrifices and ablutions prescribed by the Mosaic law.

If we adopt the other view again, and conceive this glassy sea to have been a sheet of pure and placid water, clear as crystal, we may regard the emblem as representing the stormy sea of human passion reduced to a perfect calm before the throne of Christ, so as to reflect the light of his countenance, like a mirror. The resemblance to crystal may also involve the idea of that transparency of character which results from the sway of Christ over the affections and inclinations of the heart.

“And in the midst of the throne, and round about the throne, were four beasts, full of eyes before and behind.” We appear to have here emblems of four divine attributes, particularly called into exercise in the heavenly kingdom. The circumstance of their being in the midst of the throne, and round about the throne, seems designed to shew that these attributes are properties inherent in the divine dominion, and encompassing it on every side. Our translators have certainly not been fortunate in selecting the word “beasts” to render the Greek word here employed; “living beings” would be a more proper term. Their being full of eyes before and behind, may be emblematical of the universal presence, and universal perception, of the Deity.

“The first living being was like a lion.” This may be regarded as a type of the divine omnipotence—the lion being a symbol of strength and power. “The second living being was like a calf, or young steer.” Seeing the ox was the animal used for labour in ancient times, this emblem may signify the divine laboriousness—God’s unceasing activity, to which our Saviour refers, when he says, “My Father worketh hitherto, and I work.” The Deity never ceases to work: “He neither slumbers nor sleeps.” The specification of “a *young* steer” may imply that this divine attribute is always fresh and vigorous—never exhausted by fatigue, nor worn out by age. The long-suffering patience and forbearance of the Deity may be also typified under this emblem. “The third living being had a face

as a man." This may be regarded as symbolizing the wisdom and ingenuity of the divine mind. "The fourth living being was like a flying eagle." Seeing the eagle soars aloft, and takes a wide survey of the landscape beneath him, this flying eagle may be an emblem of the superintending providence of God. "And the four living beings had each of them six wings about them." The purpose of wings being rapid locomotion, these six wings may signify that the attributes represented by those four living beings are exercised throughout the wide universe, and are ever on the alert—ever on the wing. "And they were full of eyes within." This emblem may refer to the intuitive perceptions of the divine mind.

"And they rest not day and night, saying, Holy, holy, holy, Lord God Almighty; which was, and is, and is to come." This ascription may be regarded as importing that the Deity possesses in absolute perfection the four attributes represented by the four living beings—that he has possessed them from all eternity, and will continue to possess them for ever: and also that they are in constant and unremitting exercise; this last idea being involved in the statement that they have no rest day or night.

The idea that these four living beings are anything more than mere emblems,—that they are real living angelic creatures, having an actual existence in nature, is too childish to be entertained for a moment. They are obviously, from the very description, quite as unreal as the candlesticks in the former vision, or the seven lamps in this scene, and quite as symbolical as these. That they are not created beings, but emblems of divine attributes, is farther rendered evident by a circumstance to be afterwards more fully noticed, that, in a subsequent vision, they are represented as receiving, conjointly with the Deity himself, the homage of angels and saints.

There is a considerable difficulty arising out of the statement in the next two verses, that when these living beings "give glory and honour and thanks to him that sat on the throne, who liveth for ever and ever, the four and twenty elders fall down before him," &c. It had been previously stated that "they ceased not day and night, saying, Holy, holy," &c., yet there are here mentioned intervals, when "they give glory and honour and thanks." This difficulty may be overcome, by supposing that these living beings, while they had numerous eyes, had also each more than one voice, and that, while one of those voices was incessantly occupied in saying, "Holy, holy," &c., they, with another voice, at stated intervals, gave "glory and honour and thanks." This appears a more reasonable supposition

than that the ascription "Holy, holy," &c., is equivalent to their giving "glory and honour and thanks:" seeing that the ascription does not involve any idea of thanksgiving, and that it continued to be made without cessation; while the giving "glory and honour and thanks" was obviously only at intervals. This statement that these four living beings at intervals gave "glory and honour and thanks to him that sat on the throne," is not inconsistent with their being personifications of divine attributes; for these attributes are, by their exercise, the means of eliciting ascriptions of "glory and honour and thanks" from the creatures on whose behalf they are put forth. It will accordingly be observed, from what is stated at the conclusion of the next chapter, that the first occasion on which the elders are represented as thus falling down before the throne, is when the creatures have all rendered their tribute of "glory and honour and thanks to him that sat on the throne;" and the four living beings have expressed their concurrence in this act of homage, by pronouncing their "Amen." This mode of giving their assent may therefore be regarded as being what is here referred to, when the four living beings are said to "give glory and honour and thanks." The divine attributes do not directly render such, but contribute to such being rendered by the creatures, and so concur in the act.

What is meant by the statement that the "twenty-four elders fell down before him that sat on the throne, and worshipped him that liveth for ever and ever?" On the supposition that these twenty-four elders are emblems of virtues, this act of worship may be understood as teaching that all those virtues have their source in God, and flow from him, from whom cometh every good and perfect gift; while their "casting their crowns before the throne" may signify that the reward with which these virtues are crowned also comes from God, and is not due to the individuals possessing those virtues, as the just reward of merit, but has been earned for them by Christ, in whom alone all virtues exist in absolute perfection. From the elders adoring him who sat on the throne as the creator of all things, it is obvious that the occupant of the throne must have been the Deity himself.

Reviewing this allegory in its integrity, we have here a striking pictorial representation of the reign of Christ, and of its effects on the human mind. In the heaven or higher part of our nature Christ sits enthroned as king and priest, surrounded by all the active and passive virtues, exercising dominion over the soul. We have the sentiments of admiration, gratitude, reverence, confidence, hope, gladness, and serenity,

continually burning like lamps in the heart, cheering the inner man, and shedding lustre around him. We perceive the mind continually fixed in contemplation of the divine attributes, which are unceasingly exerted on behalf of the redeemed soul, constantly watching over him, and scrutinizing the inner workings of his heart. We have the mind ascribing all the virtues it possesses to him that sits upon the throne, and attributing to him, and not to any merit which those virtues have in themselves, the reward with which the king-priest has been pleased to crown them. And, finally, we observe the mind, with all its powers and faculties, rendering honour and glory and power to him who created all things, and for whose pleasure they are and were created.

P.

DR. R. A. LIPSIUS ON THE IGNATIAN EPISTLES.^a

It is well known to all students of sacred literature, that the discovery by the Rev. William Cureton in the treasures brought to the British Museum from the Nitrian Wastes, of three Ignatian epistles in a form previously unknown, revived many of the subjects which had been discussed respecting the writings of that early martyr.

The Ignatian controversies have singularly enough been carried on repeatedly without anything like a real knowledge having been previously obtained of the facts of the case; for it has only been after various discussions that materials have come to light which would have had an important bearing on the points of inquiry.

Thus there was a time when the Ignatian epistles were only known in a form in which they had come down, interpolated throughout and mingled with other epistles, the genuineness of which, whether in whole or in part, is now defended by no one. To find anything which could be rightly ascribed to Ignatius in the medley thus formed would require the skill of a diviner; or, as others might say, it could only be done by a process of the most intensely *subjective* criticism. It would be like an attempt

^a *Ueber die Ächtheit der syrischen Recension der Ignatianischen Briefe*, von Dr. ph. Lic. theol. Richard Adelbert LIPSIUS, Privatdocent d. Theol. in Leipzig. (This paper fills the whole of the first "Heft" of Riedner's *Zeitschrift für die historische Theologie* for the year 1856. pp. 1—160.)

to separate metals which had been fused together, and that without knowing precisely the characteristics of the metal to be obtained, or the process by which it can be separated.

The ascertainment of a shorter recension of some of these epistles through the inquiry of Archbishop Usher was a point gained; it had at least this *negative* advantage, that it shewed that previous discussions had been carried on without any proper view having been obtained of the object of research. It might have done more; for it might have led to the conviction that there had been no absolutely definite diplomatic transmission of seven epistles of Ignatius, such as could be *certainly* said to be the same that Eusebius had mentioned. The only presumption of absolute identity was, that seven epistles bore the same *names*; but even then they formed parts of a *collection* diplomatically united, in which documents the most spurious were conjointly transmitted.

A few facts were patent: *three* of these epistles contained passages which had been cited, or were otherwise attested, anterior to the time of Eusebius—namely, the epistle to Polycarp, that to the Romans, and that to the Ephesians. A comparison of these epistles in the longer form with the text investigated by Usher, shewed this peculiarity; that while the others might in general have been formed by addition in the one case or subtraction in the other, so that the shorter might be regarded as included in the longer, this was *not* the case as to these three; for very often they diverged widely even as to whole chapters. Instead, therefore, of the shorter form of these being contained in the longer, all that could be said was that they had a certain portion in common, and that if one of these *recensions* was really formed from the other, it must have been by a process of excision as well as addition.

Hence it was suggested, but not however while the Ignatian controversy was warm, that both recensions were enlargements of a common basis, and that such basis alone could (if capable of being ascertained) be regarded as the genuine work of the bishop of Antioch. It might have been added that this conclusion was sufficiently valid with regard to the three epistles above mentioned, but that it could be conclusively extended further.

The announcement of Mr. Cureton's discovery of three epistles of Ignatius in an ancient Syriac version, and their publication by him in 1845, directed the attention of many to the subject who were acquainted but imperfectly with previous discussions, and who supposed without inquiry that a collection of several epistles in the shorter Greek form, possessed some

diplomatic existence, and that the genuineness of this collection, as such, was *acquiesced in* at least by those who were capable of forming an opinion.

New discussions were excited; partly on the first appearance of the Syriac epistles, and partly when in 1849 Mr. Cureton issued his *Corpus Ignatianum*, a volume containing *all* the epistles which bear the name of Ignatius, in *all* their various forms, together with the literary history of these epistles, and a general account of all that relates to Ignatius and to the real or professed extracts from his works found in ancient authors.

The newly-revived discussions respecting the writings of Ignatius assumed various forms; one of the most singular was the attempt to fix the charge of *Eutychian heresy* on the epistles as found in Syriac—an attempt which was singularly adventurous, and singularly opposed to all *facts*. This charge was noticed and refuted both by those who agreed with Mr. Cureton in the estimate which he formed of the Syriac text of these epistles, and by those who did not. Besides the refutations by others, both in this country and on the continent, Mr. Cureton disposed of this and some other misrepresentations in his *Vindiciæ Ignatianæ*.

It is well known that the real reason which led many to discuss the Ignatian question with a feeling of warm partizanship, was the bearing which these epistles had been supposed to have on the question of episcopal office and authority at the beginning of the second century: it was certain that passages were there found which spoke of the authority and dignity of bishops in the highest terms, and which distinguished very plainly from them presbyters as a distinct order, rank or office. This is not the place to *discuss* such points of ecclesiastical discipline and order; it is needful however to refer to the fact that the Ignatian epistles were used as an important element in proving, not indeed the *existence* of episcopacy at the commencement of the second century, but rather the *estimate* in which this admitted fact was held.

Hence it was of some importance that the Syrian form of these epistles should have been brought forward by a clergyman of the Church of England, and not by any one whose tendencies might lead him rather to oppose than to assert diocesan episcopacy. For very many of the strong passages in which the dignity and office of a bishop are so extolled, are not found in the Syriac text. To this, however, it should be added that in the Syriac there is quite enough *to affirm the fact* of episcopacy as then existing, but without the hyperbolic expressions which

cause surprise, and to which exception had been taken, as though they were so exaggerated as to be very suspicious.

Our object is not to give a detailed history of discussions and theories, but to recall attention to the simple *facts* of the case.

It has been already remarked that of the epistles bearing the name of Ignatius, *three* were accredited by evidence anterior to the time of Eusebius, and also that *the same three* possess certain features in common, so that both in the longer and the shorter Greek texts we seem to have a common basis, which had been afterwards expanded by *different* additions: now it cannot be too strongly enforced or too fully borne in mind as an element in this investigation, that the three epistles brought to light by Mr. Cureton are *the same in name* and in the *contents*, to a certain degree, as those which have been previously marked out on *two* separate grounds. To this must be added, that the contents of these epistles in the Curetonian text, is such as might be the basis of either of the Greek forms.

Also the passages which were regarded as pre-eminently suspicious in the Greek *are not found* in the Syriac. Whatever be said as to this, it is at least obvious that a Syriac scribe of the fifth or sixth century *could not* select portions from Ignatius in such a manner as to reject one by one all those which *were to be* controverted by European critics in the seventeenth.

Thus Mr. Cureton's discovery fulfilled certain antecedently ascertainable conditions, just as much as would the actual observation of a planet, the position and elements of which had been previously learned by calculation.

It is remarkable that in the more recent discussions on this subject that have arisen, many topics wholly irrelevant have been brought in to give a seeming support to the "seven epistles in the shorter Greek form." To this head we must refer the use made of the Armenian version by Peterman; for if this translation of Ignatian epistles proves anything, it would uphold not only these seven, but also many which are certainly spurious, but which are in the Armenian handed down together, as parts of the same collection transmitted on exactly the same grounds.

But whether relevant or not, whatever has seemed to uphold the Greek text which for the last century and half has taken its place in collections of "Patres Apostolici," has been eagerly embraced, even though the admission of much of this would, if fully carried out, be found to bring in much that would not be admitted for a moment by those who employ it. In this manner whatever has been published abroad which bears, or is supposed

to bear, forcibly against Mr. Cureton and his conclusions, has been employed in English, and has been in various ways rendered accessible to those to whom it might be unknown did it not pass through this process of naturalization.

It may therefore be of value to some for their attention to be directed to the paper the title of which stands at the commencement of this article. We shall not be supposed to admit every statement of the writer as being necessarily sound and cogent; nor yet shall we be open to the charge of assenting to all that he advances on doctrinal subjects. This is no wider exception than those have made practically who have used the arguments of various foreign writers against Mr. Cureton.

Dr. R. A. Lipsius commences his discussion with a brief historical survey of the history of the Ignatian question, and of the forms in which the epistles bearing the name of that Bishop have been circulated from time to time (pp. 1—20). In this portion of his discussion he removes many of the statements which acquire a kind of traditional weight; and thus he makes the ground fully clear for his own investigations.

He then proceeds to examine the contents of the Syriac form of the epistles on historico-dogmatic grounds; his object being to manifest that on dogmatic points in which the terms and expressions of the Syriac differ from either of the Greek recensions, the former uses language which in the other has been differently moulded for doctrinal reasons.

This fills by far the larger part of the dissertation (pp. 20—96); and though the investigation may fail in some places in rightly apprehending the doctrinal bearing of some of the statements in the Syriac, yet he does succeed very thoroughly in shewing how the Greek expressions are amplifications and dogmatic statements founded on what had been much more simple in its original form.

The fact is, that the Letters of Ignatius, as we have them in Syriac, only touch incidentally on doctrinal points which in the Greek are made very prominent; just such expressions, then, are found as might have been used before various points had become matters of earnest polemical discussion. In the Greek, on the contrary, points are so stated and so enlarged on as could hardly be imagined to have been the case *prior* to their having been denied and counter argued by some at least. It has been well said that forms of expression which were unknown prior to the introduction of corruptions, became necessary in the Church from and after that time. And this may help to shew us something of the wisdom of the Spirit of God in Holy Scripture—that *there*, and there alone, doctrinal and practical

statements are given in a form and manner so as to meet by anticipation errors and false teaching which have sprung up from time to time; but this, even in Scripture, is not done in such a matter as to suggest a kind of curiosity because of the earnestness with which some point is enforced that was not of present application: it is rather found in the incidental expressions of truth, such as have been availing at such times as have been marked by the springing up of errors.

In the Syriac epistles there are many things which might be well and truly used as shewing the doctrine of the Church in the days of Ignatius, and the Church order which then prevailed; and this is found not as though the writer had a polemical object, and as though he were engaged in asserting strenuously what he knew to be denied by others, but simply as arising from the tone and scope of the Letters. Dr. Lipsius shews the bearing of these points on the question of originality well and convincingly. He also points out how the one recension is in tone of thought and feeling far more in correspondence with the New Testament than the other; the Greek text even in its shorter form exhibiting, too, traces of a later age than the beginning of the second century.

Dr. Lipsius, after examining the Syriac and Greek recensions of these epistles throughout, arrives at this definite conclusion, that "*the three letters of the Syriac recension are the basis, and that the seven letters of the Greek are a later superstructure*" (p. 96).

He then proceeds elaborately to investigate the form of the Syriac recension of the text, comparing it with the Greek, and entering into the questions connected with the *completeness* of the epistles as found in Syriac, and as meeting the assertion that has been made that the Syriac only contains *extracts* made for some ascetic or devotional purpose. All that he says under this head is well worthy of the consideration of those who wish to enter fully into the question, and to see whether the *internal* grounds for regarding the Syriac epistles as genuine and complete are as full as those which bear on external evidence; where, to say the least, the Syriac has far stronger testimonies than the seven Greek epistles which so many uphold, without even examining into the *facts* of the case.

The name of Clement of Rome was used in former times as one which might avail for bringing into currency many writings wholly fictitious; much good has been done to the cause of historic truth, by the real character of those forged writings having been shewn, and the one genuine epistle of Clement having been established as such. For had the attempt been

made to put all the Clementine writings on the same ground, and to maintain that *much* was genuine, or probably so, the effect would be that the evidence in favour of the one epistle really written by that Father, would be dimmed and weakened. But as it now is, we *know* that we possess one genuine epistle of his, an actual monument of the latter half of the first century, and many writings which bear his name, but which are known to set forth a tone of thought and teaching altogether different. We are thus freed from all the uncertainty which would arise from the endeavour to put all the Clementine writings (or even a few of them) on a level; for thus doubt would be thrown over the whole.

So too with regard to Ignatius: it is not on any principle of destructive criticism that the endeavour is made by Mr. Cureton and others to establish the alone genuineness of the three epistles in their Syriac form. They have attacked nothing which had not been attacked long before; they have maintained nothing but that which had long before been regarded as certain by competent critics; but this they have done,—they have used Mr. Cureton's discovery as leading to the establishment of certain facts,—giving a positive and not a mere negative result. Previously it could not be said that historic and diplomatic evidence established *any* epistles as truly Ignatian; uncertainty veiled the whole subject; there seemed to be conclusions which might be drawn from the state of the evidence; but no collection of writings existed to which these conclusions could be shewn to be applicable. Thus it is that there is now presented a collection of three epistles, which if less *in quantity* than that which has been regarded as Ignatian, is at least so far superior, that here there are not found the points which led some in former ages to reject all that was presented under the name of this father. To receive that which is thus attested internally and externally has this benefit, that it gives us real monuments of an age of the Christian Church of which the remains are but few, and as to which every point, whether of doctrine or of practice, is of value.

The advocates of the seven Greek epistles have of late years attached a great importance to all that has proceeded from the pens of continental scholars, which has favoured their views. Thus when in Dr. Riedner's *Zeitschrift* in 1851, Uhlhorn maintained the genuineness and originality of the seven Greek epistles, his paper was in part translated, and throughout made a subject of comment, by the Rev. Henry Browne, in the Rev. T. K. Arnold's *Theological Critic* (vol. ii., part iii., seq.) Mr. Browne used in fact Uhlhorn's remarks as the basis of his own,

and as if he established conclusively the weakness of Mr. Cureton's arguments.

The paper of Dr. Lipsius, to which we now draw attention, appeared in the *same* German periodical as that which had contained the remarks of Uhlhorn on the opposite side: if then the testimony or argument of one continental writer be relied on as though it satisfactorily disposed of Mr. Cureton's reasonings, it behoves those who thus act, at least to weigh and examine the points which Lipsius considers that he has established in the same periodical.

One remark may here be made: few enough of those who have written on the subject seem really to have made themselves acquainted with Mr. Cureton's *Corpus Ignatianum*, and to have understood his proofs and arguments: they often controvert the Syriac recension of the epistles, and they say that its claims have been disproved, though they have not obtained for themselves a knowledge of what that recension really is. And thus representations have been made as if the Greek epistles were assailed on some *new* ground, or as if Mr. Cureton had desired to uphold something dogmatically objectionable. The spirit which charged *Eutychian heresy* on the Syriac recension still shews itself in various ways.

We are glad to find that the appearance of Dr. Lipsius's paper had immediately the effect of again directing attention to that valuable volume,—Mr. Cureton's *Corpus Ignatianum*: we believe that few of those who are unacquainted with that work form a just idea of its important contents, and how fully they may there find not only the *history* of the Ignatian questions up to 1849, but also *all* that has ever been known under the name of Ignatius, or that has been put forth as his.

To the counter-arguments of others since the appearance of that volume Mr. Cureton has not replied; this he has not regarded as his business, and thus it is all the more necessary to point out what has been written by Dr. Lipsius as upholding the same views.

The advocates of seven Greek epistles rely on the testimony of Eusebius, who mentions such letters of Ignatius by name; and this is sufficient as shewing that such a collection was current in the fourth century. This has been *assumed* to prove the genuineness of the Greek epistles in their shorter form; but this is assuming a great deal, for *no such collection* has come down to us; and the process of identification has been one of *selection* and arrangement.

Thus we have no *proof* that the seven epistles named by Eusebius were the same in form or contents as those which

have since then obtained; and granting that he was correct as to such a collection of seven being then current, this, in the absence of diplomatic transmission is by no means conclusive of Ignatian authorship,^b and is wholly different from what may be advanced in favour of the three as published by Mr. Cureton.

T.

THE SEPTUAGINT VERSION.

PART II.

SECT. I.—*Corruptions by the Jews.*

WE have seen in the preceding section,^c that the Septuagint Version was originally made for the use of those Jews who spoke the Greek language; and to the majority of them it was the only medium by which they could have access to the writings of the Old Testament. That many of them regarded it originally with a superstitious veneration, is evident from the histories which they have invented with regard to its origin. How far they attempted to elevate its authority above that of the Hebrew text does not appear; but it seems probable, that the later Jews were not so scrupulous with regard to admitting alterations into it as they were with regard to the Hebrew text; because they are expressly charged by Justin with corrupting it, in order that they might prevent the application of the prophecies to our Saviour. It is important that we should examine into the truth of this charge, because it will not only elucidate the question of the corruption of the Septuagint text, but will also furnish evidence of a very valuable character with regard to the authority which was attributed by the Jews to the Septuagint Version.

The following passages afford instances of some of the most important corruptions which have been introduced by the Jews into the Septuagint Version.

I.—Genesis xlix. 10. "*Εως αν ελθη τα αποκειμενα αυτω.*" E. V. "The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet, *until Shiloh come,*" עַד שֶׁיָּבֹא שִׁילֹה. The corruption of this passage by the Jews was objected against them

^b See as to Eusebius as a witness respecting literary facts, the Rev. Fenton J. A. Hort, in the *Journal of Philology*, June, 1856; pp. 169—171.

^c Vol. ii., p. 308.

by Justin Martyr, who having quoted the passage as it doubtless existed in his time, ἕως ἂν ἔλθῃ ᾧ ἀπόκειται, proceeds to charge the Jews with having corrupted it; δυνατὸν δὲ ἦν μοι, ὦ ἄνδρες, μάχεσθαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς περὶ τῆς λέξεως, ἣν ὑμεῖς ἐξηγείσθε, λέγοντες εἰρῆσθαι, ἕως ἂν ἔλθῃ τὰ ἀποκείμενα αὐτῷ. Ἐπειδὴ οὐχ οὕτως ἐξηγήσαντο οἱ ἐβδομήκοντα, ἀλλ' ἕως ἂν ἔλθῃ ᾧ ἀπόκειται.^a And with this translation agrees Onkelos, *Messias, cujus est regnum*; and so also the Jerusalem Targum.—Aquila, ᾧ ἀπόκειται; Syr., *cujus illud est*; and R. S. Jarchi follows the translation of the Targum of Onkelos.^b It is not connected with the present enquiry to discuss the preference which is due to these different interpretations; but it is an important fact, that the passage is applied not only in the Targums, but also by Jewish and Christian commentators, to the Messiah.

II.—Is. xxv. 8. Κατέπιεν ὁ θάνατος ἰσχύσας. כָּטַף מוֹת בְּנִצָּחַן; E. V., *he shall swallow up death in victory*; Chald., כְּתִיב מוֹת בְּנִצָּחַן, *oblivioni tradetur mors in æternum*; Aquila, καταποντίσει τὸν θάνατον εἰς νίκος; Symmachus, κατεπόθη ὁ θάνατος εἰς νίκος; and the Syriac, retaining a double rendering, *et absorptus est mors per victoriam in sempiternum*; and St. Paul has fixed the interpretation of the passage, and the fulfilment of the prophecy, 1 Cor. xv. 54; τότε γενήσεται ὁ λόγος ὁ γεγραμμένος Κατεπόθη ὁ θάνατος εἰς νίκος. There appears therefore to be strong presumptive evidence that this passage has been corrupted by the Jews in the Septuagint, that they might evade the application of the prophecy to our Saviour.

III.—Isa. xlii. 1. Ἰακώβ ὁ παῖς μου, ἀντιλήψομαι αὐτοῦ Ἰσραὴλ ὁ ἐκλεκτός μου, προσεδέξατο αὐτὸν ἡ ψυχὴ μου. וְיִשְׂרָאֵל יִקְרָא שְׁמִי וְיִשְׂרָאֵל יִקְרָא שְׁמִי; and it is quoted by St. Matthew, xii. 17, Ἰνα πληρωθῇ τὸ ῥηθὲν διὰ Ἡσαίου τοῦ προφητοῦ λέγοντος Ἰδοὺ ὁ παῖς μου, ὃν ἠρετисα ἀγαπητός μου, εἰς ὃν εὐδόκησεν ἡ ψυχὴ μου. The Chaldee supports the present reading of the Hebrew text, and applies the passage to the Messiah, and the Syriac and Vulgate also support the present reading of the Hebrew; and also Theodotion. Eusebius^c remarks on the interpolation of this passage in the LXX.; and it appears to have been quoted by Irenæus in the same manner in which it is now found in the Hebrew text,^d and also by Tertullian.^e We derive these

^a Justin., *Dialog. cum Tryphone Jud.*, p. 348. Ed. 1636.

^b Aquila and Symmachus, ᾧ ἀπόκειται, although there seems to be some doubt about the reading of Aquila; and that attributed to Symmachus is rejected by Montfaucon. Compare *Pearson on the Creed*, art. ii., *ad locum*.

^c *Demonstr. Evang.*, lib. ix., παρὰ τοῖς Ὁ δὲ βέλυσται τὸ τοῦ Ἰακώβ, καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ ὄνομα.

^d Irenæus, lib. iii., c. ii., and Grabe's note *ad locum*.

^e Tertullian, ed. Rigalt., p. 506.

important conclusions from this statement of Eusebius, that this peculiar reading in the Septuagint Version was not found in the Hebrew text in his time, and that at that time it was marked as an interpolation in the Hexapla of Origen.^f

IV.—Hosea xi. 1. "Οτι νήπιος Ἰσραὴλ, καὶ ἐγὼ ἠγάπησα αὐτὸν, καὶ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου μετεκάλεσα τὰ τέκνα αὐτοῦ. The following is the present reading of the Hebrew text יְהוָה יִקְרָא יִשְׂרָאֵל כִּי הָיָה יְהוָה יִקְרָא יִשְׂרָאֵל *when Israel was a child, then I loved him, and called my son out of Egypt*; and in this sense it is quoted by St. Matthew, ii. 15, Ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἐκάλεσα τὸν υἱόν μου. And this reading is supported by Aquila, "Οτι παῖς Ἰσραὴλ, καὶ ἠγάπησα αὐτὸν, καὶ ἐκάλεσα τὸν υἱόν μου ἐξ Αἰγύπτου; and also by Symmachus^g and Theodotion. This is also supported by the Syriac Version, and also by the Vulgate, *Ex Ægypto vocavi filium meum*; and we have also the testimony of Julian the Apostate in support of the present reading of the Hebrew text, who accuses St. Matthew of perverting this passage, and applying to Jesus Christ what had been said by the prophet of the people of Israel.^h Moreover this passage is so explained by the Jewish commentators, R. D. Kimchi, Aben Ezra, and Abarbanel, who all of them in their commentaries on the passage bear testimony to the present reading of the Hebrew text. The origin of this corruption is very obvious,—that it was introduced for the purpose of diverting the application of this prophecy from our Saviour. And this supposition is confirmed by the fact, that the same corruption has been introduced into the Chaldee paraphrase, which translates the passage, מִן מִצְרַיִם יִקְרָא יִשְׂרָאֵל *out of Egypt I called them sons*. Dr. Kennicott thinks that this corruption had its origin between the years 175 and 200; but whether we agree with him in this opinion or not, it is doubtless of very ancient origin.ⁱ

V.—Another remarkable corruption is found in Zech. xi. 13, Καὶ εἶπε Κύριος πρὸς μέ, κάθες αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ χωνευτήριον, καὶ σκέψομαι εἰ δόκιμόν ἐστιν, ὃν τρόπον ἐδοκιμάσθην ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν. Καὶ ἔλαβον τοὺς τριάκοντα ἀργυροῦς, καὶ ἐνέβαλον

^f R. D. Kimchi applies this passage to the Messiah; R. S. Jarchi explains it of Jacob and Israel; Abarbanel, of the prophet himself. But Jarchi does not mention the existence of the words Jacob and Israel in the Hebrew text, and merely asserts that the passage may be so explained.

^g Vid. Origen, Hexapla *ad locum*.

^h "Hunc locum Julianus calumniatur; et dicit, quod de Israele scriptum est Mathæus ad Christum transtulisse, ut simplicitatem eorum qui de gentibus crediderant, illuderet" (Jerom. tom. ii., p. 1311). Compare also tom. iv., p. 190, in which and in other places he defends the present reading of the Hebrew text.

ⁱ Kennicott, *Diss. Gen.*, lxxxiv., 6, who refers in support of his opinion to Origen, tom. ii., pp. 274, 349.

αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸν οἶκον Κυρίου εἰς τὸ χωνευτήριον. The passage in the original is thus translated in the Authorized Version, "And the Lord said unto me, Cast it *to the potter* (צִיִּי) : a goodly price that I was prized at of them. And I took the thirty pieces of silver, and cast them to the potter (צִיִּי) in the house of the Lord :'' and the fulfilment of the prophecy is thus pointed out by St. Matthew, Τότε ἐπληρώθη τὸ ῥηθὲν διὰ [Ἰερεμίου] τοῦ προφήτου λέγοντος, καὶ ἔλαβον τὰ τριάκοντα ἀργύρια, τὴν τιμὴν τοῦ τετιμημένου, ὃν ἐτιμήσαντο ἀπὸ υἱῶν Ἰσραήλ. Καὶ ἔδωκαν αὐτὰ εἰς τὸν ἀγρον τοῦ κεραμέως, καθὰ συνέταξέ μοι Κύριος. With regard to the mode of citation here adopted by St. Matthew, and the reading Ἰερεμίου in the text, these points will be considered afterwards. It is sufficient to observe, that the words which have been thus perverted by the Jews, are found in Zechariah in all the versions ; and the word צִיִּי is used in this sense in four passages of the prophet Jeremiah, xviii. 2, 3, 6, and Lam. iv. 8 ; and that this reading is confirmed by Aquila, who thus translates the passage, Καὶ εἶπε κύριος πρὸς με· ῥίψον αὐτὰ πρὸς τὸν πλάστην . . . καὶ ἔρριψα αὐτὰ ἐν οἴκῳ Κυρίου πρὸς τὸν πλάστην. It is obvious, therefore, that this corruption was introduced into this passage of the Septuagint for the purpose of diverting this prophecy from our Saviour. The Jewish commentators in this passage have adopted another method of evading the application of this prophecy to our Saviour by supposing צִיִּי to be written for צִיִּי the treasurer, following the translation of the Chaldee paraphrase ;^k thus confirming the truth of the supposition, that the Jews were not scrupulous in their exposition of Scripture when it answered their purpose, although they regarded with an almost superstitious reverence the sacred text itself : and this passage affords an instance of this tendency of the Jewish mind ; they would not alter the text, at the same time that in their interpretations of it they neglected no artifices that they might divert the application of the prophecies from our Saviour.

VI.—Zech. xii. 10. Καὶ ἐκχεῶ ἐπὶ τὸν οἶκον Δαβὶδ, καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς κατοικοῦντας Ἱερουσαλὴμ πνεῦμα χάριτος καὶ οἰκτιρμοῦ καὶ ἐπιβλέψονται πρὸς με, αὐθ' ὧν κατωρχήσαντο κ.τ.λ. The original is צִיִּי צִיִּי "they shall look unto me whom they have pierced ;" and the passage is so applied to our Saviour by St. John (xix. 37), and alluded to in the Revelation (i. 7).

The passage is translated in the LXX. as if it had been צִיִּי instead of צִיִּי. But the present reading of the Hebrew text

^k This translation of the Chaldee paraphrase is supported by Rosenmüller *ad locum*, and by Gesenius.

is supported by all the MSS. ; by Aquila, who translates it, *σύν ὧν ἐξεκέντησαν* ; by Symmachus ; by the Syriac and the Vulgate ; by Ignatius, Justin Martyr, and Tertullian. The Chaldee paraphrase exhibits another mode of avoiding the true application of the prophecy : “*Rogabunt à facie meâ, eò quòd translati fuerant* ;” and this exposition is adopted by R. S. Jarchi. But it is important that the present reading of the Hebrew text should be supported by Aquila and Symmachus,—authorities, which in this instance are beyond suspicion,—and by the Jewish commentators, R. D. Kimchi, R. S. Jarchi, and Abarbanel. The explanation which is given by the two last commentators is remarkable. They explain it of the Messiah, the son of Joseph, and of their looking to behold the vengeance which God would inflict upon those nations who were the cause of his death.¹

VII.—Zech. xiii. 7. *Πατάξατε τοὺς ποιμένας, καὶ ἐκσπάσατε τὰ πρόβατα*. The original is, “Awake, O sword, against my shepherd, and against the man that is my fellow : smite the shepherd, and the sheep shall be scattered :” *וְקָם הַחֶבֶד כְּנֹסֶה עַל-רֹעִי וְעַל-אֶחָיו וְהָרַג עֶרְבָבִית וְהָרַג עֶרְבָבִית וְהָרַג עֶרְבָבִית* : which was applied by our Saviour to himself (Matt. xxvi. 31 ; Mark xiv. 27), when having foretold the desertion of his disciples, he added in allusion to this prophecy, *γέγραπται γάρ· Πατάξω τὸν ποιμένα καὶ διασκορπισθήσεται τὰ πρόβατα τῆς ποίμνης* ; in these words not giving a literal translation of the original, but pointing out the fulfilment of the prophecy. The following exhibits the whole of the passage in the LXX. : *‘Ρομφαία, ἐξεγέρθητι ἐπὶ τοὺς ποιμένας μου, καὶ ἐπὶ ἄνδρα πολίτην* (Aquil., *σύμφυλόν*) *μου· πατάξατε τοὺς ποιμένας, καὶ διασκορπισθήσεται τὰ πρόβατα*. It may be alleged in defence of this translation, that the word in the original *וְקָם* may be translated in the plural number ; yet that it ought to be understood in the singular number, is evident from the corresponding clause in the sentence, which is properly translated, *against the man that is my fellow*. And the Chaldee paraphrase, “*Gladie, denudare contra regem* (*ܠܗܝܬܝܢܐܢܐ*), *et contra principem socium ejus, qui sicut ille, qui ei similis*. *Dicit Jova Interfice regem* (*ܠܗܝܬܝܢܐܢܐ*) *et dispergentur principes*.” The Syr. and Vulgate support the received translation of the Hebrew text, and R. D. Kimchi follows R. S. Jarchi in explaining it of the king whom God would set over his people in their captivity. These expositions, however, of the rabbinical commentators, as well as the Chaldee paraphrase, at the same time that they illus-

¹ Consult the valuable notes of Bishop Pearson *On the Creed*, pp. 183, 201. Ed. 1741.

trate the means to which the Jews had recourse that they might explain away the true interpretation of the prophecy, bear testimony to the integrity of the Hebrew text, and against the corruption which has been introduced by the Jews into the Septuagint Version that they might prevent the application of the prophecy to our Saviour. The Alexandrian and other MSS. exhibit the reading τὸν ποιμένα μου; but when we consider the extent to which the Alexandrian and other MSS. have been altered after the text of Origen, it will not affect the reasoning which is founded on this passage, to illustrate the means to which the Jews have had recourse, by the corruption of the Septuagint text, to prevent the application of the prophecies to our Saviour.

The argument which is derived from these passages, with regard to attempts which have been made by the Jews, by these corruptions of the Septuagint text, to prevent the application of these prophecies to our Saviour, is not affected by the consideration, that these charges have been sometimes made against them by the early Christian fathers without foundation. Charges of this description are found in the pages of Justin Martyr,^m but there are great difficulties connected with the passages in which these charges are contained. The examples which have been given in the preceding pages prove, that whatever reverence the Jews may have had for the Septuagint Version before the coming of our Saviour, this reverence was considerably diminished afterwards, when they were hard pressed in argument by their Christian antagonists, which led them to take great liberties with the Septuagint text, which they would not have done at an earlier period. There is however another, and perhaps more copious, source of corruption, which arose from the interpolations and erroneous translations of Christian writers; and to the consideration of these we will next address ourselves.

SECT. II.—*Corruptions by Christians.*

The next description of corruptions which have been introduced into the Septuagint Version, and which it was proposed to consider, are those which have been introduced into it by Christians.

In the consideration of the last division of the subject, we have seen that the Septuagint Version was originally made for

^m Compare (what is said in the present text of Justin) Isa. iii. 10, and Psalm xcvi., lxx., xcv., amongst other places; on which last passage see Dr. Hammond.

the use of the Hellenistic Jews ; and that whatever might have been their previous reverence for this Version in their controversies with Christians, they made no scruple of corrupting it whenever it answered their purpose, in order that they might evade the application of the prophecies to our Saviour. It was also necessarily appealed to by the great body of Christian converts, both those who before their conversion had been accustomed to peruse the Scriptures of the Old Testament in the Septuagint Version, who constituted the great body of converts, as well as those Gentile converts, who, being ignorant of the Hebrew language, were of necessity obliged to have recourse to it. But not only the great body of the Gentile converts, but also most of the early Christian fathers were ignorant of the Hebrew language. It was evidently the case with Justin Martyr, who appealed to the Greek translation, and not to the Hebrew original, in his controversy with Trypho ; which he certainly would not have done had he been acquainted with the original language. It is certain that Tertullian was not at all, or at least very imperfectly, acquainted with the Hebrew language ; and even Origen is supposed not to have learned it till a late period of his life, after he had published his Tetrapla, and when he found it necessary in order that he might qualify himself for his last great work—the Hexapla, in which he purposed to institute a comparison between the Greek translation and the original Hebrew. That the Septuagint Version, therefore, should have been highly esteemed both by Jews and Christians, is not surprising. But though some of them entertained inordinate opinions respecting it, there is no reason to suppose that these opinions were universal, or that they amounted to that blind feeling of veneration which has been attributed to them by later writers. They probably regarded it with the respect which they felt to be due to it as a most ancient version, and as containing for the most part a faithful translation of the original text ; and their sentiments respecting it were probably the same with those which are entertained by persons, who are unable to have access to the original texts, to our version—a reverence which they believe to be due to it, as conveying to them in their own tongue the sacred records of inspiration.

The corruptions which have been introduced by Jews and Christians into the Septuagint text are in themselves a proof that it was not regarded by them with the same degree of reverence with the original ; and with regard to Christians, in the New Testament they knew that they had a text which was inspired, as having proceeded from the apostles and disciples of our Lord ; and therefore in passages which were quoted in the

New Testament, it is probable that many of them would substitute in their MSS. the inspired text of the New Testament. This would be a very fertile source of interpolation in the Septuagint text.ⁿ

2. Another source of interpolation in the Septuagint text arose from parallel passages from the New Testament, which were originally inserted in the margin, finding their way into the text. It is probable that many persons would in their MSS. place the parallel passages from the New Testament in the margin, and these passages found their way into the text, and gradually formed a part of it. Some of these interpolations are found in the Book of Proverbs: for instance, in chap. iii. 34, where we find a passage inserted from James iv. 6, 1 Peter v. 5, *Κύριος ὑπερηφάνους ἀντιτάσσεται ταπεινοῖς δὲ δίδωσι χάριν*, which passage was evidently inserted in the margin as a gloss. It is now found in the text, and, what is remarkable, is supported by all the manuscripts. Another instance is found in chap. xi. 31, where there is inserted a passage from 1 Peter iv. 18, *Ἐἰ μὲν ὁ δίκαιος μολὶς σώζεται, ὁ ἀσεβὴς καὶ ἁμαρτωλὸς ποῦ φανεῖται*; in which passage the interpolation has usurped the place of the original text.^o These passages afford instances of the interpolations of the Septuagint text from this source. Examples might be multiplied to a great extent.

3. There is another description of interpolations in the Septuagint Version which shews the influence of Christian copyists, namely, those Scholia which have been inserted by them in different places, and which prove that they were not scrupulous in the liberties which they took with the manuscripts.

(1.) Of this mode of interpolation an example is found in the conclusion of the Book of Job, chap. xlii. 17, *καὶ ἐτελεύτησεν Ἰὼβ πρεσβύτερος καὶ πλήρης ἡμερῶν* [*γέραπται δὲ αὐτὸν πάλιν ἀναστήσεται, μεθ' ὧν ὁ κύριος ἀνίστησιν*]; a remark which, as Archbishop Usher observes, probably arose from the comparison of Job xix. 25—27, with Matt. xxvii. 52, 53.^p

The Hebrew text is here supported by Aquila and Symmachus, though the MSS. of Theodotion agree with the present text of the Septuagint.

ⁿ An illustration of this mode of interpolation may be found in Exod. xxi. 14, and the following verses, as compared with Matt. xv. 4, where the original translation of the LXX. appears to have been *θανάτῳ θανατόυσθω*, which appears to have been altered in many MSS. to *θανάτῳ τελευτάτω*. See various readings connected with this passage in Holmes's *Septuagint*.

^o The Septuagint text of Isaiah liii. 4, affords a similar instance of corruption, though in this instance it is not derived from the New Testament. Compare Matt. viii. 17; see also KenNICOTT, *Diss.* lxxvi.

^p Usher, *LXX. Interpretum Synt.*, p. 46.

(2.) There is also another Scholium on Psalm xciv. (LXX., xciv.), 10, which proposes a deviation from the Septuagint text, for the purpose of making it conformable to the New Testament; *δεῖ ἀναγινώσκειν ἐδοκίσάν με, καὶ εἶδον τὰ ἔργα μου τεσσαράκοντα ἔτη· εἶτα ἐπιφέρειν, ὡς ἀπὸ ἄλλης ἀρχῆς, διὸ προσώχθισά, κ.τ.λ.*

Remarks, like these, which are found interspersed in many places in the manuscripts of the Septuagint Version, prove that the conformity of the language of the Septuagint to the New Testament was a thing which the Christian scribes and copyists continually kept in view; and it is not likely that they would be scrupulous about introducing these alterations whenever they had it in their power.

There is also another description of interpolations, of which it may be useful to produce some instances.

I. *Corruption of the Septuagint Version of Gen. xlv. 27, from Acts vii. 4.*

In Gen. xlv. 26, 27, Moses, having enumerated the twelve patriarchs and their children, concludes the enumeration with the following words: "All the souls that came with Jacob into Egypt which came out of Jacob, besides Jacob's sons' wives, all the souls were *threescore and six* (ὥς πρὸς ὥς ἑξήκοντα). And the sons of Joseph which were born to him in Egypt were two souls. All the souls of the house of Jacob which came into Egypt were *threescore and ten* (πρὸς πρὸς)." This account of the numbers is confirmed by Deut. x. 22, and Exod. i. 5. The way in which these numbers are accounted for, may be seen by consulting the commentators. In Acts vii. 14, Stephen, apparently alluding to Gen. xlv. 27, says, Ἀποστείλας δὲ Ἰωσήφ μετεκαλέσατο τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ Ἰακώβ, καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν συγγένειαν αὐτοῦ ἐν ψύχαῖς ἐβδόμηκοντα πέντε, with which the LXX. agree in Gen. xlv. 27, and Exod. i. 5.

Now we may observe, that the reading of the Hebrew text both in Gen. xlv. 27, and Exod. i. 5, is supported by the Sam., Syr., Chald., Vulg., and in Deut. x. 22, not only by these same authorities, but also by the LXX., according to the Vatican text, though Codd. Coisl., as well as the Alexandrian MS., add πέντε, and one of them in a different hand.^g It is supported also by the testimony of Josephus,^r and we have the testimony of Jerome, that in his time the Septuagint Version agreed with the present reading of the Hebrew text; and to these testimonies may be added the agreement of all the Hebrew MSS. The

^g See the various readings in Holmes's *Septuagint*.

^r Joseph., *Antiq.*, lib. ii., cap. vii. 4, 5. See also the arguments in support of the present reading of the Hebrew text, which are given by Lightfoot, *Hor. Hebr.*, on Acts vii. 14, and Luke iii. 36.

present reading of the Hebrew text is supported on grounds which cannot be shaken; while the Septuagint Version, from the evidence of the MSS. which have been collated by Dr. Holmes, appears to have suffered from various interpolations by Christian scribes, in their endeavours to reconcile the supposed discrepancies between the Hebrew text and the New Testament.

II.—Psalm xiv. (LXX. xiii.) 2, 3. Πάντες ἐξέκλιναν, ἅμα ἠχρειώθησαν, οὐκ ἔστι ποιῶν χρηστότητα, οὐκ ἔστιν εἰς ἑνός [τάφος ἀνεωγμένος ὁ λάρηγξ αὐτῶν, ταῖς γλώσσαις αὐτῶν ἐδόλοῦσαν, ὡς ἀσπίδων ὑπὸ τὰ χεῖλη αὐτῶν ὧν τὸ στόμα ἀρᾶς καὶ πικρίας γέμει, ὅξεῖς οἱ πόδες αὐτῶν ἐκχέαι αἷμα· σύντριμμα καὶ ταλαιπωρία ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς αὐτῶν, καὶ ὁδὸν εἰρήνης οὐκ ἔγνωσαν οὐκ ἔστι φόβος Θεοῦ ἀπέναντι τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτῶν]. The passage enclosed within the brackets is not found in the Hebrew text, but it is found entire in Rom. iii. 10, being taken from different passages in the Old Testament; viz., Psalm v. 9; cxl. 2; x. 7; Prov. i. 16; Isa. lix. 7, 8; Psalm xxxvi. 1; and in a manner which shews that the apostle was intent rather upon giving in his own language the spirit and meaning of these passages than an accurate translation of them. But though it is found in the margin of the Vatican MS., it is not found at all in the Alexandrian MS. It is not found in the Chald. and Syr., nor in the commentaries of Arnobius, Chrysostom, Theodoret, and Euthymius. It is found only in one Hebrew MS., No. 649, of Kennicott, which he describes as having been written in the latter part of the fourteenth century, and it is absent from ninety-five MSS. of the LXX., which have been collated by Dr. Holmes, and it is found neither in Psalm liii., which agrees to the end of this passage with Psalm xiv., nor in the LXX. version of that Psalm: yet upon this slender evidence he brings forward this passage of the LXX. as affording proof of the corruption of the Hebrew text.* A full account of the opinions relative to this passage may be found in Wolf. *Cur. Phil. ad Rom.* iii. 10, and in Rosenmüller's Commentary on Psalm xiv. 3.

On the grounds above stated it seems clear that the passage in the LXX. was interpolated in the Psalms from the New Testament; a supposition which is fully borne out by previous examples. Indeed, if we could conceive a passage of this extent to have been lost in all the Hebrew MSS., we could not be sure of the integrity of any portion of the Hebrew text.

III.—Another instance of interpolation occurs in Deut. xxxii. 43 :—

* Kennicott, *Diss. Gen.*, 84, 9.

[εὐφράνθητε οὐρανοὶ ἀμὰ αὐτῷ, καὶ προσκυνητάτωσαν αὐτῷ
 πάντες ἄγγελοι Θεοῦ]
 εὐφράνθητε ἔθνη μετὰ τῶν λαῶν αὐτοῦ
 [καὶ ἐνισχυσάτωσαν αὐτῷ πάντες υἱοὶ Θεοῦ]
 ὅτι τὸ αἷμα τῶν υἱῶν αὐτοῦ ἐκδικᾶται,
 κ. τ. λ.

The passage in the original is as follows :—

וְיִגְדְּלוּ עַם
 יְהוָה יְהוָה יְהוָה

and it is literally translated in the English version as follows :—

“ Rejoice, O ye nations, with his people :
 For he will avenge the blood of his servants :”

which is supported by all the existing Hebrew MSS. by the Chald., Sam., Syr., Vulg. ; nor are the interpolations of the LXX. countenanced by any authority whatever, though they are found with some variations in all the existing MSS. of the LXX. Version.¹ There is, therefore, no ground of support for the opinion, that the passage in Heb. i. 6, had ever any existence in the Hebrew text of this passage of the book of Deuteronomy. The words are found in Psalm xcvi. 7.”

But the original existence of these words in the Hebrew text is maintained by Mill, Capellus, and Whiston.² Dr. Henry Owen supposes that they were expunged by the Jews from the Hebrew text, because they had been applied by St. Paul to our Saviour ;³ and Dr. Allix, though he does not absolutely maintain that they ever had a place in the Hebrew text, yet supposes that their existence in the Septuagint Version was of a very early date ; and therefore St. Paul made no difficulty to quote words which are found only in the LXX Version, because they contained things conformable to the ancient sentiments of the Jews : and following the genius and doctrine prevailing in his nation, he refers these words to the second appearance of the Messiah, when all the angels of God shall pay him adoration.⁴ These opinions are not justified on any sound principles of criticism, and, as Dr. Hammond has observed in his commentary on Psalm xcvi. 7, “ as for προσκυνησάτωσαν αὐτῷ πάντες ἄγγελοι Θεοῦ, let all the angels of God worship him, it is so far from

¹ See the various readings in Holmes's *Septuagint*.

² See Bishop Horsley's Sermon on this text.

³ Mill, *Proleg. ad N. T.*; Capellus, *Critica Sacra*, p. 698. See also Bishop Patrick on Deut. xxxii. 43.

⁴ *Enquiry into the present state of the Septuagint Version*, p. 85.

⁵ Allix, *Judgment of the Jewish Church*, p. 45. Ed. 1821.

having the least affinity with the words in the Hebrew, that it is in no way probable that it was in the original copies of the Greek, but only by some scribe cast into the margin from this Psalm, it being certain that none of those ancient translators that do use to follow the LXX., do follow it in this. This consideration, therefore, will render it very unreasonable to fetch those words, which the apostle citeth out of the Scripture, from this place of Deuteronomy, where the original text hath nothing like it, and which the Hebrews, to whom this epistle was written, did know was not to be found in the Hebrew, when this text in the Psalm in the Hebrew, as well as Greek, did so readily afford it."

These arguments, therefore, seem to give satisfactory proof that this passage has been interpolated into the Septuagint text of Deut. xxxii. 43; not one of the lines which are now found in it, except the third (and the last), having the least connexion with the subject of the hymn, or are found in the MSS. of the Hebrew text, or supported by those versions which in these cases are entitled to our regard.

But it may be argued in defence of the present reading of the Septuagint Version, and against the integrity of the Hebrew text, that this passage is found in the present text of Justin Martyr in exact agreement with the present reading of the LXX.^a It may, however, be observed, that the passage itself in Justin bears evident marks of interpolation; that the only passage in the present text of the Septuagint Version which is in any way connected with Justin's argument, is that which is also found in the Hebrew text, *εὐφράνθητε ἔθνη μετὰ τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ*; and that he afterwards argues upon this passage without making any reference to the other passages, which are found in the present text of the LXX. The internal evidence against the original existence of the disputed passage in the text of Justin appears to be very conclusive: and the fact itself is important, because it appears to confirm the suspicion which is grounded on other similar passages in the fathers, that the present text of the Greek fathers has (in many instances) been interpolated from the corrupted text of the Septuagint Version.

IV.—Another instance of this species of interpolation is found in the Septuagint Version of Hosea xiii. 14:—

"I will ransom them from the power of the grave,
I will redeem them from death:
O death, I will be thy plagues;

^a Justin Martyr, *Dialog. cum Tryph. Jud.*, p. 559. Ed. 1636.

O grave, I will be thy destruction :

Repentance shall be hid from mine eyes :''

where the third and fourth lines are thus found in the Hebrew,

מִן־יָדְךָ יִתְּנֵנִי
:לְיָדְךָ יִתְּנֵנִי

and the passage is thus translated in the LXX. : Ἐκ χειρὸς ἄδου
ρύσομαι, καὶ ἐκ θανάτου λυτρώσομαι αὐτούς. Ποῦ ἡ δίκη
σου, θάνατε; ποῦ τὸ κέντρον σου, ᾧ δὴ; παράκλησις
κέκρυπται ἐκ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν μου; where the words ποῦ ἡ δίκη
σου, κ.τ.λ., appear to be borrowed from 1 Cor. xv. 55, except
that δίκη is substituted for νίκη in the passage of St. Paul. It
has been supposed by L. Capellus and others, that the original
reading of the Hebrew text was תָּנָה, and not יָתָנָה; and by others,
amongst whom is Dr. Pocock, that יָתָנָה ought to be translated
where;^b which translation is supported by the LXX., Syr.,
Chald., and some of the later rabbinical commentators, and by
the doubtful authority of its signification in ver. 10. The frag-
ment of Symmachus, which has been preserved, ἔσομαι πλήγη
σου, appears to support the present reading of the Hebrew text;
and Jerome distinctly informs us what was the reading of the
Hebrew text in his time, and the sense in which he understood
it. For he speaks of the triumphant exclamation of the apostle
as the apostle's expression of his own sentiments arising in his
mind upon his meditation within himself on the prophet's words :
"Unde et Apostolus Paulus, interfectâ morte, ad quam per
Osee sermo propheticus loquebatur, *Ero mors tua, O mors, ero
morsus, tuus, inferne*, loquitur ad eam, *Ubi est, mors, contentio
tua? Ubi est, mors, stimulus tuus?*"^c The same is the opinion
of Calvin;^d and also of Bishop Horsley, who in his note on this
passage of Hosea, thus, after observing that most of the diffi-
culties in the interpretation of this passage have arisen from a
desire to reduce the meaning of it to an exact conformity with
the Hebrew text, expresses himself:—"We are not to assume
that the apostle cites a particular passage, and then to conclude
that the apostle's citation gives the only true sense of the pro-
phet's words, which it is our bounden duty, by all contrivances
and exploits of criticism, to bring out of them. We should first
inquire, whether he cites or no; and if it should appear that he

^b Pocock, Commentary on Hosea, *Notæ Miscellaneæ ad Portam Mosis*, cap. iv., p. 153; Works, vol. i. Compare also Rosenmüller *ad locum*.

^c See Jerome, quoted by Rosenmüller *ad locum*.

^d Calvin, *Prælectiones in duodecim prophetas, quos vocant minores*, p. 165. Genev. 1559.

cites, it might still be reasonable to inquire, *whether the general meaning of the prophecy might not be sufficient for his purpose*, or with what degree of accuracy it might be necessary to his argument that he should represent the prophet's words.

“Now upon the most mature consideration of the matter, I am persuaded that the apostle's triumphant exclamation, ‘*O death, where is thy sting! O grave, where is thy victory!*’ is an *allusion* indeed to this text of Hosea; an *indirect allusion*, but *no citation of it*. The prophecy which the apostle cites as one which would receive its completion in the general resurrection at the last day, as ‘a saying that is written, which shall then be brought to pass;’ this prophecy is written in Isa. xxv. 8, and nowhere else. And it may be useful to observe, that he cites it not according to the version of the LXX. He translates the Hebrew text verbatim in contradiction to [the present text of] the version of the LXX. For [the present text of] the version of the LXX. is so wretchedly and abominably corrupt, that the sense it gives is exactly the reverse of the sense of the Hebrew text.”^e

When we, therefore, consider the present state of the Septuagint translation of this passage, we must regard it as affording another instance of its interpolation from the New Testament, for the Hebrew text in Hosea xiii. 14, can by no process of legitimate construction be made to bear the translation which is here given to it. As Bishop Horsley has justly observed, the present text of the New Testament contains an allusion to this passage in Hosea, but *no citation of it*. And the apostle in his *allusion* to this passage of Hosea, and his *citation* of that in Isaiah xxv. 8, has afforded us a valuable illustration of the manner in which the sacred writers of the New Testament make their appeals to the prophecies of the Old Testament, sometimes by direct *citation*, sometimes by *allusion*, and sometimes by pointing out in language dictated by the Spirit of God himself, the spiritual purport of the prophecies of the Old Testament.

With regard to the charges which have been founded on the present text of Justin Martyr against the Jews, of having surreptitiously withdrawn passages from the Septuagint, of which the supposed reading in Psalm xcvi. (LXX., xcv.) 10, is one, ‘*Ὁ Κύριος ἐβασίλευσεν [ἀπὸ ξύλου]*’, it may be observed that the original existence of the words *ἀπὸ ξύλου* in the LXX. is opposed by all the best critical authorities,^f and that the same is true

^e Horsley's Notes *ad locum*. Compare above, art. ii.

^f See Dr. Hammond's valuable note on Psalm xcvi. 10.

with regard to the existence of the words charged to have been omitted by the Jews in the other passages.^g In addition to this, the present text of Justin Martyr appears to be very corrupt, and not to justify the charges which have been made against the Jews with respect to these passages.

The examples which have been given of the corruption of the text of the Septuagint Version both by Jews and Christians, afford satisfactory proof of their mode of dealing with this text, and that it was regarded by them both with very different feelings of respect from that with which they regarded the inspired originals; for making every allowance for the liberties which Christian copyists are admitted in many manuscripts to have taken with the text of the New Testament, yet they never amounted to anything like the unsparing mutilations which they made in the Septuagint Version. The copious collations of the MSS. of the Septuagint Version by Dr. Holmes and Mr. Parsons, fully bear out this assertion; and the collations by Dr. Kennicott of the MSS. of the Hebrew text, which do so much honour to the University of Oxford, have done more for the criticism of the Old Testament, and the establishment of the integrity of the Hebrew text, than had been done in all the preceding times in which attention had been directed to this important subject. And although we may differ from Dr. Kennicott with regard to the principles of criticism which he espoused, there can be but one opinion with regard to the services which he has rendered to sacred literature; and the learned and acute observations of Dr. Holmes in the Prolegomena to his edition of the Septuagint, founded on an attentive consideration of the numerous manuscripts which he had collated, are of the greatest value, and throw a light on this important subject which we never before possessed. The examples which have been here given of the corruption of the LXX. text both by Jews and Christians, are but a *specimen* of their mode of dealing with this text. The outline must be filled up by the learned reader for himself; and numerous other instances of interpolation by both, and particularly by Christian copyists, will be found in examining the pages of the Septuagint Version.

But when we consider the general history of the Septuagint text, which has been given in the preceding section,—the extensive errors, which in the opinion of Dr. Holmes had found their way into it before the end of the second century,—the state of corruption in which it was found by Origen, and which led to his great work,—and the corruptions which ultimately

^g See the LXX. Version of Isa. iii. 10; Jer. xi. 19.

sprung from the very nature of Origen's work, in the confusion of the various translations which had been collated with so much care by him,—we must admit that the Septuagint text has been exposed to causes of corruption which are, in a great measure, peculiar to itself. Then there are the various editions of the LXX. which in process of time became confused together, and the manuscripts, which were exposed to the same causes of corruption and interpolation; and all these corrected in the most arbitrary manner, and interpolated with glosses of every description, which increase the difficulty of arriving at any settled text, and thus prevent our fixing upon any single edition as exhibiting anything like an authorized copy of the original text. In addition to this, there are other causes of corruption, arising from the transposition, the omission, the addition, and the mistaking of words, of which last kind of corruption some very remarkable instances have been produced, which increase the difficulty; and the singular fact, that the Vatican and Alexandrian MSS., which though they exhibit *for the most part* two different texts, yet contain traces of having been influenced by different recensions; as is the case with the Vatican MS., which though for the most part it contains the *κοινή* text, yet in the Book of Ecclesiastes exhibits the text of Aquila. These are corruptions of a very singular character, and ought to be taken into account in estimating the real value of the Septuagint Version in the criticism of the Old Testament.

It is needless here to observe, that those learned writers who have allowed the Septuagint Version to sit in judgment on the integrity of the Hebrew text, have never fairly estimated the peculiar causes of corruption to which that text has been subject from the earliest period, or the peculiar protection which has been extended to it from the jealous and superstitious care of the Jews, who have numbered the very verses, words, and even letters, of the sacred books. The dispersion of copies, the recensions of the Eastern and Western Jews, and the jealousy of the Christians, all tended to prevent any extensive corruption of the Hebrew text. All these considerations have been in a great measure lost sight of by those learned writers who, in later ages, have grounded on the Septuagint Version extensive charges of corruption against the Hebrew text; but they ought never to be overlooked in a fair and impartial consideration of the important subject of the criticism of the Old Testament.

But there is another important question relating to this subject, and this relates to the quotations in the New Testament. If we can believe that these were in general taken from the Septuagint Version, or that they exhibit the original style of the

Hebrew text in these passages, they would establish a strong case in favour of the paramount authority of the Septuagint Version, and against the integrity of the Hebrew text. These will be the next subject of our consideration, and we ought to enter upon it in a patient spirit of investigation, never forgetting the claims which the Septuagint Version possesses on us, as probably containing the earliest translation of the sacred original, as the great channel by which the Scriptures of the Old Testament were made known to a great part of the Gentile world before the coming of our Saviour, and exercising a most important influence on the language of the New Testament.

G. P.

OBSERVATIONS ON MATTHEW xxiv., xxv.—ITS ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION.

II.

IN our former paper, Oct. 1855, we shewed how (M)₁ the great prophecy in Matt. xxiv. xxv., resolves itself by the principle of Variations, into two principal portions, (M₁ and M₂), thus:—

$$\begin{aligned} M_1 &= \text{xxiv. 4—36} \\ M_2 &= \text{37—xxv.} \end{aligned}$$

the latter of which was seen to stand apart in its own separate and distinct unity, whatever might be the mode in which it was otherwise to be connected with (M₁).

In now resuming the argument, with a view to the investigation of that earlier part (M₁), we again take for granted the importance and the interest of the subject, and likewise its inherent difficulty. Every practical student of Holy Writ is aware, from his own observation, of the peculiar obscurity and confusedness that seem to prevail in this most solemn discourse of our Divine Lord, and particularly in this part (M₁). Such *Confusedness* in things divine is nothing else, of course, than another form of *Latent Harmony*. But the real nature of that

Harmony, and the facts of truth that compose the apparent Confusedness, are not easy to determine and demonstrate. What, for instance, are the great events, and what the Epochs, in the prophecy? and where, and within what limits are they to be found? and under what categories, and in what relations are they presented there to our faith and understanding? Such, in a general view, is the Problem we desire to solve.

THE QUERY, RESERVED.

The first thing obviously demanding notice here, is the *occasioning Query* in xxiv. 3; and its proper force may seem the first thing to be attended to, in order to the interpretation of the statements in the Reply. That query runs thus: "*Tell us, when shall these things be? and what shall be the sign of thy coming, and of the end of the world*"? By the "these things" is plainly meant the ruin of the temple (and city) of Jerusalem; and the great events enquired about, are these,

Viz. { R. the Ruin;
C. the Coming;
E. the End.

The *Events*, then, are three; but the obviously important question arises, How many *Epochs* do they constitute? So far as the query itself goes, the three events may be three several epochs; or they may be one and the same epoch; or they may be two epochs; and this last number may be in any of three different ways, in that each of the three events may supposably be a different epoch from the other two. Thus, upon the whole, and in one simple view as to the number of the epochs, there are 5 *different hypotheses*, only one of which can be true. Such is the case when the three events are regarded (say) from *our Lord's point of view*, which is the view of truth. And the same thing holds when they are regarded from *the disciples' point of view*, which was probably the popular opinion of the day, and was not necessarily the view of truth. Those two points of view are not necessarily coincident. They may, or they may not be so. And in that uncertainty, the question as to the epochs becomes *more complicated*. For if there are 5 possible hypotheses in the one view, there are equally 5 in the other view; and any one of the 5 in the one case, may combine with any one of the 5 in the other case. So that, upon the whole, if we consider the two views as possibly recognized by our Lord,—(the one for affirmation, and the other for correction, in his reply to the disciples,)—there are in all not less than 25 *different hypotheses* as to the

number of the Epochs; and only one out of the 25 can be true.

The Query, then, has its own difficulties; and it does not contain sufficient elements for its own interpretation. Accordingly, we cannot take it, in the first instance, as a direct key to the Prophecy. We could not so take it, even if we might be fully certified beforehand that no fourth great event were introduced here or there in the Reply, over and above the three specified in the Query.

It may be surmised, indeed, that *St. Mark*, acting as an interpreter, eliminates one, if not two of the three Events,—in that the Query, as recorded by him, is wholly silent about the Coming, and merely hints at the End or *συντέλεια* as implied (if it is implied) in the verb *συντελείσθαι*. And it may similarly be surmised that *St. Luke*, in the query as recorded by him last of all, takes no separate notice of either the Coming or the End. And the inference may thus seem to be suggested, that all the three Events are combined, by inspired interpreters, in the one Epoch of the Ruin. But indeed there is no reasonable ground for certainty in such an inference. The *rationale* of those Variations in the thrice recorded Query,—(if indeed it be one and the same query thrice recorded),—is anything but self-evident. Nor does it appear, with regard either to Mark or Luke, whether the three events are presented to our notice in the interrogatory, from our Lord's proper point of view,—which latter, as we have observed, was not necessarily that of truth.

For these reasons, then, I shall take leave to *reserve* the interpretation of the Query, till we shall have secured some assistance from the Reply. This course may seem, perhaps, at the moment, to be a case of *obscurum per obscurius*. But the *obscurius*, so supposed, has its abundant elements of interpretation, as we shall find presently.

THE DIRECT METHOD, RELINQUISHED.

Leaving the *Query*, then, we proceed to the *Prophecy* itself. But how must we proceed with this divine discourse, difficult as it is, and multifariously interpreted as it has been? The received custom of commentators is to be guided by the order of the verses. We will suppose that usage to be our law; and we will try that method. My investigation in the sequel will have to proceed upon the supposition that this *Direct Method* is impracticable.

In verse 4 the general *Caution* is plain enough in its terms,

whatever difficulty there may, or may not be in its application :
"Take heed that no man deceive you."

Verse 5 is of plainest meaning, cautioning the hearers against a premature anticipation of (C) the Coming ; *"For many shall come in my name, saying I am Christ, and shall deceive many."*

Verse 6 is also plain in cautioning them further against a premature anticipation of some apparently secular catastrophe, which identifies itself naturally enough with (R) the Ruin of Jerusalem,—whatever may be the relation, if any, between (C) and (R) ; *"And ye shall hear (of) wars and rumours of wars, see that ye be not troubled."* But in a moment, and without previous symptom of any high-towering difficulty, we find the progress of honest exposition is brought to a stand-still—when we read as follows : *"For all these things must come to pass, but the end is not yet."* Who will give us a satisfactory interpretation of those simple monosyllabic terms ? We dare not slur them over as unimportant. Piety and reason forbid. To be unfaithful in this little, supposing it little, is to be unfaithful in broader matters. We cannot, then, but reverence that statement of divine truth, and peradventure of merciful warning. Yet it is obscure, ambiguous to our minds, and embarrassing. It stands in the way, like a fortress on a frontier, blocking up the road, and defying our available means of ingress. We have the more need, then, to reconnoitre the ground.

What can be meant there by the *"these things?"* Is it all the things spoken of in the whole prophecy ? or only some of them ? and, if some, which ? Is it the things antecedent ? or the things subsequent ? If things antecedent, is it those in verse 6 ? or in verses 5 and 6 ? or is it all the things in the query ? or more particularly the *"these things"* there ? If it is the things subsequent, is it all such things ? or only some of them ? is it the *"these things"* in 8 ? or in 33 ? or in 34 ? or some other things, and which ? and where ?

Then again, what is meant there by *"the end?"* Is it the end of the *"these things"* there ? and if so, then in which of all the possible and imaginable senses of the said *"these things?"* Or is it *the end* in the query in verse 3 ? or *the end* of the prophetically begun *ὁδὸς* in verse 8 ? Or is it *the end* in 13 ? or in 14 ? Or is it *the end* absolutely of all things ? or some other, and what end ? It would be idle to go on guessing here, as it would be something worse than useless to dogmatize.

We may safely submit that as yet we have no present means of surmounting the complicated difficulties, which are connected with the latter part of verse 6, and which deter us from duly penetrating its force. We are under the necessity of adopt-

ing another tactic than the direct method of approach. We will *revert to that already familiar principle of variations* which has given us (M_1) as a separated portion. My ground of argument will be as follows:—Despairing of any just results from conjecture on the one hand, or from a bewildered deference to conjecturers on the other, I give my hands to *inductive investigation*. Facts and phenomena are the things to be observed; and the great primary fact to be noted, is that *confusedness* of which I spoke, and which claims to be *latent harmony*. I wish to collect the particular facts which make up that apparent confusedness; and the more we gather up such facts, the more we may reasonably hope we shall be advancing toward that ultimate harmony, in which the true interpretation is presumed to rest. We give ourselves, then, first of all, to the elementary work of *analysis*; and in that field the *variations* in the three synoptical records will be found most serviceable. Faith and piety need not shrink from labours of this kind. There is no reason why such a line of investigation may not be pursued as legitimately, and as reverently, as any biblical question of grammar, philology, or translation. I must endeavour, on my own part, to use the utmost possible conciseness in what I have to say; and I would bespeak such collation and thought as may be needful for the comprehending of my argument. I shall raise no startling hypothesis, but will proceed as the phenomena lead us by the hand. Of course, I shall endeavour to guide the phenomena in the order of their appearance.

VARIATIONS IN M_1 .

When (M_1), *i. e.*, Matt. xxiv. 4—36, is compared with the synoptical records of St. Mark and St. Luke, both of these present *many notable variations*, all of which, except those which relate to 9—14, occur in regular order, and may be so represented at one view to the eye, thus:—

Matt. x.	Mark xiii.	Matt. xxiv.	Luke xxi.	Luke xvii.
^	5—8	4—6	8. 9.	
		^	[10]	
		7	10, 11	
		8	^	
17—22	9—13.	9—14	12—19	
^	14—23	15	20	
		^	20	
		16—18	21	
		^	22	
		19	23	
		20	^	
		21—22	23	
		^	24	
		23—25	^	(23)
	^	26. 27	^	23, 24
		28	^	27
	24, 25	29	25, 26.	
	^	30	^	
	26, 27	30	27	
		31	^	
	^	^	28	
		^	[29]	
	28—32	32—35	29—36	
		36	^	

There is no lack here of distinct phenomena ; and all these variations, each and every of them, will be found useful for important objects. The part M. xxiv. 9—14, is thrown together for the reason above noticed, viz., because its verbatim equivalences, in Mark and Luke, do not admit of being given in direct order.

LANDMARKS AND TRIPARTITION.

Among the notable variations particularly represented above, the first is of a striking and suggestive character. I mean the *interlocation* in L. xxi. 10, “*Then said he unto them.*” There is one other like it, in L. xxi. 29, “*And he spake to them a parable.*” Matthew and Mark give no such interruption of the divine prophecy before us; and St. Luke presents no third instance. In those two places, the latest of the three synoptical Evangelists, writing as an intelligent and inspired narrator, interrupts the flow of our Lord’s statements. He does this, we doubt not, in a manner conformable to our Lord’s oral utterance. Those two interlocations make two breaks in the discourse, such as we cannot reasonably disregard. They stand out like two great *landmarks* in a country to be explored. The latter one, as introducing a parable with a double subject, is of a nature to speak for itself. The former one, which is also the first of the notable variations, commends itself, not unreasonably, to the attentive notice of observers as a phenomenon not without significance. I accept them both, on trial, if not with absolute certainty as to their character, yet tentatively as to their use:—

Luke xxi. 8, 9.		
—[<i>Then said he unto them</i>]—		
10—28.		
—[<i>And he spake to them a parable.</i>]—		
29, etc.		

Transferring those interlocations to St. Matthew’s record, we thus divide (M_1) into three portions :^a—

M_1	=	{	5. 6.	=	ϕ_1
			7—31	=	β
			32—36	=	ϕ_2

^a In the above representation of M_1 5—36, the verse 4 is temporarily omitted,—for this reason,—because the connexion which the caution in 4 maintains with the “*for*” in 5, is that which apparently it must also maintain with the “*for*” in 7. And the presumed analogy of the two cases suggests that while verse 4 is not formally attached to 7, it should not be monopolized by 5. The exegetical use of verse 4 will receive due attention in the sequel.

Of those three component portions, the central one (β) is the chief bulk of the whole; and it is fringed, as it were, by the two minor portions (ϕ_1) and (ϕ_2); of which, (ϕ_1) contains that unknown element (tt), the "*these things*" in verse 6,—while (ϕ_2) likewise contains a similarly obscure element, the (tt) in verses 33, 34. All this is very convenient for us; in that we may reserve the separated, and at present impracticable, portion (ϕ_1),—as also the other short but problematical portion (ϕ_2),—and we can direct our attention to the separated portion (β), which contains no such embarrassing element as a pronoun without an obvious antecedent.

METHOD FOR THE SEQUEL.

Our course will be now as follows. We will *first* analyze (β), and observe the *confusedness* of its subjects. We will then *analyze* (ϕ_2) and (ϕ_1) in order, and observe the *confusedness* of the subjects in them, and in the whole of (M_1); which being done, we shall be in a position to investigate, elicit, and demonstrate the several and particular elements of that *latent harmony* in which the true interpretation is presumed to rest.

β . IN THREE PARTS.

On comparing *Matthew* with *Mark*, we find (as I observed in my former paper), that the latter record gives the whole M_1 xxiv. 1—8, and in it the part 7, 8, *verbatim*,—which term we continue to use as it will apply. With verse 8 the verbatim agreement ceases for a while; and 9—14 is given by *Mark* not verbatim, but in *extended equivalence* of a less exact kind. With verse 14 the agreement by less exact equivalence ceases; and the remainder of M_1 gives *verbatim* the whole of what corresponds to it in *Mark*.

Matt. xxiv.	Mark xiii.	
1—8	1—8	Verbatim.
9—14	9—13	Equivalence.
15, etc.	14, etc.	Verbatim.

Thus 9—14 is separated off in (β). I note the phenomenon here without being anxious to account for its existence;—

β	=	7, 8
		9—14
		15—31

This separateness of 9—14 is made more observable by another notable circumstance, in that its equivalent in Mark is given *verbatim* in quite *another* place of Matthew, viz., x. 17—22, where the whole of it stands apart from the substance as well as from the position of all the rest of Mark xiii. So the equivalent (M₁) 9—14 will stand apart from all the rest in (M₁) :

Matt. xxiv.	Mark xiii.	Matt. x.
7, 8		^
9—14	9—13	17—22
15—31		^

We have already observed another peculiarity distinguishing 9—14, in that the verbatim agreements which it partially maintains with its equivalents in Mark and Luke, cannot be synoptically represented in succession without changing the order of the passages; a circumstance not found in the rest of (M₁). The more particular uses of the varied order will present themselves in the sequel.

β . IN FOUR PARTS.

That comparatively large portion 15—31 does not revolt from subdivision. Compare the records :—

Matt. xxiv.	Mark xiii.	Luke xxi.
15—22	14—20	20—24
23 24 25	21—23	^
26 27 28	^	
29, etc.	24, etc.	

In the above view, we perceive that Luke wholly omits six consecutive verses: of which Mark omits the last three. Those two *gaps* may well direct our attention to the statements before and after;—say, to the *anterior* passage in Luke xxi. 20—24, and to the *posterior* one in Mark xiii. 24. The former speaks expressly of the woes of “*Jerusalem*,” which it thereby fixes as the general sense of the corresponding passages, Mark xiii. 14, etc., and Matt. xxiv. 15, etc. The gap in Mark, made more observable by the more extended one in Luke, adds prominence to those words immediately subsequent, and never to be forgotten, “*But in those days, after that tribulation.*”

Does any one doubt here as to the identity of the tribulation so pointed out, that it is the very same tribulation, great and unparalleled, which is prophetically described in Mark xiii. 14—20; as also in its verbatim equivalent, Matt. (xxiv. 15—22)? It is *not said* in Mark, *that in those days* DURING *that tribulation*. Neither is it said, *on the instant* when Jerusalem is destroyed. Days not numbered—be they more, or be they fewer—must pass over desolated Jerusalem; and *in those days, AFTER that tribulation*—at some subsequent period, whether near or remote—“*the sun shall be darkened*,” etc., as in Mark xiii. 24.

The same thing is to be seen in Matt. xxiv. 29, where it is likewise said that *the sun shall indeed be darkened*, etc., but *not till after* that great woe upon Jerusalem. The εὐθέως μετὰ in Matthew is in fullest accord with St. Mark’s record. *Straightway*, speedily, quickly, that darkening of the sun must be, but *not till after* the tribulation of those days specified in Matt. xxiv. 22. If we are compelled to read the word “*immediately*,” the printer’s requisite comma, and the reader’s corresponding pause in utterance, need not be omitted. “*Immediately, AFTER the tribulation of those days*, the sun shall be darkened,” etc.

There is a clear difference of times here,—be it less, or be it greater. That difference of times is a difference of periods; and a new paragraph stands out at M₁ xxiv. 29. Corroborative evidence of the fact will develop itself as we go on. At present we view β as standing in *four portions* for further notice, thus:—

β	=	{	7, 8
			9—14
			15—28
			29—31

Concerning which four portions, we proceed to shew that they claim to stand in β as four several and *distinct unities*,

not further to be subdivided. We will consider them, with a view to that result, in the reverse order.

β IN FOUR UNITIES.

[I.] Verse 29 is followed by 30, with its “*and then*” twice repeated. “*And then* shall appear the sign of the Son of Man in heaven; *and then* shall all the tribes of the earth mourn.” Mark transfers that connecting formula to his verbatim equivalents for the two remaining statements in the two verses 30 and 31. Evidently, the portion 29—31 coheres together in unity.

[II.] In 15—28 the verse 15 coheres plainly with 16, and so with 16—22. And as 16 with its “*then*” attaches itself to the “*when*” of verse 15, so does 23 with its “*then*” attach itself to the “*when*” in 15. And the two “*thens*” accord well together; “*then* they which be in Judea—let them flee into the mountains; *then* if any say unto you, Lo, here is Christ, or there,—believe it not;” the abominably desanctified city,—no longer the vision of peace, Jerusalem,—she and the false Christs must be alike unattractive to the disciples. Further; with 23 are united the verses 24, 25, 26. Thus the whole 15—26 coheres together. Also the statements in 26, 27, are obviously connected in sense; and Luke makes them such in their verbatim equivalent, L. xvii. 23, 24. And while thus the verse 27, with its hook-like “*for*,” is absorbed into the whole 15—27, the contiguous verse 28, with its hook-like “*for*,” has no alternative but to follow the example, in whatever precise way and sense. Thus the whole 15—28 is a distinct and coherent unity, not to be subdivided. [The verse 28 will be provided with a closer interpretation in the sequel.]

[III.] The unity of the portion 9—14 may be illustrated by tabulating its variations :—

Matt.	Mark
9	9
10	12, 13
11, 12	^
13	13 ₂
14 ₁	10
^	11
14 ₂	^

When we take Matt. 9—14 in direct order, and collate it accurately with its equivalent in Mark 9—13, the latter resolves itself, by equivalences and omissions, into certain disconnected sub-portions,—the disconnexion of which, when transferred with the omissions to Matt. 9—14, resolves that passage into six sub-portions or elements, as is above seen. Those separated elements, or some of them, Mark combines in a new order, illustrative of their bearings in Matthew :—

Mark	Matt.
9	9
10	14 ₁
11	^
12, 13 ₁	10
13 ₂	13
^	11, 12
^	14 ₂

Thus, while Mark's 9, 10, are directly connected verses in position and sense,—to the effect that notwithstanding those persecutions from without, the Gospel must be published among all nations,—so Matthew's 9, 14, being the equivalent verses, are connected in sense. And while Mark's 12, 13, are directly connected in position and sense, so Matthew's 10, 13, being the equivalent verses, are connected in sense (the haters in each case being those in the household), so as that notwithstanding those persecutions from within, he that finally endures shall be saved. Thus the two verses, Matt. 10, 9, are connected with the two, 13, 14, respectively. And the two 9, 10, are plainly connected together by position and sense, as 13, 14, also are with each other. Therefore the part 9, 10, is connected with the part 13, 14. But also those two connected parts enclose the verses 11, 12, which themselves are in plain connexion with one another, while they also accord in sense with the other verses, and maintain a self-evident connexion with them. Therefore, the whole 9—14 stands together in its proper unity, as a paragraph, one and indivisible,—the separated and concluding clause, with *the end*, in (14₂), being the ultimate object of the whole.

If we go further into the inner sense, the same result presents itself. The verse 13, in *ὑπομείνας*, speaks by clearest implication of *ὑπομονή*, the *ὑπομονή της ἐλπίδος*, so called in 1 Thess. i. 3. Now as simply *ὑπομονή*, it bears upon the tribu-

lations in 9, 10; and as ἐλπίδος, it bears essentially upon faith and charity, and particularly upon those antagonistics of faith and love which are specified respectively in 11, 12. Thus the whole 9—13 coheres together in the unity of that great triad—Faith, Hope, and Charity, which we perceive was not first excogitated by an apostle, except as Christ was the Apostle of the Father. And the concluding verse 14, with the Gospel of that kingdom which is in Faith and Love, falls in with the same unity. The sense is clear. Notwithstanding those tribulations from without and from within, in 9 and 10 respectively; and notwithstanding those temptations from without and from within, in 11 and 12, respectively; these two things shall follow;—the Patience of Hope shall bring salvation; and the Gospel of the Kingdom shall, and will, and must be preached, in all the world, for a witness to all nations; and then *the end*, whatever it may be, ἥξει, will be here.

[IV.] As regards 7, 8, the manifest connexion of these two verses needs no argument.—We gather, then, that those four portions into which (β) was divided as above, stand as *four distinct unities*, separate from one another, and not to be further subdivided:—

β	=	{	7, 8
			9—14
			15—28
			29—31

β. ITS SUBJECTS AND CONFUSEDNESS.

The proper *subjects* of those distinct portions are evident on observation.

(1st.) We have seen how the portion 15—28 speaks distinctly and *positively* in the part 15—22 of (R) *the ruin of Jerusalem*, as a thing *to be* at the given period. Afterwards (in 23, and in the whole 23—27), it speaks *negatively* of another event (C) *the coming*, or παρουσία, as a thing emphatically *not to be* at that given period. We observe distinctly, that it is not the actual coming, but the really *non-coming*, that is illustrated and affirmed in 23—27, i. e., in the distinct portion 15—28. The proper and positive subject of this portion is (R) *the ruins*, in the period of its fulfilment.

(2nd.) In like manner, the proper subject of 29—31 is (C) *the coming*,—the παρουσία before referred to in that negative

and incidental manner, and here given in the period of its actual fulfilment.

(3rd.) In 9—14 is progress toward the so-named *End*, whatever that event may be.

(4th.) So in 7, 8, is progress toward (R) the *ruin* of Jerusalem. I am not aware that this fact is doubted of by any one. It requires no formal proof in the way of exegesis. Its verification is in history.

The whole portion (β), then, when resolved into its four component unities, presents its *subjects* as follows :

β	=	7, 8	=	R.
		9—14	=	E.
		15—28	=	R.
		29—31	=	C.

Where, in the order of the subjects, there is precisely such *confusedness* as from the first we have been looking for.

THE ANALYSIS OF β VERIFIED.

That result of the *Variations* is verified by the plain *Sense* of the passages. For 7, 8, speaks of secular events ; 9—14, of non-secular events ; 15—28 gives events of a secular epoch, and excludes a great event of another kind ; 29—31 supplies that great event of a non-secular kind.

Again, the Sense itself is verified by our *Authorized English Version*, which in Mark xiii. supplies paragraphic symbols in places corresponding to the divisions above given :—

xxiv. 7, 8	xiii. 8
9—14	¶ 9 . . .
15—28	¶ 14 . . .
29—31	¶ 24 . . .

The *Variations*, the *Sense*, and our *Authorized English Version* of Mark's record, all mutually verify one another. And they combine to give us that fourfold division of (β), which also might so easily and obviously have been marked by suitable pauses in the utterance of our Lord while he was addressing his disciples on the Mount of Olives.

ϕ_2 ANALYZED.

Having observed the paragraphic confusedness in the subjects of (β), we now proceed onwards to the *analysis of* (ϕ_2), *i. e.*, of 32—36.

In 32, 33, we have a *parable* and its application distinct from its contiguous context before and after. It has a *twofold subject*, (tt) the “*these things*,” and (C) the coming, or, what is the same sense as this latter one in our present view, Christ in his coming. The (tt) are distinct from the (C), as spring is from summer. And as spring and summer are coördinate parts in the year, so the (tt) are coördinated with (C) as a subject of the parable.

Then comes that notable formula, “*Verily I say unto you*,” with another portion of the discourse. But the (tt), the “*all these things*” in verse 34, are identical, and cannot but be identical, with the “*all these things*” (tt) in the immediately preceding verse, 33. Thus the (tt) in 34 are coördinated with (C), and in that *coördination* they assume a *prominence*, which makes them the clear *subject* of 34. And in 33 they have been seen to be as *different* from (C), as spring is from summer. They are different, then, from the subject of verse 36; for the subject there is, “*that day and hour*,”—which again are the *day* and *hour* in Matt. xxiv. 42, 44; xxv. 13,—which in each case are the time of the *coming* of our Lord.

Thus the verses 34 and 36 have different subjects. They also consent to stand apart from one another. The intervening verse, 35, might coalesce with either of the twain. But it has two stringent and indissoluble bonds connecting it with 34. The ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν and the παρέλθῃ in the one case are the οἱ λόγοι μου and the word παρέλθῃ in the other case; so that the two 34, 35, constitute the one portion, and 36 another.

The portion (ϕ_2), then, stands thus in its divisions and subjects :—

ϕ_2	=	32, 33 = tt. C.
		34, 35 = tt.
		36 = C.

Here again there is such confusedness of subjects as we have been looking for, while there is also nothing to militate against our previous analysis of (β).

CONFUSEDNESS IN $(\beta \phi_2)$.

If we now add (ϕ_2) to (β) , we obtain this result, viz. :—

$\beta =$	7, 8	}	=	R
	9—14			E
	15—28			R
	29—31			C
ϕ_2	32, 33	}		tt C
	34, 35			tt
	36			C

which is confusedness worse confounded to a superficial view, but better developed in reality. We may now hope we are making way toward some definite view, and some just conclusion, with regard to the confusedness in the prophecy.

(ϕ_1) ITS ANALYSIS.

Hitherto we have eschewed that fortress on the frontier which we found in (6_2) the latter part of verse 6. It is now time we should approach the portion (ϕ_1) in some careful and discreet manner.

We have had occasion to notice that the verse 5 gives a caution with reference to (C), and that (6_1) , the earlier part of (6), speaks similarly of (R). We have also had occasion since then to notice that (C) in 29—31 is distinctly shewn to be a different period from (R) in 15—28. Therefore (C) in 5 is a different epoch and period from (R) the subject of (6_1) , and verse 5 with its subject (C) the coming, stands apart from 6 as a distinct portion of the discourse.

Thus we have the verse (6) *separated off from all the rest of the prophecy*. If it is one integral portion not to be divided, then its one subject must be (R). But if it is to be resolved into two portions (6_1) and (6_2) , then the latter will have its subject a twofold one, viz., (tt, E) the “*these things*” there and “*the End*” there, whatever may be meant by those monosyllables. We will duly note this last idea as a confessedly problematical one, and we will represent the whole of (ϕ_1) thus, in its divisions and subjects :—

$\phi_1 =$	{	5	=	C
		6 ₁	=	R
		6 ₂	=	(tt E)

CONFUSEDNESS IN (M₁).

In (ϕ_1) we find nothing to militate against our previous analysis of ($\beta \phi_2$). And if we now take (ϕ_1) in its confessed obscurity, and add it to ($\beta \phi_2$), we obtain a synopsis, as follows, for the whole of (M₁), with reference to its divisions and subjects in 5—36, thus:—

M ₁	ϕ_1	5	C
		6 ₁	R
		(6 ₂)	(tt E)
	β	7, 8	R
		9—14	E
		15—28	R
		29—31	C
	ϕ_2	32, 33	tt C
		34, 35	tt
		36	C

where the confused order of the subjects [C. R. (tt E). R. E. R. C. ttC. tt. C.) is more observable than ever. And we now come to the ulterior object of our argument, which was to elicit a real and demonstrable *harmony* out of all that seeming *confusedness* of ideas. I have been the more careful to work out the confusedness, because without it the harmony is inexplicable.

METHOD FOR THE SEQUEL.

If we continue to take those primary portions ($\phi_1 \beta \phi_2$)—as we have hitherto done—in the direct order of their comparative clearness, or in the reverse order of their obscurity, they will present themselves for further consideration thus:—

1° β
2'' ϕ_2
3' ϕ_1

and to that convenient order we will continue to accommodate our observations *in our search for the latent harmony*.

(β) ITS SUBJECTS IN (q); [E. β=E. q.]

In proceeding to a re-examination of (β), with a view now to its *subjects*, we may premise briefly and generally as follows,—respecting all the subjects of the prophecy:—

There is a strong presumption,—which, in the absence of proof to the contrary, may be regarded as irresistible,—that the events in (q) the query will be subjects of the reply. And, conversely, there is a similar presumption the other way, that these subjects, when rightly ascertained, will identify themselves with those events.

Now in (β) the subjects are seen to be in order thus [R. E. R. C.] Of which the two (R. C.) have been identified as being, what they manifestly are, events in the query. And *all the subjects of β will be all the three events in the query*, if (E) *the end* in (β), in 14, i. e., in 9—14, is identical with *the end* in the query.

And why should it not be so? Observe the circumstances of the case. The whole 9—14 is an integral portion of the discourse; and its subject is *the end* in verse 14: which is thus seen to be a primary subject of the prophecy. It claims, therefore, to be a subject of the occasioning query; and it will necessarily be such subject, if there is no good reason to the contrary. But there is no such reason. In the query we have the *συντέλεια* as one of the three events enquired of; and in the reply we have that *τὸ τέλος* as a primary subject of the discourse. The terms are seen to be radically the same: and the sense of the words agrees to the identity of the subjects. Again, *the end* as an event in the query, claims to be spoken of somewhere or other in the reply: but it is nowhere spoken of there as the End, if not in 9—14; [nowhere, I say, in (M₁); certainly not in (6₂), if not in 9—14; as also nowhere in (M₂), which was seen in our former paper to be occupied systematically and entirely with (C) the coming.] We conclude, therefore, beyond all doubt that the End, the *συντέλεια* enquired about in the query, is identical with the End, the *τὸ τέλος* in verse 14, i. e., in 9—14, or in β. *The several subjects of β, then, (R. E. C.) are the three several events (R. E. C.) in the query.* And this circumstance gives additional corroboration to the correctness of our analysis of (β).

(φ₂), ITS SUBJECTS IN (q); [tt=R].

Again, in (φ₂) *the subjects of the reply will be events in the query*, if (tt) the “*these things*” in 33, 34, are the “*these things*” in the query. And why should they not be so identi-

fied? When the (C), the *παρουσία* in the query is expressly named in (M₁) 27, (and in xxiv. 37, 39), as well as circumstantially given in 29—31; and when (E) the *συντέλεια* has its progress illustrated at large in 9—14, and that too under the designation τὸ τέλος with special recognition of the designation *συντέλεια*—why should not the (tt) in the query—the primary subject among all the three in the mind of the disciples; I say, why should it not be spoken of in the reply, both circumstantially and by name: by name, as (tt), in 33, 34—as well as circumstantially in M₁ 15, etc. There is *no anterior improbability* in the supposition. But there is good *proof* for the fact.

The *resulting sense* is good. It is good in 33, that the (C) shall be subsequent to the (R),—the very sense we have already found in 29—31 as compared with 15—28. The sense is equally good in 34,—that within that generation, within forty years, Jerusalem should be destroyed; for within forty years the city with its temple was indeed destroyed; and that period of time constituted a generation in the divine estimate, according as is written, *Forty years long was I grieved with that generation*. Compare Deut. i. 35, 36, etc., etc.

If the (tt) in 33, 34, be not (R), what can they be? They are not all the things *in the whole prophecy*; for (C) is the one great subject of the prophecy in (M₂), and the (tt) are as different from (C) as spring is from summer. They are equally seen to be not identical with all the things *previously spoken of* in the prophecy; for the (C) is previously spoken of in 30, 31,—as also, though but negatively, in 23—27.

We have already noticed that in 34, the solemn character of those words, *Verily, I say unto you*, stamps a *primary* importance upon its subject, the (tt) there. And that primary subject, being distinct from (C) as spring is from summer, is a something *anterior* to C. But such *primary subject and anterior event*,—if it is no new subject now first introduced, which it cannot be,—must be either (R) or (E); *i. e.*, it must be (R). There is *no alternative*, except some one will say that (E) may be anterior to (C); an improbable surmise, to be disposed of presently.

The (tt) in 34, as a *pronominal expression*, desiderates an *antecedent*. It finds a quasi-antecedent in the (tt) of 33. But the (tt) of 33 equally desiderates an antecedent, which nevertheless is more easily sought than found. It is not found in 33, nor in 32. It is not in 31, nor in 30, which two verses have (C) for their subject. I ask then, where is the desiderated *antecedent*? where is that *primary subject* as in 34, that *visible event* as in 33, that *epoch anterior* to (C), and as *distinct* from it as

spring is from summer? It is not in verse 29,—which indeed is otherwise *too remote*, and too discontinuous from 33, 34, and from the divinely-separated (ϕ_2), to present a grammatical antecedent for the (tt) there. That problematical pronoun, pronounced though it is deliberately, once and again in 33, 34, yet finds *no grammatical antecedent*; neither in (ϕ_2), nor in (β), nor in (M_1) at all; nor in any place whatever; except the (tt) in the query may stand *for an antecedent*, as a phrase taken *technically* as it were, and transferred into the reply by *quotation*. There is *no other alternative*.

Observe the aptness of this interpretation. They enquire, *When shall these things be?* He tells them, *Verily, I say unto you, this generation shall not pass till all "these things" be fulfilled*. That interrogatory is so met,—if met in the prophecy it be at all, as it requires to be.

He had before said, in xxiii. 36, *Verily, I say unto you, all these things* (the blood, the guilt, the vengeance) *shall come upon this generation*. So now, *echoing* to that statement, as well as to the query, it is said, *Verily, I say unto you, this generation shall not pass till all these things* (the ruin, the vengeance) *be fulfilled*. The long-suffering of God endured not beyond that chronological period, which the Divine Wisdom had declared with that solemn confirmation, *Verily, I say unto you*.

It is not difficult to see how this clear and precise sense of the (tt) might be infused into the expression by a tone of voice, or by a simple *gesture* or *glance* directed from the Mount of Olives toward the temple, which was full in view. And herein we have a sufficient explanation why St. Mark xiii. 3, records, (as he does doubtless for our instruction,) that the divine prophet and his listening disciples were sitting "*over against the temple*," when this complicated prophecy was pronounced. In mentioning that circumstance of locality, the evangelist must have had some other object than the picturesque. For my own part, I can imagine no other reason more satisfactory, none more simple, none more requisite for perspicuity, than the one which has been suggested to us by our investigations, and which throws such perfect naturalness into the interpretation we have elicited for the (tt) in 33, 34. Put the *these things* of the query into italics, and put the "*these things*" of 33, 34, into italics with inverted commas, and readers at this day will have some such aid by the eye, as the disciples, when over against the temple, would have by both eye and ear.

In a word, assuming our analysis as a thing proved, and looking at those distinct portions of the prophecy, in the light of that analysis, I find no possible escape from the conclusion,

that under the expression (H) in 33, 34, *the ruin of Jerusalem* is meant by our Lord,—just as the same expression bears the same meaning in the anterior query of the disciples, and in the foremost clause of that query.

We now proceed to another stage in our investigation, with a view to elicit the general drift of ($\beta \phi_2$).

($\beta \phi_2$), ITS CATEGORIES AND EPOCHS; [E=C].

Making $tt=R$ in 33, 34, our analysis of ($\beta \phi_2$) in its divisions and subjects stands thus:—

β	7, 8	R.
	9—14	E.
	15—28	R
	29—31	C
ϕ_2	32, 33	R C
	34, 35	R
	36	C

Here all the *subjects* are all the *events* in the query. And (R) alternates regularly with (C) and (E), in such manner that, where C is not, E is, and where E is not, C is. The alternation will be perfect in its character, if (C) and (E) are *convertible* in those places. And why should they not be so? Observe the *categories* under which they present themselves in the prophecy.

(1st.) The portion 7, 8, gives (P) *progress* toward (R). So 9—14 gives P (progress) toward (E). But where, then, is progress toward (C)? Is (C) less important than (R) and (E), that its progress should not be given? If not, whence comes that inequality?

(2nd.) Again, the portion 15—28 gives (R) in the way of (F) *fulfilment*. So 29—31 gives (C) in the way of fulfilment. But where is the fulfilment of (E)? Is (E) less important than (R) and (C), that its fulfilment should not be given in the prophecy? If not, whence comes this additional inequality, and in another direction too?

(3rd.) Again, while (R) is given in the way both of (P) and (F), must we say that (C) and (E) are each given but in one of those two ways? Are (C) and (E) less important in the prophecy than (R) is? Upon (C), at least, the prophecy is most diffuse in the whole of (M_2).

(4th.) Observe *the other categories* under which the subjects stand in the other portions. In 32, 33, we have (R) and (C) in their mutual *relation* (r), as pledge and issue. In the two succeeding portions, we have the same two subjects spoken of in the way of (ch) *chronologizing*.

(5th.) Thus the whole ($\beta \phi_2$) claims to be taken as follows, in its divisions, its subjects, and their categories:—

β	7, 8	P. R
	9—14	P. E
	15—28	F. R.
	29—31	F. C.
ϕ_2	32, 33	r. RC.
	34, 35	ch. R
	36	ch. C

We cannot shut our eyes here to the again-suggested *probability*, that, although (R) and (C) are, as we have seen, not synchronous, yet (C) is *synchronous* with (E); so as that progress towards the one shall be progress towards the other, and fulfilment of the one be fulfilment of the other. It is required to shew that (P. E)=(P. C); *i. e.*, that progress toward the end is progress toward the coming.

Thus, then, we argue:—The (E) in β , as we have seen, is the E in the query; and this *συντέλεια* in the query is that in Matt. xiii. (39, 40, 49). We shall not err when we affirm that the disciples, in their query on the Mount of Olives, adopt and quote that expression of our Lord's, which he had thrice repeated to them in Matt. xiii. Neither shall we err, if we hold that our Lord, in Matt. xxviii. (20), repeats *the same, his own expression*, in precisely the same sense of truth which belongs to it in Matt. xiii. and xxiv. Observe well those features, *the same*, and *his own*. They confine the expression to those three cases. Now, in Matt. xxviii. 20, the very last thought of the Gospel, before the Amen, is the *συντέλεια τοῦ αἰῶνος*. When our Lord says there that he will be with his disciples till that *συντέλεια*, *lo, I am with you alway, even to the end of the world*, does he say he will be with them till the ruin of Jerusalem, or does he then imply that there will be an interval of time between (E) the *συντέλεια* and (C) his personal coming or *παρουσία*?—an interval during which he would not be with them, but would leave them without his unseen presence? That could never be. And if it cannot be, then (E) is, and must be, synchronous with

(C), and (P. E.)=(P. C.) It would be so to us at present, even though (E) were an event or epoch subsequent to (C)—an hypothesis, however, not likely to approve itself, and not reasonable to be accepted without proof.

But again, in Matt. xiii. 41, 30, 48, the son of man will send forth his angels for a twofold work, to gather the tares and to gather in the wheat; or, in other words, to gather in the good fishes, and to cast the bad away: the order of which gatherings, of the good and of the bad, being a varied order, is not there given as material. What epoch, then, is this *συντέλεια* with its twofold gathering? What, indeed, but the very epoch we have in β. 31, where the Son of man sends his angels to gather together his elect from one end of heaven to the other? Thus, in 29—31, is fulfilment both of C and E, as evidently the same epoch in the view of this prophecy. We may here observe two notable accordances. First, “Tell us, *when* shall these things be?” “Verily I say unto you, *this generation* shall not pass, till all ‘*these things*’ be fulfilled.” Secondly, “And what shall be the *sign* of thy coming, and of the *end* of the world?” “*The sun shall be darkened,*” etc., and then . . . “they shall see *the Son of man coming* . . . and he shall send his angels . . . and they shall *gather together his elect from the four winds.*” So verse 3; and so 34, 29—31. The query, in its letter, is so answered.

One would wish to gaze discreetly here, upon the identity of epoch in C and E, lest the eye should be dimmed by much straining. This only, then, I will now affirm, that to the disciples on the mount, as to us in the closet, progress toward the end is progress toward the coming; and for practical uses, whether of exegesis or of doctrine, as regards (β) and (ϕ₂), our analysis presents itself as follows in the repeated pairing of two epochs, R and C.

β	7, 8	R	}	P.
	9—14	C		
	15—28	R	}	F.
	29—31	C		
ϕ ₂	32, 33	R C		r.
	34, 35	R	}	ch.
	36	C		

HARMONY OUT OF CONFUSEDNESS IN (β ϕ₂).

We now perceive in β ϕ₂ how *the ruin of Jerusalem* as one

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epoch, and *the coming of the Son of man at the end of the world* as another epoch, are consociated together, and are placed before us as a *twofold subject*—in such manner, that each epoch proceeds *pari passu* with the other epoch, and the two together are spoken of under those four successive categories, viz., (P) *Progress*, (F) *Fulfilment*, (r) *relation*, and (ch.) *chronologizing*.

And thus, so far as regards ($\beta \phi_2$), i. e., Matt. xxiv. 7—36, we have *elicited a latent harmony*, which is as natural and simple as it is beautiful and clear.

THE QUERY AND (6_2) REMEMBERED.

With that harmony, *the query* is in full accord. It presents as we have seen, the same two epochs, the (tt) or (R), and the (C) or (E).

The portion (ϕ_1) likewise accords either wholly or in part; wholly, if the whole of (6), being one portion of the discourse, speaks of (A. R.) premature Anticipation of the ruin, just as (5) speaks of (A. C.) premature Anticipation of the coming. If verse (6), however, constitutes two distinct portions, (6_1) and (6_2), then (6_1) will continue to speak of (A. R.) as 5 does of (A. C.); and (6_2) *will remain for investigation*. Not that this latter minute portion can be supposed able, in any case, to nullify the cumulated and systematic facts we have elicited. But the scope of our argument could not be complete, if we did not grapple with that little master-difficulty. It comes before us *in situ* thus:—

Query.	3	tt = R E = C	R C
Caution.	4	—	—
ϕ_1	5	C	C
	6_1	R	R
	(6_2)	(tt E)	(tt E)
β	7, 8	R	R
	9—14	(E)	C
	15—28	R	R
	29—31	C (E)	C
ϕ_2	32, 33	(tt C)	R C
	34, 35	(tt)	R
	36	C	C

Among the portions ascertained to be distinct in the discourse, stands that questionable portion (6_2), with its questionable twofold subject (tt E). I want to see whether that (6_2) is not a distinct portion, apart from (6_1) and from (7. 8.); and whether its (tt E) be not the very (tt) and (E) found elsewhere to be subjects of distinct portions in the prophecy, and to be identical respectively with (R) and (C).

We must look at (6_2), then, as an unknown element presenting itself among known elements; or at least apparently presenting itself among them. I say apparently, because I am willing to doubt—for argument's sake, and for truth's sake—whether it has any separate existence at all as a separate portion of the discourse. Prejudice cannot approach this question. Religious controversy and peculiarity of doctrine have no place in this part of our investigations. For if (6_2) were obliterated from our view, its fullest sense would remain express in 33. Yet what our Lord has thought fit to say in (6_2), we may well desire piously to comprehend. For myself, I must perforce accept that master difficulty, (6_2), as a crucial test of our argumentation in the easier but more important matters.

(6_2) INVESTIGATED.

By means of our previous investigations, we have (6_2), the latter part of verse 6, surrounded by a network of facts and phenomena, from which it cannot, I think, escape. The first thing I wish to ascertain concerning it is its relation to its apparent context; for *context is not always in contiguity*.

We have already observed how St. Luke, as an intelligent and inspired narrator, has separated (ϕ_1) from (β) by an *inter-location* of his own. Can we suppose him to have therein misled us? Instead of that, we will suppose we have misled ourselves in the matter. *Let (ϕ_1), then, be connected with (β), what would follow?* Verse 6 would be connected in one portion and period with 7, and with 8; and *the end* in 6 would be that which has its *beginning* in 8, to wit, the throes or pangs of Jerusalem. That is, it would be R. And being accordingly a primary subject of the prophecy, the (E) in (6_2) would identify itself with the (E) mentioned under the same name, τὸ τέλος, in 14; which is there a primary subject of the prophecy, and has been identified with the (E) in the query. And thus *the (R) would be identical* with the (E) in the query, i. e., *with (C) the coming*. But such result, however inevitable from the premises, neither is correct nor can be.

For observe again the divinely settled facts of the case, as we have seen them in the prophecy:—

(1st.) In 23—26, it is not the actual coming, but the really non-coming, that is connected with the period of the ruin.

(2nd.) In 27, the coming is made like lightning, sudden, as in the twinkling of an eye, momentarily pervasive through the world, and impossible to be misinterpreted in its glory; the R was not such.

(3rd.) In 29—31, the time of the coming is expressly “AFTER” that great and unparalleled tribulation upon Jerusalem.

(4th.) In 33, 34, the same coming is found subsequent to the ruin, and as different from it as summer is from spring.

And (5th.) throughout (M_1) the same difference of epoch is marked by the alternation of the events.

In those facts,—which let them put aside who can,—we see the difference between (R) and (C), i. e., between (R) and (E). Thus, (R) and (E) being different epochs, and yet their identity as one and the same epoch being implied, as we saw, in the above-assumed connexion of verse 6 with 7, 8, we find that such assumed connexion is erroneous; that verse 6 is not connected with 7, 8; and that *St. Luke has not misled us, in separating (β) from (ϕ_1)*.

But what thus becomes of the “for” in verse 7? Being released from a pseudo-connexion with (6), it connects itself and its portion 7, 8, with the previous caution in 4:—“Take heed that no man deceive you;” for nation shall rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom, etc.; all these [whatever may be said to the contrary] are the beginning of those pangs of Jerusalem, which in due course must be fulfilled. The sense is clear.

By thus connecting itself with 7, the caution in verse 4 overlaps (as it were) the whole of (ϕ_1). What then shall become of (6_2)? It must connect itself either with (6_1), or with the caution in verse 4. Does its “for,” then, connect it with (6_1), its immediately preceding context? Suppose it does. What follows?

If (6_2) is connected with (6_1), “the end” in it can be nothing else than the end of Jerusalem or (R). Thus, as before, the τὸ τέλος in 6, being a primary subject, would identify itself with the τὸ τέλος in 9—14, and with the συντέλεια in the query, and with (C) the coming; which thus again would identify itself with (R). But that is a thing impossible, as we have seen. Therefore, the end in (6_2) is not R; and (6_2) is not connected with (6_1), but claims to stand apart from (6_1), as from 7, 8, and to be a distinct portion of the discourse, and so to connect itself with the caution in verse 4.

And well it may. For if thrown upon (6_1), (or, what would amount to the same thing, upon 7, 8,) this unapproved circum-

stance would result, viz., that our Lord would be exhorting his disciples, his chosen ones, not to trouble themselves about what must needs be; "*see that ye be not troubled, for all these things must needs be,*"—a sense and an idea genial enough to a Zeno's stubbornness or to the gentler apathy of the Bhuddists, but not so manifestly accordant with the divine and heavenly philosophy of him whose words we are learning. His tone of exhortation and of comfort, is it not this? *There shall not an hair of your head perish; underneath are the everlasting arms.*

The proper connexion of (6₂), then,—like that of (7, 8), and that of (5),—is with the caution in verse 4; and its interpretation is to be derived from the query in the adjacent verse 3: Tell us when shall *these things* be? and what shall be the sign of *the end* (συντέλεια)? Jesus said, Take heed that no man deceive you; for "*these things*" you have enquired about must come to pass, but [whatever some may say to the contrary] *the end*, τὸ τέλος, which you have enquired about, is not yet [but remains for another period of time]. The *sense* is thus clear and unexceptionable. It expresses the same difference of epochs, which (φ₂) in verse 33 gives in a different and more circumstantial manner, and as an idea *familiar to our Lord's intention*. When our choice and judgment, then, is between two rival senses, the one being familiar to our Lord's intention, and in accordance with the general drift of his discourse,—while the other is a heathenish sentiment, and is based upon a construction and interpretation repugnant to the plain drift of the prophecy,—can there be any doubt as to the just alternative? We cannot doubt that the part (6₂) in the prophecy stands as a distinct portion of the discourse, separate from the contiguous statements, and connecting itself with the caution in verse 4. It has for its twofold subject the (tt E) in the query,—i. e., the ruin (R) and (C) the coming, which are the two subject-epochs both of the query in 3 and of the prophecy in (M₁).

(6₂) FURTHER ARGUED.

In a crucial investigation,—after a just conclusion has been worked out, till all doubt disappears,—it is sometimes a useful plan to begin doubting again, though against certainty, as to the sufficient certainty of the conclusion. We will now endeavour to doubt, then, as to the fact whether (6₂) fits into its place as a distinct portion of the discourse. We will do this, not for doubting's sake, but in the hope of additional evidence.

St. Luke's two interlocations being noted as they require to be,—our synopsis of 3—36 will be as follows:—

Query	3	tt = R C = E	R C
Caution	4.	—	—
ϕ_1	5	C	C
	6 ₁	R	R
	6 ₂	(tt. E.)	(?)
β	7, 8	R	R
	9—14	E	C
	15—28	R	R
	29—31	C	C
ϕ_2	32, 33	tt C	R C
	34, 35	tt	R
	36	C	C

The part (6₂) being in an *intermediate* position as above, I wish to see how it fits into its place. Its *elements* are these:—

viz. { *E.* the end.
tt. the “these things.”
tt. E. the two in conjunction.
RC the two in presumed interpretation.
for. the connecting hook.
d . . the category of ‘difference.’

Our argument is not yet prepared to discuss the appropriateness of that category as it stands in its particular place; but the other *elements* of (6₂) are all of them in the same kind of position, that of *intermediates*, thus:—

E. { in 3
in 6₂
in 14
tt. { in 3
in 6₂
in 33, 34
tt. E. { in 3
in 6₂
in 33, 14
RC. { in 3, 5, 61
in 6₂ (as is supposed)
in $\beta \phi_2$
for { in 5
in 6₂
in 7

There is here suggested to us an obvious line of *cumulative* argumentation.—1st. If (*E*) the *συντέλεια* in 3 is (*E*) the τὸ τέλος in 14, *a faciliiori* by position, may it be (*E*) the τὸ τέλος in

6? 2nd. If the (*tt*) in 3 be the (*tt*) in 33, 34, *a faciliori* by position, may they be the (*tt*) in 6? 3rd. If the (*ttE*) in 3 are the (*tt*) and (*E*) in the remote and separate places 33 and 34 respectively, *a faciliori* by position, may they be the (*ttE*) in 6? 4th. If the “*for*” in 7, like the *for* in 5, hooks on its verse to be coherent with the caution in 4, *a faciliori* by position, may the “*for*” in 6 maintain the same connexion? 5th. If (R. C.) are the two epoch-subjects in the query, as also in all the portions of the prophecy that in (*M*₁) come before or after (6₂),—what more natural or more necessary, than that the *intermediate* (6₂),—when it may do so without violence to the sense in any way,—should fall in with the general method, and speak of (R. C.)? The fitting-in is unexceptionable.

(6₂) YET FURTHER ARGUED.

We may further argue thus. The (*E*) in (6₂) either is, or is not, a subject of (*q*) the query. If it is not, then it is not (R). Or, if it be a subject of (*q*), then most undoubtedly the (*E*), τὸ τέλος in (6₂) is the (*E*) the συντέλεια in the query, and not the (*tt*) the (R), nor the (C) there. Either way, then, it is *not* (R), which nevertheless is the subject of (6₁). Thus that (*E*) in (6₂) is not the subject of (6₁), and consequently there is no grammatical coherence between (6₁) and (6₂), which being the case, it follows that the (*E*) in (6₂) carries itself back and over into an identity with the (*E*) in (*q*); and perforce it carries with it its coördinated neighbour the (*tt*) in (6₂): so that the two together identify themselves with the (*tt E*) in (*q*), and stand out before us as those two great and prevailing epochs, the (R) and the (C).

We may yet further argue thus. The very *proximity* and consequent *echoing* of (6₂) to 3, 4, commend the sense we have elicited for (*tt*). And this *citatory* or *technical* sense of (*tt*) in (6), yields a *precedent* for it in 33, 34; and thus, in a manner, it bridges over the long interval between the verses 3 and 33. I need not add how a tone or an emphasis, how a *glance* or *gesture* toward the city, may so naturally and infallibly have fixed this lucid sense upon the (*tt*) in 6, just as in the cases of 33, 34. Thus the master difficulty in 6₂ is disposed of, for the present.

CONCLUSION; HARMONY IN (*M*₁).

I have other independent but accordant lines of argumentation wherewith to establish and to corroborate yet more cogently the various general conclusions we have been arriving at. Into those additional proofs, drawn as they are from *quite other grounds* than the variations, it would not be convenient now to

enter. Hitherto we have gone principally upon St. Luke's *Tripartite Division* ($\phi_1 \beta \phi_2$). That division, though divine in its degree, and of admirable use in the way of analysis, has a tinge as if of human artifice and method. It must give place to another division not less divine, but more simple in its character, and more available for the direct uses of interpretation, in points we have not yet handled. Many things remain yet to be set forth concerning Matt. xxiv., xxv. The verse xxiv. 28, that acknowledged *crux* of commentators, must put off its obscurity: the categories, each in its place, must be accounted for as appropriate: the unity of the entire prophecy must be exhibited: the variations in the records must all be accounted for, and shewn to be in strict accordance with the method of thought that pervaded the mind of the divine speaker as he sat on the Mount of Olives: the organic structure of the prophecy, in its greater things and smaller, must be elucidated. But it seems probable, so far as I can now judge, that a full investigation of these additional matters will not admit of being given in fragments far between, if respect be had to the continuousness of the argumentation. Be that as it may,—the facts we have been assisted to already by the principle of variations, may be considered important enough, and distinct enough, to challenge either reception or disproof. They may be tabulated as follows:—

	Divisions	Subjects	Epochs	Pairs	Two-fold Subject	Categories	
Query.	3	H.R. C. E.	R C	R C			The two epochs R and C, otherwise tt and E, run <i>pari passu</i> under six categories, viz ;
Caution.	4						
	5	C	C	C		A.	Premative Anticipation of the two separately
	6 ₁	R	R	R		d.	difference
	6 ₂	ttE	RC	RC			
	7, 8	R	R	R	R. C.	P.	Progress toward each separately
	9—14	E	C	C			
	15—28	R	R	R		F.	Fulfilment of each separately
	29—31	C	C	C		r	relation
	32, 33	ttC	RC	RC			
	34, 35	tt	R	R		ch.	Chronologizing of each separately
	36	C	C	C			

That table, expressed in words, is to the effect following :—

The Great Portion (M_1), or say Matt. xxiv. 5—36, is resolved into its *divisions* ; viz., 5 ; 6₁ ; 6₂ ; 7, 8 ; 9—14 ; 15—28 ; 29—31 ; 32, 33 ; 34, 35 ; 36 ;—of which divisions the *subjects* are severally these, viz., C ; R ; ttE ; R ; E ; R ; C ; tt C ; tt ; C ;—which subjects constitute two *epochs*, viz., R ; C ;—which epochs stand *paired* together, and constitute a *twofold subject*, R C ;—which twofold subject occupies the whole of M. xxiv. 5—36, in such manner that the two epochs proceed together in the prophecy *pari passu* under their six successive *categories*, viz., A ; d ; P ; F ; r ; ch ; as above is explained in the table.

Thus, out of the apparent Confusedness in (M_1), there stands forth a simple and perfect *Harmony* of elements, that probably needs no further argument in the way of proof. The unity of (M_1), and its distinctness from (M_2), are seen in the twofold subject and in the alternation of the epochs,—while (M_2) in xxiv. 37—xxv. speaks of C throughout and not of R at all.

I will only add, that the Church's received doctrine with regard to the difference of (R) from (C), and to the coincidence of (C) with (E), is as distinctly deduced from our Lord's great Prophecy, as it is from the Collects for the Third and First Sundays in Advents from her Baptismal and Athanasian Creeds, and from the fourth of the Thirty-nine Articles.

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MINUTE DETAILS OF ST. MARK'S GOSPEL.

It has often been observed, that in St. Mark's Gospel, while the narrative both of what our Lord said and did is shorter than in St. Matthew or St. Luke, it contains a greater number than either of them of minute incidental details. There are very few events recorded by him which are not to be found in the others ; but " he is more circumstantial and correct than either of them in the relation of joint facts " (Dr. Bloomfield).

We have thought it might be of some interest to bring into one view all the passages which shew this, as far as relates to facts narrated ; as the extent of it, in the middle chapters of the book, is remarkable, and perhaps has not generally been ob-

served. The point may not be of very great importance, but it seems to prove that the narrative must have been furnished or revised by an eye-witness, and so confirms the tradition that that eye-witness was St. Peter,—a tradition, we apprehend, of no great external authority.

No doubt there are similar details in St. Matthew and St. Luke that are not in St. Mark : but any one who examines the three books will find a great preponderance in the latter.

The comparison, which mainly relates to events told in common, can of course not be instituted with St. John's Gospel, where almost the whole of the narrative is peculiar to that Evangelist except the part which gives the crucifixion ; and in that part of the history St. Mark has but little that is distinctive.

L.

CHAP. I.

9. Jesus came *from Nazareth* of Galilee.
12. *Immediately* the spirit driveth him.
13. And was with the wild beasts.
19. When he had gone *a little farther* thence.
20. They left their father Zebedee *with the hired servants*.
21. *Straightway* on the sabbath day he entered into the synagogue.
29. *Forthwith* they entered into the house of Simon *and Andrew, with James and John*.
- 33.
35. Rising up a great while before day, he went out . . . and then prayed.
- 36, 37.
43. *Forthwith* sent him away.
45. Jesus . . . was without in desert places : and they came to him from every quarter.

CHAP. II.

1. He entered into Capernaum *after some days : and it was noised that he was in the house*.
- 2.
3. Which was borne of four.
4. When they had broken it up.
6. There were certain of the scribes *sitting there*.
8. *Immediately* . . . he said unto them.
- 13.

CHAP. III.

5. When he had looked round about on them with anger.

- 7. Jesus withdrew himself . . . *to the sea.*
- 9, 10.
- 13. He . . . calleth unto him *whom he would.*
- 14. That they should be with him.
- 19. They went into an house.
- 20, 21.
- 22. The scribes *which came down from Jerusalem.*
- 32. The multitude sat about him.

CHAP. IV.

- 10. *When he was alone, they that were about him with the twelve* asked him.
- 35. The same day, when the even was come.
- 38. He was *in the hinder part of the ship, asleep on a pillow.*

CHAP. V.

- 6. When he saw Jesus *afar off.*
- 10.
- 13. They were about two thousand.
- 18. When he was come into the ship.
- 21. Much people gathered unto him, and he was nigh unto the sea.
- 32.
- 42. The damsel . . . walked; for she was of the age of twelve years.

CHAP. VI.

- 5. He laid his hands upon a few sick folk.
- 6. He marvelled because of their unbelief.
- 31—33.
- 34. He began to teach them many things.
- 39. Upon the *green* grass.
- 40. By hundreds.
- 48. He saw them toiling in rowing.
- 54.
- 55. (They) *ran* through that whole region, . . . and began to carry about in beds those that were sick.
- 56. Whithersoever he entered, into villages, or cities, or country.

CHAP. VII.

- 17. When he was entered into the house from the people.
- 24. He entered into an house, and would have no man know it: but he could not be hid.
- 25. Whose *young* daughter.

30.

Heard of the
power to heal

32. One that was deaf, *and had an impediment in his speech.*

33—35.

CHAP. VIII.

12. He sighed deeply in his spirit.

14. Neither had they in the ship with them more than one loaf.

27. *By the way* he asked his disciples.

32. He spake that saying openly.

33. When he had . . . looked on his disciples.

34. When he had called the people unto him with his disciples also.

CHAP. IX.

8. Suddenly, when they had looked round about.

10. Questioning one with another what the rising from the dead should mean.

14. He saw a great multitude about them, and the scribes questioning with them.

15, 16.

17. A *dumb* spirit.

18. Pineth away.

20. He fell on the ground, and *wallowed foaming.*

21.

22. If thou canst do anything, have compassion on us, and help us.

23—27.

33. *Being in the house* he asked them.

34. *By the way* they had disputed.

35. He sat down, and called the twelve.

36. When he had taken him in his arms.

CHAP. X.

10.

14. He was much displeased.

16. He took them up in his arms.

17. There came one *running, and kneeled to him.*

21. Jesus beholding him loved him.

23. Jesus looked round about.

32. Jesus went before them, and they were amazed: and as they followed, they were afraid.

49. They call the blind man, saying unto him, Be of good comfort, rise : he calleth thee.

50.

CHAP. XI.

4. They found the colt tied *by the door without in a place where two ways met.*

11. When he had looked round about upon all things, and now the evening was come, he went out unto Bethany with the twelve.

14. His disciples heard it.

16, 19.

20. *In the morning, as they passed by, they saw the figtree dried up from the roots.*

21. *Peter calling to remembrance* saith unto him.

CHAP. XII.

32—34.

37. The common people heard him gladly.

41. Jesus sat over against the treasury.

43. He called unto him his disciples.

CHAP. XIII.

1. *One* of his disciples saith.

3. *As he sat upon the Mount of Olives over against the temple, Peter and James and John and Andrew* asked him.

CHAP. XIV.

3. She brake the box.

{ 51, 52. } *et sic per hanc*

CHAP. XV.

21. The father of Alexander and Rufus.

39. The centurion *which stood over against him.*

44.

CHAP. XVI.

5. They saw a *young man sitting on the right side.*

8. Neither said they anything to any man.



PROVERBS iv. 7.

“Wisdom is the principal thing; *therefore* get wisdom: and with all thy getting, get understanding.”

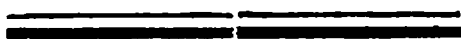
A common English reader would not be likely to take offence at this verse, or to suspect that the sense admits of any improvement. But one who compares it with the Hebrew Text will see at once that the first part of the verse does not correspond to the punctuation of the best (if not of all the) editions, which is supported by the Vulgate; and if he looks into the Commentators, he will find that they are very much perplexed about the meaning, and that there are in fact only two ways of dealing with the words, both of them open to very grave, and, as it appears to us, insurmountable objections. These we will state as briefly as we can, and will then propose what we believe to be the true solution of the difficulty.

We will first consider the punctuation represented by the Vulgate, according to which the literal rendering would be, “*as the beginning (or principal part) of wisdom, get wisdom:*” which the Vulgate gives still more closely: “*Principium sapientiae posside sapientiam.*” The verse has unfortunately dropped out of the Septuagint. But the highest authority is clearly in favour of this reading, and the grammatical construction is perfectly plain and easy. Only it is extremely difficult to extract any satisfactory sense out of it: as is evident from the violent and unsuccessful efforts of the Commentators who have adopted it. Some appear to have thought that they could understand wisdom being laid as the foundation of wisdom (*omni sapientiae solidam sapientiam velut fundamenti loco substernendam*). Others have felt it necessary to suppose that the same word (חכמה) is used in two different senses: the one simply intellectual, the other moral or religious; the same in which (Prov. 1. 7), “the fear of the Lord” is said to be “the beginning of knowledge;” and (Psalm cxi. 10) “the beginning of wisdom;” (“*Reverentiam Jehovæ, quæ præcipua est sapientia, acquire;*”) or, the one speculative, the other practical (“*sapientiae virtus sita est, non in lectione, auditione, speculatione, sed in ejusdem occupatione et possessione exercitatione et praxi, et quantum eam exercueris, tantum ejus possidebis.*”) Others again make the *getting* of wisdom to be equivalent to an earnest desire for it, which may therefore be said to be the beginning of wisdom, “*Principium sapientiae non est arida speculatio, sed sapida voluntas et studiosus conatus ad sapientiam, illi studere, illam audire, meditari, et quantovis pretio comparare.*” And this is the sense which Luther has expressed:

a sense excellent in itself, but which evidently does not lie in the Hebrew *חכמה*.

Then why not acquiesce in the punctuation adopted by our Authorized Version, and by many eminent critics, which breaks the first half of the verse into two sentences, the one affirmative, the other imperative : and seems to supply an excellent meaning : assigning a reason not before given for the precept already inculcated in the fifth verse? We think that, independently of the authority of MSS. and of the Vulgate, there are two main objections to this proceeding. The one is, the novelty and strangeness of the construction : the other, the deficiency which it leaves in the parallelism. We believe that no other instance can be produced (Gen. i. 1, will not be considered as an exception), in which *חכמה* occurs in an analogous sense (chief or principal part), where it is not followed by the name of the whole to which it belongs ; as *חכמת* (Amos vi. 6), “the chief ointments :” *חכמת* (1 Sam. xv. 21), “the chief of the things which should have been utterly destroyed ;” *חכמת* (Ps. cxi. 10), the beginning (rather the summit) of wisdom.” And if this had been the meaning in our verse, there is no imaginable reason why, according to this, as we believe, invariable usage, *חכמה* should not have been followed by a word signifying *possessions*. On the contrary, some such word is urgently needed to complete the parallelism. Without it, the repetition of the precept “get wisdom” strikes us as at once harsh and tame. It is abrupt, and yet, following so close upon ver. 5, without emphasis. And we will own that it was the sensible imperfection of the parallelism that led us to the discovery of what we believe to be the real state of the case. We have no doubt that, instead of *חכמה*, we should read *חכמת*, “the chief of *thy substance*.” “As the chief of thy substance, get wisdom, and with all thy getting, get understanding.” It was probably the unusual form of the affix *ח*, which, however, occurs chap. xi. 11,—that gave occasion to the transcriber’s oversight. How easily *ח* might be substituted for *חכמה* is obvious at the first glance. *חכמת* occurs, we believe, oftener in the Proverbs than in all the rest of the Bible. By this very slight change, every difficulty is removed ; the sense is made full and clear, and the parallelism full and complete.

C. T.



CORRESPONDENCE.

. The Editor begs the reader will bear in mind that he does not hold himself responsible for the opinions of his Correspondents.

DR. S. DAVIDSON AND HORNE'S INTRODUCTION.^a

SIR,—The above is the *separate* title of what has appeared as the *second* volume of the new edition of the Rev. T. H. Horne's *Introduction to the Study and Knowledge of the Scriptures*. The work of editing and bringing down to the present time all that relates to the Old Testament in Mr. Horne's *Introduction* had been entrusted to Dr. Davidson on the ground of his published works, which were considered to afford a sufficient guarantee that he would execute such an undertaking in conformity with the general principles avowed and maintained for so many years by Mr. Horne.

In the new arrangement of Mr. Horne's Introduction, it was needful that various changes should be made; for instance, as the *Criticism* of the text of the Old and New Testaments was now to be separated entirely, many things needed to be remodelled or else even re-written. All such changes Dr. Davidson was, of course, fully empowered to make: and besides such *additions* as might bring the work on to the present time, he had full authority to *re-write* all that he might consider to be desirable. Such alterations or such new portions of the work were however subject to one proviso, namely, that all should pass under the eye of the Rev. T. H. Horne himself, in order that there might be no collision as to the facts or general principles expressed in the work. The same proviso applied equally to the fourth volume, the editing of which was undertaken by myself. It involved, not that we should state as *facts* what we believed might require correction, nor yet that we should adopt sentiments and express them as our own which were really those of Mr. Horne and with which we had no sympathy; but it implied that *this work* should not be made the vehicle for introducing any peculiar views as to the general principles of Scripture authority, or as to dogmatic points in which orthodox Christians were sufficiently agreed. This proviso was made not as though it would be needful to correct any such points,—*for their introduction was not contemplated*—but rather as giving to Mr. Horne a proper power as to the execution of the new edition of a work which has so long borne his name: but though the *need* of such a stipulation had not been contemplated, it was provided that if such necessity

^a *The Text of the Old Testament considered; with the Treatise on Sacred Interpretation, and a Brief Introduction to the Old Testament Books and the Apocrypha.* By Samuel Davidson, D.D. of the University of Halle, and LL.D. pp. xxxii and 1100.

should arise, whatever statements were deemed improper should be extruded at Mr. Horne's desire.

This may be a sufficient explanation of Dr. Davidson's connexion with this work ; it only remains to add as to this that when statements were introduced to which Mr. Horne objected as not being in accordance with his sentiments, he pointed such things out to Dr. Davidson, expressing his feeling and judgment in the matter, with which it was Dr. Davidson's place of course to comply. That he did so comply, in abstaining from the introduction of new sentiments, and of opinions which were not known to be his by the others who were connected with him in the work, does not appear, at least to any important extent.

The introductory sentence of Dr. Davidson's preface is as follows : "The writer of the present volume has endeavoured to discuss the contents in a manner consistent with the general scope of the work to which it belongs." This certainly expresses what it *ought* to have been ; that it should not have been the vehicle for putting forth sentiments utterly opposed to the principles of the work of which it was intended to form a part. As it is, the statement standing at the beginning of this volume seems rather surprising. The same preface, however, affords abundant evidence that the writer was aware that he had introduced sentiments which would seem *new*, to some at least, with regard to Holy Scripture, as coming from any who *professedly* take the side of orthodoxy. He says (in p. v), "It is right that the theologian should be conservative, as far as he may out of deference to truth : he is wrong in shewing an obstinate conservatism which shuts out the light because it proceeds from a suspicious quarter. Let him not be afraid of the fate of a revelation coming from God to man : the word of the Lord abideth for ever ; triumphant over the waves of opposition and the assaults of infidelity. By that word let him hold fast, distinguishing the human and the divine in the Scriptures—the divine essence, alike imperishable and immutable ; the human form which is necessarily imperfect."

This sentence touches on subjects which ought either to be stated fully or else should be avoided. To speak of "distinguishing the *human* and the *divine* in the Scriptures" without giving a full explanation of *what* is meant, opens the door for each reader to draw the distinction for himself ; and thus it is that we find so many who thus talk, estimating everything which does not suit *their* notions as belonging to "the human," while with them "the divine" becomes some indefinable, unappreciable thing. But why should we speak in connection with Holy Scripture of "the human form?" and why should we say that this is "necessarily imperfect?" Could not God give forth a revelation as *He* pleased? Could he not give it that form which was suited to the infinite wisdom of his Spirit? If he gives a revelation at all, can he not provide that it shall be devoid of all imperfection? If by "human form" is meant that the revelation of God is conveyed in human words—in the language of men—then we may ask to what *necessity* was God subjected, so that he could not in his sovereign Providence so order that words should be *adequate* to express his meaning

But when we read in Scripture of "words that the Holy Ghost teacheth," when we find the Old Testament quoted in the New with the In-

troductory expression "The Holy Ghost saith," we may well pause before we admit as valid the statement that (what is called) the human form is *necessarily* imperfect.

But this principle if true, would be of wide application: it would bear not only upon the inspired *written* teaching of Prophets and Apostles, but also upon the instruction given by the incarnate Son of God himself: the spoken words of the Lord Jesus Christ were indeed in human language. It cannot at least be said that in his case there could have been any form of revelation or of teaching that was "necessarily imperfect;" just as little ought it to be said of that which was communicated through men of God, inspired by the Holy Ghost.

Dr. Davidson appears in the Preface to be aware that he was treading on ground on which he was attacking the received opinions of others; he might have added, his own previously expressed opinions, and those, too, which in undertaking this work he was *supposed* to hold and maintain. He says (p. vi), "The author feared that prejudice and ignorance would be arrayed against him. He was aware that he should be confronted with traditional opinions. But he can honestly say, that he has sought to follow *truth* amid all his speculations. Alive as he was to the sacredness of truth, he endeavoured to keep as near to it as he could. If, therefore, he has cut away some of the traditional fat of hereditary sentiments, he hopes that *the diseased alone* has been removed. Yet he can hardly expect to escape censure from parties wedded to antiquated notions. If attacked, it is far from his intention to reply; since he has lived long enough to know that fighting for religious opinions is of little benefit."

Then follows an allusion to the writer's domestic sorrows, sympathy with which we most truly feel, even though the statements by which these allusions are introduced call for remark on grounds wholly different.

Dr. Davidson then continues: "As the Church has her appropriate department in awakening spiritual life, assimilating it to the great fountain of blessedness, and raising it to the highest attainable perfection in the present world; so scientific criticism has its own field in which it may *freely* range as long as it leaves *the word of God*—that divine aliment which alone sustains the soul by becoming its very life—uninjured and entire."

"As the writer dislikes dogmatism and has rebuked it, he would be the last person to make the least approach to an assumption of infallibility."

These then are the principles, which are rather hinted than enunciated, in Dr. Davidson's Preface. It would certainly have been well, if he had definitely stated *what* the principles are which he wishes to apply to Holy Scripture; and *in what* he would avoid dogmatism, and how he would distinguish between this, and assertions unsupported by proof on important sacred subjects. It is easy to say that scientific criticism may freely range so long as it leaves *the word of God* uninjured; but the force of such a statement all turns on what is meant by "the word of God," and whether or not it is something different from that which is commonly understood by this expression; and if it be found that the authority of Scripture is in many ways attacked, it must be felt that "the word of God" is here to be known and understood in some very limited sense.

Dr. Davidson's sentiments, then, and the new opinions which he would array against (what he terms) antiquated prejudices, can only be gathered from the scattered observations found in different parts of his large volume: from this I shall proceed to make extracts, pointing out such words or sentences as seem especially to set forth his views. If it be thought that the citations made are rather long, let it be observed that the object was to prevent the possibility of any charge of misrepresentation being made. Also these extracts and all the labour connected with them would be needless if Dr. D. had definitely stated his principles; and as he wishes to give prominence to what he now maintains as truth, such extracts as I shall give, will be liable to no exception as if they did not represent his views.

P. 372. "Sometimes the diction employed respecting natural things is neither scientific nor optical, nor popular in any sense, except as involving erroneous conceptions on the part of the people, and partaking of them. For example, we read in Proverbs iii. 20, 'The clouds drop down the dew.' But it has been well established by the beautiful experiments of Wells, that, so far from clouds distilling the dew, they are unfavourable to its formation. After a cloudy night little or no dew is seen in the morning; after a cloudless one, especially succeeding a day of heat, dew appears in profusion. A similiar example, belonging to natural history, occurs in Job xxix. 18, where we have the words, 'I shall multiply days *as the phoenix*,' alluding to the fabulous notion of the phoenix reviving out of its own ashes, after living to a great age, and dying in its nest. The bird itself is now considered fabulous."

To the citation thus given from Job, Dr. Davidson appends the following foot-note: "That this is the correct explanation is shewn by Hirzel and Ewald in their Commentaries on Job." Such a statement, however, is simply dogmatism, such as Dr. D. would himself, no doubt, have been ready to rebuke in others. A mere reference to two German commentators is not sufficient ground for us to introduce a *fable* into Holy Scripture.^c

But there is no necessity for our departing from the common meaning of the Hebrew word; and without some necessity it must be a mere unauthorized innovation for any to do this. Here then we have 1st, A mere assertion of others repeated, as though it were implicitly to be received that a peculiar meaning *shall* be given (*sic volo sic jubeo*) to a Hebrew word. 2nd. This *peculiar* meaning is used as a step by which to introduce into Scripture the mention of a fable; and 3rd. The fable being *thus* found in Scripture, is employed as if it were a conclusive argument that Scripture *does* contain error of statement, and simple mistake. This mode of argumentation is not admissible in *ordinary* processes of thought and reasoning. It is just as though it were asserted that a crime had been committed, and then that this *assertion* were used as the ground for

^c It may be well to note that no one would depart from the common meaning *sand* in any of the other places, *twenty-two* in number in which חֵטְא occurs. Gesenius rightly says of *this passage* in Job, that there is no reason why we should depart from the common meaning.

impugning some one's character. And here the question involved is nothing short of the estimate which should be formed of Holy Scripture. The statement relative to the formation of dew, by which the endeavour is made to prove error in Prov. iii. 20, has really very little bearing on the subject; for it must first be shewn with what limitations or the contrary the Hebrew words employed by Solomon, translated "clouds" and "dew" are used, whether they do not include all the exhalations and all the returning moisture when it has been again condensed. Also there are some points still to be investigated relative to the connection of clouds with the exhaled moisture which returns in the form of dew.

Dr. Davidson, having thus by a mere *petitio principii*, laid down that the inspiration of Scripture does not exclude erroneous conceptions and statements of facts, goes on to *apply* the conclusions thus obtained. He thus continues :

"If, as we have just seen, there was an accommodation on the part of the writers to the ideas of their times respecting the objects of nature, the possibility of their not being so far enlightened or inspired as to have correct, infallible knowledge on points of natural science or chronology, archæology, geography, etc., suggests itself to the reflecting mind. It may be asked, Why extend their inspiration of correctness beyond what is properly *religious and moral truth*? Why not suppose that their knowledge of the subjects to which we have been adverting as secondary sources, was not always perfect or accurate,—that they were led into *religious* not *natural* truth? The mission and office of the writers was a religious one. They were the media employed of God to make known his will to men respecting his nature; his modes of dealing with his responsible creatures on this earth; their condition, duties, and hopes as immortal beings. They wrote to shew, in various ways, what the history of the human race has been in relation to God, the Creator, Ruler and loving Parent. All their communications bore upon Messiah and his salvation, the only begotten son of the Father in his humiliation, functions, and exaltation. They were *religious* and *moral* teachers. But they were not teachers of geography, astronomy, botany, physiology, or history. Their commission did not extend so far."

Then in that case they must have often gone beyond their commission, and that to a serious extent. It is clear that Dr. D., in this passage limits the inspiration of the writers of Scripture in a remarkable manner. He asks, Why extend inspiration so far as to include the whole? On this it may be said, what is our warrant for *limiting* inspiration in this manner? What ground have we for believing in inspiration *at all*; and yet for not applying it to all the contents of the books as they proceeded from the original writers? Inspiration was not only needed for writing that which was newly revealed, but also for enabling the writers to know what they ought to *record*, even of things already known as facts.

"History" is excluded from their "commission" in the conclusion of the above extract; and yet just before, it had been said that "they wrote to shew in various ways what the *history* of the human race has been in relation to God." If then this be so, it would be specially needful for them to be inspired in all that belonged to this history in all its bearings; otherwise they could not rightly shew its relation to God. It appears, then, though with inconsistency with regard to history, that Dr. Davidson excludes from the inspired part of Scripture, all that relates both to this and to many other subjects which he specifies. If this be not his meaning, he has failed to express it. But when we see how the excluded

subjects are interwoven with the whole texture of Scripture, and how often they are made the basis of definite teaching, we shall find that if we admit the distinction introduced, we shall find no ground of objective certainty in that which we profess to regard as a divine revelation. But it would be a revelation in which nothing is revealed, if we were authorized thus to sit in judgment on every portion of it; and if we profess to find that, in every part, the writers went beyond what *we* choose to assign as their commission.

A good deal more is added by Dr. Davidson in the same strain. He says, "We believe that none can doubt of the existence of contradictions in the records. It is not surprising that there should be difficulties in a divine revelation. If there were none we should suspect its divinity. But it *is* surprising that there should be irreconcilable contrarieties in a divine revelation. Indeed, a divine revelation cannot contain them."

Now, as to Scripture difficulties, we may at once say that there may be seeming contradictions which *we* cannot explain. But this does not prove that they are inexplicable. It is not needful to admit that Scripture, as it proceeded from the inspired writers, contained any *real* contradictions. It is an acknowledged principle with regard to *all* ancient works, that errors in names, numbers, and many other points do in no sense afford examples of *real* contradictions; because in such things the mistakes of existing copies must—if there is no evidence to the contrary—be attributed to the transcribers, and not to the original writers. This principle must be, in common honesty, extended to the copies of Scripture.

It sometimes happens that a chronological or historical difficulty has been long felt and known. Various answers may have been given, and they may have each of them been *sufficient*, although but one could be correct; and perhaps this might be the case as to *none* of them. Each of them is sufficient, if it so far meets the difficulty as to shew that there is nothing insuperable in the seeming contradiction; and this may shew us that difficulties—the solution of which *we* do not see—are not, therefore, insoluble. It must, however, be observed, that the maintainers of the reality of contradictions in Scripture, often *find* them in places in which they do not really exist; and they bring into the Bible what is as little there as is the phoenix in Job xxix. 18.

Dr. Davidson next tries to shew that the differing order of the events as recorded in the different Gospels, manifests that the writer's knowledge on the subject was imperfect. But which of the evangelists *says* that he intended rigidly to maintain chronological sequence, or to report the whole of a discourse? Till this be shewn, arguments based on such a point prove nothing. Dr. D., however, says, "Some of them have certainly related things in an order in which they did not occur. And if they did not possess a *full* knowledge of such things, it need not be supposed that they had a perfectly accurate knowledge."

The difficulty of distinguishing between the two parts into which he would thus divide Scripture, is acknowledged by Dr. D., and thus he is led into a maze. He says, in part of his argument on this subject, "If, therefore, all our knowledge partake of degrees of uncertainty, even the highest religious truths,—if their evidence, coming to minds like ours, pro-

duces very different effects upon them, it need not be thought strange that a palpable and self-evident boundary line between moral and historical, or spiritual and scientific truth, cannot be clearly drawn." How much then is the difficulty increased as to learning what God teaches us in the Scripture, if we seek to introduce unwarranted distinctions, and make their application a kind of pre-requisite.

In the same page, Dr. D. speaks of those who are "battling earnestly for the infallibility of each and every part of the written Scriptures (*though some things uttered in some parts of Job are expressly censured afterwards*)." It may well be asked, What is this intended to convey? Do those who maintain the inspiration of the Book of Job hold that the same sentiments are both infallibly true and certainly false? Does Dr. D. suppose that any one holds this? The inspiration of Scripture, as a record, involves the truth of all its parts, and that such sentiments are those of the speakers; and thus it contains sentiments which are condemned, and the words even of Satan himself. These things are all written for our learning; the application of which is not in the way of precept or example, but by warning and admonition.

In proof that the view of Scripture now brought forward is not new in this country, certain citations and references are given by Dr. Davidson. It is, however, rather surprising that (in p. 375) he refers to Mr. F. W. Newman and his *Phases of Faith*, shewing how such sentiments were brought before that writer. Dr. Davidson could once take the place of uncompromising opposition to Mr. F. W. Newman, his writings and his sentiments: it is then strange that his *Phases of Faith* should have been quoted for *this* purpose. How much may not Mr. Newman's downward course be attributable to his reception of such opinions as ignored revelation as a whole, and yet sought to hold fast all that was admitted to be *moral and religious truth*. On this point, his writings furnish abundant evidence of a melancholy but instructive kind.

There are many passages which shew how Dr. D. *now* regards the writers of Scripture as left to the resources of their own minds, and that on subjects of no small importance.

"They [*i. e.* "Luke and him who penned the Epistle to the Hebrews"] probably were ignorant of Hebrew, and were therefore obliged to employ the Greek version solely" (p. 183).

This idea of *obligation* would greatly limit our apprehension of the authority which their writings possess for us in teaching us the truth of God; for Dr. D. seems, in what follows, to *imply* that there was at times at least a mistaken use of the Greek version. On this, however, he has not in this place expressed himself very clearly; and he adds: "The divine Spirit, however, notwithstanding defects in *the form* of quotations, led the sacred author into the meaning of the Old Testament." Then why not admit that the same Spirit taught each writer *what* he should use from that source, and *how* he should employ it?

On the same page we find the following:—"He who committed to writing the Epistle to the Hebrews, whether Luke or another, has followed the Septuagint exclusively, even where it differs materially from the Hebrew text. He was wholly dependent upon it. Hence he could not

but follow it where it gave an erroneous representation of the Hebrew. Tholuck even thinks that the writer participated in the Alexandrian view respecting the inspiration of the translators, because passages where God is not the speaker are cited as the words of God or of the Holy Ghost. Compare i. 6, 7, 8; iv. 4, 7; vii. 21; iii. 7, 10, 15."

It is difficult to know why this sentiment of Tholuck's should be mentioned, unless it be as worthy of *some* approval, at all events as being not very objectionable. But to what would this sentiment in its mildest aspect amount? It would imply that *perhaps* the sacred writers had ascribed to God words and sentences which they ought not to have attributed to so high a source. He, however, who rightly admits that the writers of the New Testament were authorized as teachers of *religious truth*, must receive as conclusive, *their* statements, "The Holy Ghost saith," and the like, with which they introduce citations from the Old Testament. They ascribed declarations of Scripture to God, because they really belonged to him, and not from any misconception, which, if true, would have disqualified them as those by whom infallible truth could be communicated. This is not the place for discussing the Old Testament citations found in the New, but if examined it will be seen that the points in which the inspired writers *depart* from the LXX., and revert to the Hebrew text are such as shew their definiteness of purpose in all that they thus introduced. We have no occasion to say with Dr. Davidson, "Some were more dependent on the LXX.; others, less so. Some occasionally departed from it and followed the Hebrew in preference; while others adopted the Greek *where a different course might have been better*. The knowledge and attainments of the sacred writers were different,—their mental habitudes and tastes dissimilar, and the external form of their citations differ accordingly." If we were fully to admit the notion implied in the words "differ accordingly," we should make the Scripture very much to proceed from man simply.

"It is necessary to distinguish the hermeneutical procedure of Christ, the Apostles, Paul, and the writer of the Epistles to the Hebrews. For while all may be grouped together in their general mode of dealing with the Old Testament, they can also be separated. The use they make of the Old Testament is not exactly the same. The application of it, for example, by Paul, is far inferior in depth, comprehensiveness, and spirituality to that which characterizes the Saviour. Again, there are a subtilty and insight into the Old Testament,—a perception of the internal connection between it and the New in Paul,—which are not found in the Evangelists. The parallels drawn by the latter between the various parts of the two economies, and the divine intention they find in these parallels are peculiar. On the other hand there is a difference between the customary application of the Old Testament in the Epistle to the Hebrews and that found in the Pauline Epistles. It is inferior to the Pauline, because the historical sense is less regarded" (p. 188).

This seems to make the use of the Old Testament a thing dependent on the mental character of the different writers, instead of acknowledging that this at all proceeded from the Holy Ghost by whom they wrote. This is fully laid down by Dr. D. as being his opinion in p. 190, in a

sentence of which the following is a portion : "The only test that can be used to determine whether in any instance the *ὑπόνοια* supposed to lie in an Old Testament passage be *objectively true*—a divinely intended thing—must be sought in the circumstance of the supposed spiritual prefiguration *harmonizing with* or *contradicting* the historical sense. If it refuse to coincide with the right meaning of the passage, it is of a purely *subjective* character, having no reality except in the writer's own ideas. But if the true historical sense be preserved, the parallel is *objective* and divinely intended. According to this criterion, Tholuck and others find in John xi. 51; xviii. 9; Matt. viii. 17, a *ὑπόνοια* created by the writer's own subjectivity."

If this were correct, how could we depend on the *teaching* of Scripture? This now leads us right into the sphere of "religious and moral truth;" and the full character of inspiration is as much *now* denied *there* as it is elsewhere in that which had been excluded from such a category. But now the dogmatic teaching that such and such is the meaning of an Old Testament passage is subjected to the notion which each individual may form of its fitness. If this suitability does not exist in the mind of each reader, its reality may be denied, and it may be regarded as *unreal*; in other words as a *mistake* of the New Testament writer. On these principles how *could* God give authoritative teaching as to *facts* and their *import*? for each individual is represented as authorized to use *his* subjective notions as more certain, and more authoritative than that which the Scripture says. Thus *all* objective truth—religious as well as all other—becomes an uncertain thing; and *man*, whose nature and apprehensions are so opposed to God and his truth, becomes the absolute authority. The statement that Tholuck and others would apply to such a passage as John xi. 51, the notion of some subjective *ὑπόνοια* on the part of the *writer* seems strange indeed to those who read what is there written as being a *true* declaration : "And this spake he not of himself, but being high priest that year, he prophesied, that Jesus should die for that nation." If the solemn declarations of the writers of Scripture be not received, where or when shall we believe them; or have we any real revelation from God at all?

The principles thus enunciated are applied throughout the volume to the discussion of particular portions, such as those in which difficulties exist or have been supposed to exist, to the maintenance of theories relative to *documents* which ingenious systematizers have devised, and to many other things of the same kind, against which Dr. Davidson formerly wrote, and the upholding of which he once condemned. Such passages may be easily noted by a careful reader; they may mislead any one who is not heedful of *what* he reads, or who is willing to regard the authority of Scripture with laxity.

It may be said that others have no business to judge Dr. D., and that it is the place of Christian charity to abstain from all remark. Even if this had been true, it would not apply to the case before us. Such sentiments are wholly out of place when brought in by another into Horne's *Introduction*, and when they are allowed to establish themselves there in spite of remonstrance. And if important doctrinal differences *do* exist,

it is not the place of charity to deny or ignore that such is the fact, even though much and true sorrow be felt for those who maintain what is regarded as false.

But whatever be said as to this, Dr. Davidson has not abstained from bringing the most serious doctrinal charges against all who uphold or accept any Christian confession considered orthodox, or any of the creeds drawn up in the early ages of the Church, and adopted as giving true teaching as to the Trinity, the person of Christ, etc.

In speaking of the eighth of Proverbs, Dr. D. devotes more than two pages to an argument in opposition to the opinion that *wisdom* in that chapter is a personal designation of the Son of God. That this is the meaning of the chapter is what Christian expositors have very frequently, if not commonly held. Dr. Davidson sets out on this subject by saying (p. 779): "As it is universally admitted that the first part (verses 1—11) contains an elegant personification of wisdom in the abstract; it may be presumed that the same is continued throughout." To this statement that this "is universally admitted" must be simply said, *Non constat*. Let Dr. M'Caul's Remarks (which will be presently cited) on this chapter be considered (and Dr. D.'s attention was *specially called* to them); and it is manifest how *unitedly* this chapter has been regarded by some expositors at least. Dr. D. continues: "But many suppose that from the twelfth to the thirtieth verse, Wisdom is the Divine Logos, the Second Person in the Holy Trinity. The writer, it is thought, passes from a consideration of the excellence of wisdom, to the contemplation of the eternal, hypostatic Word." This doctrine Dr. D. then controverts, specially referring to the statements of Mr. Holden. He then gives his own arguments against this mode of regarding the chapter; to the *first* statement (presently to be quoted), it should be said that the English translation of verse 22 is fully and successfully defended by Dr. M'Caul; "Jehovah possessed me" is the true force of the sentence; and it does not teach that the speaker was a creature.

"The 22nd verse says, Jehovah *created me*. The best judges admit that the verb *נָפַץ* means here *to create*; not *possess* as the English Bible has it. So it is translated by Ewald, Hitzig, Gesenius, and the LXX., Targum, Peschito. Hence, according to the true sense, if the passage refer to the Son, he must be a *created being*, as the Arians hold. Holden interprets, 'possessed me by right of paternity and generation. The Father possessed the Son, had, or as it were acquired him by an eternal generation.' What this language means we are unable to fathom. It is certainly based on an improper version of the verb. Again, in the 24th verse, we read of wisdom being *born*, which is the equivalent [??] to *created* in the 22nd verse. This does not agree with the idea of the Second person in the Trinity, who is described here, if described at all, *in his divine nature alone*. But Holden has a method of applying the expression to the Son: 'I conclude it is applied to him in the sense of *bringing forth*, expressive of his divine and eternal generation,'—an explanation unintelligible to us." It really seems as if Dr. D. were disposed to ignore the common belief of Christians, that the Son, the Second person of the Trinity, was the Son in his divine nature, begotten of the Father

chapter of Baruch. Also from the xxivth of Ecclesiasticus, verse 32.' It appears to have been all the same to Eniedinus which of the four interpretations a man received, provided he only rejected the personality. This indifference gives us but a poor idea either of his love of truth or of his ability as an interpreter. If he only got rid of the Christian interpretation, he does not think it worth his while to ascertain the true sense. Socinians generally pride themselves on their power and clearness of thought, and acute exercise of their reason. Surely nothing but intellectual deficiency, or utter indifference about religion, would suffer any man, but especially a controversialist, to float about between four opinions, and to leave a whole chapter of the Bible without any definite sense.

"Crell, who seems to have borrowed a thought from the Rabbies, is more definite. He says, 'Solomon treats of wisdom, which, formed in the mind of God before the ages, has been manifested by the law of God, and by it communicated to men.' He foolishly tries to escape from the expression, Wisdom of God, because St. Paul applies that expression to Christ, and therefore talks of wisdom having been formed in the mind of God, in order to make it a creature, and thus falls into an absurdity, which, after all, is nothing to the purpose. The wisdom of God, whether personal or impersonal, enveloped in thick darkness or revealed in the law, cannot be a creature, and never was formed. If he forms for himself wisdom or knowledge, which he had not eternally and essentially, he is a mutable being like ourselves. If it be immutable, his wisdom is also immutable, and, therefore, must be uncreate and eternal. But, after all, this created wisdom, revealed in the law, cannot be the subject of this eighth chapter of Proverbs. The wisdom here spoken of is that by which 'all the judges of the earth rule.' But all judges, for example among the heathen, do not rule by the wisdom revealed in the law; therefore, the wisdom here spoken of is not that revealed in the law.

"The fact is, the only plausible mode of interpretation is to make Wisdom either the divine attribute of wisdom or the abstract idea, though neither will solve the whole chapter. If Wisdom be taken for the divine attribute, a great many of the affirmations of the chapter may be explained. The divine attribute of wisdom may be said to cry to the sons of men,—to be eternal,—to have had a part in creation,—to have been God's delight,—to have rejoiced in the sons of men, etc. But there is one insuperable difficulty. It is said in verse 35, 'Whoso findeth me findeth life.' No man can find God's attribute of wisdom. It is infinite, and therefore no man can attain to it; and, consequently, God's attribute of wisdom cannot be that which is here spoken of. There is equal difficulty in receiving the abstract idea of wisdom as the subject of the chapter. To carry the abstract idea of wisdom consistently through the chapter, the idea ought to remain everywhere invariably the same. But if the word wisdom necessarily stand in one place for one idea, and in another for another idea, the abstraction is lost; and though the word remain the same, we have, in fact, two subjects. Such a change is, in this chapter, absolutely necessary; for in one place wisdom is spoken of as the possession of God: 'God possessed me the beginning of his ways;' and is, therefore, infinite and uncreate. In another place it is spoken of as the possession of man: 'He that findeth me findeth life;' and is, therefore, as being finite and created, altogether different from the wisdom before spoken of; and thus it is impossible to make the abstract idea the subject of the chapter. Besides, an abstract idea of this kind is a nonentity, or at best but a mere creation of the human mind. A personification of an abstract idea might, therefore, occur in human uninspired writings, but cannot be received in a divine revelation, and makes some parts of this chapter contain no sense at all. Thus, if abstract wisdom be the subject here spoken of, what is the meaning of the words, 'I was daily his delight, rejoicing always before him.' It has no meaning, and conveys absolutely no idea. It will not do to say, it is a figure. The figures employed, even by a sensible man, must convey some meaning. A figure without meaning is the invention of a fool, and, therefore, cannot be admitted in the word of God. The impossibility, therefore, of carrying the figure consistently through the chapter, shews that abstract wisdom is not the subject. In like manner it may be asked, How can it be said that abstract wisdom 'cries' or 'calls' to the sons of men."

"If, then, this chapter cannot be explained allegorically, the only alternative is to take it in its proper sense; and then wisdom must be acknowledged to be a personal agent, co-equal and co-eternal with the Father.

"That wisdom is an intelligent personal agent appears from the attributes and actions ascribed to her. Wisdom, 'speaks,' gives 'instruction,' 'inhabiteth prudence,' 'loves them that love her,' 'rejoices,' 'delights in the sons of men;' and, according to the parallel passage in the first chapter, 20—32, 'calls,' 'reproves,' and has a spirit which she can pour out,—actions and attributes which belong only to a personal intelligent agent. If it had been the purpose and will of God to teach that wisdom is a person, language more fitting could not be found. The easiness and obviousness of the interpretation is a strong argument for its truth. The maxim, that when an easy and proximate principle will solve the phænomena, a more remote one is not to be sought, is just as true and applicable in interpretation as in natural philosophy. The ingeniousness of an interpretation of the Bible may, therefore, always be looked on as a presumptive proof of its falsehood, and *vice versâ*, the simplicity and obviousness of an exposition as an accreditive of its truth. When, therefore, all acknowledge that wisdom is here spoken of as a person—and this the Socinians do not deny,—this fact goes far to prove that wisdom is a person. The impossibility of producing a consistent allegorical interpretation raises this presumptive evidence to absolute demonstration.

"But that the interpretation which makes wisdom a real person is the true and natural one, can be proved even by the confession of adversaries. There was a time when the deniers of Christ's eternal deity applied this passage to a real person, the Lord Jesus, and considered it as the stronghold of their doctrine. The Arians finding that the words, 'The Lord possessed me the beginning of his way,' had been rendered by the LXX., *Κύριος ἐκτίσέ με ἀρχὴν ὁδῶν αὐτοῦ*, 'The Lord created me the beginning of his ways,' endeavoured thereby to prove that Christ was a mere creature. By doing so, they acknowledged that a real person was intended, and that Christ was that person. In the *principle* of interpretation, therefore, the Arians agreed with the Catholic Church, though in their argument from the word *ἐκτίσῃ* they were mistaken, as is easily shewn. If, for the sake of argument, we admit that the Hebrew word *יָצַק* may sometimes be translated by the Greek word *κτίζω*, *to create*; yet it will not thence follow, that because it is used of wisdom, therefore wisdom is a creature. To establish this conclusion, it must be shewn either that *יָצַק* always signifies *to create*, or that, though it sometimes has another signification, it must necessarily signify *create* in this particular place. The first cannot be pretended, because it is well known that the LXX. have, besides *κτίζω*, used the words *κτάνωμαι*, *ἀγοράζω*, *παραλαμβάνω* *εἰς* *κτῆσιν*, *γεννάω*, *ἀγαπάω*, *καθίστημι*, as the rendering for *יָצַק*. The second is equally impossible. There is nothing in the context to require this translation—much, as will appear presently, to demand a different rendering. So that even granting the possibility of such a translation elsewhere, as it is not necessary here, it will not warrant the Arian conclusion. But, secondly, I must express my belief that there is no passage in the Hebrew Bible where the word *יָצַק* signifies *create*. In the first place, it is acknowledged that the most usual signification is, *to possess*, or *to obtain possession of*. This appears from the LXX. Version itself, which in sixty-four places translate *יָצַק* by *κτάνωμαι*, in four others by its cognate *ἀγοράζω*, and only twice by *κτίζω*. Secondly, it is not pretended that in any of the derivative conjugations or nouns the signification *create* is to be found. In Jer. xxxii. 15, the Niphal occurs *יָצַק יִצְחָק וְיָצַק יִצְחָק*, 'Houses shall yet be possessed.' In Zech. xiii. 5, the Hiphil occurs *יָצַק יִצְחָק וְיָצַק יִצְחָק*, where the LXX. has *ἄνθρωπος ἐγέννησέ με ἐκ νεότητός μου*, and which Aben Ezra translates *יָצַק יִצְחָק*, 'made me inherit.' The English version following Kimchi, has, 'Man taught me to keep cattle from my youth,' which still makes *possess* the sense of the root, as *יָצַק*, *possession*, is the word for cattle. The derivative nouns are *יָצַק* just mentioned, *יָצַק* *purchase*, *possession*, and *יָצַק* *possession*, so that not one of the derivative verbs or nouns testifies to the signification *create*, and all bear witness to the signification

possess. Thirdly, the passages which are cited as containing the sense *create*, are inconclusive, and may be expounded just as well or better by the word *possess*. The passages which Gesenius gives, are:—Gen. xiv. 19, 22, where the expression occurs, ‘the most high God,’ **אֱלֹהֵי שָׁמַיִם וָאָרֶץ**, ‘the possessor of heaven and earth.’ Now in both these verses the signification *possess* is more congruous to the matter in hand. First, Melchisedec blesses Abraham, because the most high God had given his enemies and their spoil into his possession, where *possessor* is evidently a more cognate idea than creator. Then Abraham swears by the most high God that he will not take from a thread to a shoe latchet, where the prominent idea is again *possession*. To swear, therefore, by him who possesses all things was perfectly natural. Here the LXX. has *ἐκτίσε*, but from what has been said, erroneously. The Targum of Onkelos has **וְהוּא שֶׁמֶן שָׁמַיִם וָאָרֶץ**, ‘whose possession is the heaven and earth.’

“The next passage is Deut. xxxii. 6.

הֲלוֹא הוּא אָבִיךָ בָּנִי

וְהוּא קָדְשְׁךָ יוֹלֵדְךָ :

‘Is he not thy father that possesseth thee?’

Hath he not made thee and established thee?’

Where the Targum and LXX. agree with the English. The former has, **הֲלוֹא הוּא אָבִיךָ וְאַתָּה הוּא וְיָלְדְךָ**, ‘Is he not thy father, and thou art his?’ The LXX.—*οὐκ αὐτὸς οὗτός σου πατήρ ἐκτίσας σε καὶ ἐποίησέ σε*. And that all three are right here, and Gesenius wrong, will be evident from a moment’s consideration of the passage. If, following Gesenius, we translate **בָּנִי** *that created thee*, we have, inasmuch as it is followed by **קָדְשְׁךָ**, *he made thee*, a sort of tautology which destroys the elegance of the passage, and obscures the beauty of the climax. Moses is shewing the heinousness of Israel’s sin. It is, he says, a sin against a father, a possessor, a maker, an establisher. Israel, he says, is bound to obey God, as a child a father,—as a slave, who is the owner’s property, his possessor,—as the creature, the creator to whom he owes his existence. As a creature, too, not made to be thrown away, but established firmly, him who has power to annihilate, and yet has vouchsafed to establish. Here is a beautiful and forcible gradation, which Gesenius’s interpretation entirely destroys.

“The last passage which he adduces is Ps. cxxxix. 13, **כִּי אֶתְּהָא קִנְיִן בְּלִיִּי**, ‘For thou hast possessed my reins,’ which the LXX. translates in the same manner, *ὅτι σὺ ἐκτήσω τοὺς νεφροὺς μου*. At first sight it might appear as if the signification *create* were here necessary, but further consideration shews that here also, to preserve the gradation, *possess* is necessary. The Psalmist had said, ‘The darkness and the light are both alike with thee:’ he then gives the reason—‘Thou hast possessed my reins; thou hast covered me in my mother’s womb.’ If **קִנְיִן** here signify *create*, both members of the verse convey exactly the same idea—‘My thoughts must be known to thee, because thou hast created me; i. e., a poverty of idea is concealed by a variety of language. But if the sense *possess* be retained in the first member, we have a gradation of thought as well as a change of words—‘My thoughts are all open to thee, for thou possessedst my reins, the fountain of thought; yea, thou didst create me even in my mother’s womb.’

“In no case, therefore, is there any necessity for the signification *create*. On the contrary, as producing tautology and weakening the thought, it cannot be received. The meaning of the word, then, in the passage before us, is that which it has in every other passage of the Bible; that is, *possess*. Such also was the opinion of the great Albert Schultens, who in his comment on the passage, says, ‘Quid venæ interioris in verbo **קִנְיִן** indicavi ad cap. 4, 5, tanquam peculium eximie carum vel acquirere vel possidere,’ *in loc.* But besides the general usage of the Bible, the context of this verse declares against the possibility of a creature being here intended.

The attributes and actions ascribed to wisdom are those which exclusively belong to the very and eternal God.

“First, wisdom is said to be the source of royal and judicial authority, and of the wisdom whereby it is justly exercised—‘By me kings reign, and princes decree justice.’ In Daniel ii. 21, it is predicated of God—‘He removeth kings and setteth up kings: he giveth wisdom to the wise,’ etc.

“Secondly, wisdom is described as eternal. ‘The Lord possessed me the beginning of his way, before his works of old. I was set up from everlasting, from the beginning or ever the earth was,’ מִקְדָּמָה אֲנִי מְקִימָה which Schultens translates—*ab anterioritatibus terræ*; and on which he remarks, *Illa anteriora terræ haud dubie iterum æternitatem exprimunt*. The verses which follow, when compared with the 90th Psalm, put this beyond doubt. ‘When there were no depths, I was brought forth: when there were no fountains abounding with water. Before the mountains were settled, before the hills was I brought forth.’ In almost the same language Moses describes the divine eternity—‘Before the mountains were brought forth, or ever thou hadst formed the earth and the world, even from everlasting to everlasting thou art God.’

“Thirdly, wisdom is said to have a temple and sacrifices. . . .

“Fourthly, wisdom gives the very same invitation here which in Isaiah is ascribed to God. . . .

“Fifthly, both make the same promise of life to obedience. . . .

“Sixthly, wisdom promises to do what God alone can do. She says, ‘Behold, I will pour out my spirit upon you.’ . . .

“Seventhly, wisdom executes judgment upon those who refuse to hearken, just as God does. . . .

“The most careless reader of the Bible must observe that the language used concerning wisdom is the very same as that used concerning God. The Being who is the source of all authority, royal and judicial; who is eternal; who has a temple and sacrifices; who can bestow the same spiritual food; give the same promise of life; dispense the gift of the Holy Spirit, and execute judgment upon the disobedient—must be God: though, from having been eternally anointed, brought forth from everlasting, and God’s delight, a distinctness of personality is asserted.”^c

These remarks of Dr. McCaul will suffice to shew that competent judges of Hebrew are *not* compelled to depart from the common rendering of this chapter, though Dr. Davidson without proof asserts the contrary. The remarks on interpretation will shew that the belief that the eternal Son of God is here spoken of, is one which cannot be set aside by a few assertions. Dr. Davidson’s statements seem to have originated in a desire to avoid the proof afforded in this chapter to distinct personality in the Godhead: they ignore the strong and full arguments on the subject, which, *perhaps*, if they had proceeded from a foreign writer, might have been deemed worthy of attention. God’s revealed truth is untouched by assertions, even though unhappily some minds may be troubled.

S. P. TREGELLES.

LORD HERVEY ON THE GENEALOGIES OF OUR LORD.

To the Editor of “The Journal of Sacred Literature.”

DEAR SIR,—Lord A. Hervey’s reply, in your number of last April, to my observations on his Scriptural “Genealogies” of the January preceding, should have been sooner noticed by me, lest his Lordship’s propositions

^c *The Eternal Sonship of the Messiah.* A Sermon, by the Rev. Alexander McCaul, D.D. Appendix 2.

in that reply should be held to be acquiesced in : and I trust, though late in the field, you will allow me still to answer them.

Lord Hervey divides the objections in my letter into two heads : one of which he designates "*obscure inferences*," comprehending the points as to the two families of Caleb and Salmon : the other he calls "*a distinct argument*," relating to the genealogies of Jerahmeel's family ; and the identity of Zabad, an Egyptian offset of that house, with one of David's "*valiant men*," in 1 Chron. xi. 41.

As I mean to be brief, I will proceed at once to the "*distinct argument*," and begin with the first point of that division, and the state of Jerahmeel's family. Lord Hervey asks on this subject, "Why your correspondent makes the twenty-four generations of Jerahmeel, found in 1 Chron. ii. 35, come down to the time of David? If I should assert," says his Lordship, "that Jerahmeel's line is brought down to Hezekiah's reign, or to the captivity, how will your correspondent prove me wrong?" My answer is, Because the whole of the chapter is plainly a compilation of the age of David ; drawn up to shew the state of his own family, and some of its recognized collateral branches, at no very late period of the king's life. The whole table constitutes one genealogical tree of the royal house, beginning with its root in Judah, and from Hezron, a main stem of that root, deducing three branches or lines of collateral descent, down to the time of David. Of these, the first refers to David's own progenitors, from Ram the second son of Hezron, which is given in its legal generations only, as St. Matthew gives it ; but in connexion with which there is an account of the brothers of the king, and his two sisters, Zeruiah and Abigail, with the king's nephews from those sisters ; all of whom, brothers and nephews, were "*celebrities*" of David's reign. There that line stops ; plainly ending with the time of the king, and taking precedence of the other two branches of the house of Hezron, because it was the royal line. Its close is at ver. 17, with Amasa the son of Abigail.

From this verse to verse 24 succeed two "*riders*" to the line of Hezron ; such as are commonly found in old pedigrees, to shew the names of celebrated persons upon worn-out or disconnected collateral stems ; shewing that from the common root, through the youngest son of Hezron, had proceeded the three historical "*celebrities*,"—Hur, Uri, and Bezaleel ; all mentioned in the events of the Exodus. It shews also that, by a second marriage of Hezron with a sister of Gilead, the family in that line had become the inheritors of threescore cities in Gilead : and by the same connexion had also come the inheritance in Tekoa. This parenthetical record ends at ver. 24.

Then, at ver. 25, succeeds the pedigree of Jerahmeel, the firstborn of Hezron, who seems to have produced no celebrated men : and this extends, in its proper Jewish line, to ver. 33 ; ending in the usual words, "*these were the sons of Jerahmeel*." To this is subjoined the pedigree of a foreign offset of the house of Sheshan, (the sixth in descent from Jerahmeel), by a marriage of a daughter of Sheshan with an Egyptian servant of her father. In this account it is incidentally mentioned that Sheshan had no sons, but only daughters : and in its proper place in Jerahmeel's pedigree, under the line of Sheshan, it is written at ver. 31, thus :

“The sons of Ishi, Sheshan; and the *children* of Sheshan, *Ahlai*.” Lord Hervey considers that the descendants of the Egyptian were entitled to this name “of Ahlai;” but the account does not warrant it. The Egyptian line is distinct, and wholly unconnected with the direct line of descent from the wife’s ancestor. This foreign line ends conclusively with the name of Elishama; and as it appears to me, in the time of David. At ver. 42 commences the genealogy of the third son of Hezron—“*Caleb the brother of Jerahmeel* :” and at ver. 50 follows one of “*Caleb the son of Hur, the firstborn of Ephratah* ;” which Hur is shewn above to have been the son of Caleb (Hezron’s son) by a second wife, (the Ephratah from whom it is before stated had proceeded Hur, Uri, and Bezaleel). This double descent of the family of Caleb, probably from being both celebrated men, completely explains the historian’s use of the name in its plural number; in ver. 9; where he first enumerates the three branches of Hezron’s family.

In the descents of the first Caleb, which extend to eight generations, there are found in the fourth and two subsequent generations, as I shewed in my letter of January, several names of the old towns and villages of Judah; which names, as they are in parallel generations to the lines of Bezaleel and the next descent, fix the period of those *town-bearing names* as of the time of Bezaleel and his next succeeding line; and plainly therefore in the time of Joshua and the settlement of the land.

In the account of “*the second Caleb*,” the son of Hur, there is a similar purpose very evident, of shewing descendent towns or settlements from that line: but there these settlements appear, not in the FOURTH and sequent lines from the name of Caleb, as in the former case; but in the SECOND descent and its sequences from that name; corresponding exactly to the relative dates of the two Chelubai, in relation to the period of the country’s settlement. Thus, from this Caleb it is shewn came Shobal the father of Kirjath-jearim, Salma the father of Beth-lehem, Hareph the father of Beth-gader. From the families of Kirjath-jearim came the Ithrites, the Puhites, and other families. From the sons of Salma, besides Beth-lehem, came *the Netophathites*, “*Ataroth*” *the house of Joab* (interpreted “crowns” of the house of Joab), and other families.

An object in shewing these families of Hezron and their towns to be collateral branches of the king’s house was likely to have arisen in the time of a first king of the line of Hezron, but could not very well have happened at any other time: and the reference to Joab, in connexion with the last of these names, who was the most celebrated of David’s captains, as well as his nephew, seems again to indicate the termination of their descents in the time of that king. I do not venture to determine the meaning of the expression, “*Ataroth the house of Joab*,” in connexion with the name of Netophathites; but it is remarkable that Joab is always designated “*the son of Zeruah*,” his mother’s name, and not by that of a paternal house: and being thus of an unregistered male descent by his own birth, it is not probable he was numbered with this family of *the Netophathites*, who are designated as *the crown or head of his house*. It seems the very same thing as occurs in the female descendants of Sheshan above referred to, who were called *Ahlai*; undoubtedly from

being numbered with a house of that name. The same thing possibly gave rise to the patronymic of "the son of Jephunneh" to the younger Caleb; whose *generation* is referred to a *maternal descent in Ephratah*.

In this chapter (1 Chron. ii.) we find the most cogent reasons therefore, as to two of the families of Hezron, for concluding that the pedigrees contained in it were framed for the time of David. The foreign, or Egyptian branch from Hezron, lies between these two; and it seems contrary to a just reasoning to suppose that this supplementary line extends ten generations further down, than the other two. As if, in a pedigree of king James of his own time, we should find a collateral branch of the Stuart family, reaching down to the time of George III. It may be true that there is no historical connexion noticeable, in the concluding branches of that Egyptian line, with the events of David's reign: yet it is remarkable that its concluding name, Elishama, is the same name as was given to one of David's porphyrogenital sons (born to him in Jerusalem): and if that Egyptian line had become recognized from any cause, as being of kindred to the king; as the finding its register among those of the royal house does of itself indicate to have been the case; it is at least probable that the name of David's son, Elishama, may have been borrowed from that living connexion of the royal family.

Lord Hervey argues that this Egyptian pedigree might have reached to the time of Alexander the Great; "because the next chapter of these chronicles carries down the genealogies there recorded to that period; or, anyhow, down to the time of Ezra." But this third chapter expressly treats of "*the successions from David*:" and if anything was wanting to exclude the genealogies of the second chapter from a later descent than David's own time, it is that we find this third chapter exclusively devoted to the post-Davidian successions. For it plainly shews that what related to those post-Davidian successions was comprehended in that chapter; and also, after the time of David himself, that the royal genealogists took no heed of any old collateral branches at all, but confined their tables to the direct descendants of the king. That third chapter therefore registers the two families born to David at Hebron and Jerusalem distinctively; and then carries on the line of Solomon alone, down to the time, probably of Alexander the Great, as Lord Hervey supposes.

The second point, under the head of "*distinct argument*," arises upon the name of "*Zabad*," found in the third descent of the Egyptian line from Sheshan. Of this person Lord Hervey argues that he must have lived in the time of David, because it was the name of one of the "*valiant men*" of that king, who is called "*the son of Ahlai*." "It so happens," writes his Lordship, "that not only is there no proof that Jerahmeel's line ends in the time of David, but there is distinct and positive proof that it extends ten generations after David; for the fourteenth in the list of Jerahmeel's descendants is a well-known person, who flourished in David's time, and was one of his mighty men. He is described as '*Zabad the son of Ahlai*:' and that he is the same person as '*Zabad*' in your correspondent's list (the list of numerical descents from Jerahmeel to the time of David), whose descent from Ahlai is given 1 Chron. ii. 31, 36, is self-evident."

A moment's reference to the verses referred to, verses 31 and 36; but taking care not to omit the intermediate one, ver. 33; will shew that the Egyptian, *Zabad*, could have no title at all to the patronymic of the proper households of Sheshan's daughters. The one account which assigns to those daughters and their descendants in ver. 31 the name of "*Ahlai*," is wholly separated by ver. 36 from the other, which gives the name of "*Zabad*" to the third descendant of Jarha, the Egyptian husband of the alienated sister. *Zabad* was probably a common name of the house of Jerahmeel (nay, it was common to all the families of Jacob, for we find it in Manasseh's, 1 Chron. vii. 21), and might be found in David's time among the descendants of Sheshan's daughters; and from them it would have derived the patronymic or household appellation of "*Ahlai*;" as would happen in any other generation of the same family.

The same method of reckoning by the Heads of houses is pursued in all the registers of David's worthies without any exception; and this is effected sometimes by a reference to the localities of their birth, and sometimes to the Names, which gave origination to those localities. In this same list in which "*Zabad*" is named, we find Shammoth the Harorite, Heled the Netophathite, and then Mibhar *the son of Haggeri*, or *the Haggerite*, as the Margin interprets it: then again, Ira the Ithrite, and *Zabad the son of Ahlai*,—or surely *the Ahlathite*, by the same method of interpretation. The list is formed throughout in the same way. But Lord Hervey says, this identity of the two *Zabads* "*is self-evident*" (?) Then the same registers make it also "*self-evident*," that a grandson of Moses was a contemporary of David; for in chap. xxvi. 24 of this same book, we find that "*Shebuel the son of Gershom, the son of Moses*," was appointed to be chief ruler over David's Treasury. Happily ver. 21 of the same chapter affords an explanation of this difficulty (to those who would so regard it), for there this "*son of Gershom*" is changed into its proper phrase of "*the Gershomite*;" as I suggest the "*son of Ahlai*," ought to be into "*the Ahlathite*." Compare also 1 Chron. 6, 11, with Nehem. ii. 11. But besides this objection, it appears to me that there must always be a doubt as to the very name of this ancestral house; for the Septuagint does not designate the family of Sheshan in 1 Chron. ii. 31 by the name of "*Ahlai*" at all, but by that of "*Dadai*." In the second passage of 1 Chron. 11, 41 also, it writes the name in question there *Zabet*, and not *Zabad*, and calls his house *Achaia*—Σαβερ υἱος Ἀχαια. Modern Hebraists may say the Septuagint misinterpreted these names: but those writers lived while Hebrew was yet a living language, and they were Greeks as well as Hebrews who translated the Book. If they could not err, therefore, in their rendering of these names, it must be taken that these, 'Παραλειπομενα,' in their hands, differed from the present Hebrew text, presuming the modern Hebraists to be correct in their interpretation. It is impossible to treat these records, however, as otherwise than doubtful, where such discrepancies are found to exist. And as Lord H. calls his deductions, based upon the modern copies, "*a conclusive argument*," I must again say it appears to me wholly insufficient to shake the settled chronology. I must turn now to the "*obscure inferences*" of my former letter; and first as to the Houses of Caleb.

In 1 Chron. ii. 42 there is, as I have before stated, a table of the genealogy of "Caleb" the brother of Jerameel, evidently so designated to distinguish him from the later branch of the same name; which table concludes with a notice (v. 49), that "the daughter of Caleb was Achsa." Lord Hervey attributes this statement "*to some manifest confusion.*" "We know," he says, "that the father of Achsa was Caleb the Spy," Josh. 15, 16. But with great deference, I cannot perceive any signs of confusion in this. It is as plain a statement as that the sons of Hezron were Jerahmeel and Ram and Chelubai, which occurs in ver. 9 of the same chapter. It is true there was a daughter of the younger Caleb the Spy, whose name was also Achsa; but she lived two generations lower down, and must have been "*great niece*" to the former. That is not surely "*an obscure inference,*" nor an inference at all; but an historical fact following the two distinct accounts of these families. The "*inferring*" the contrary to what the histories state, makes the obscurity complained of; and under that difficulty Lord H. doubts, whether there ever could be such a person as the elder Caleb,—whether, in effect, Hezron ever had a son or Jerahmeel a brother, of that name. "I cannot forbear adding," he says, "that the existence of the elder Caleb seems to me a very doubtful matter." And this is said in the face of two distinct pedigrees, given in immediate sequence to one another; of Caleb the brother of Jerahmeel, and Caleb the son of Hur, whose descent from that first Caleb is distinctly stated in another part of the same chapter. I confess, indeed, I cannot follow the drift of some of his Lordship's doubts on these subjects; since he denies that 1 Chron. ii. 50 shews any recognizable connexion between Caleb the Spy or the younger Caleb, and the house of Hur.

I must beg leave however to repeat the argument of Lord H. on this point, for fear I should have mistaken it. "He, the younger Caleb," says his Lordship, "may have been connected with the house of Hur, very possibly; but as far as I am aware, there is nothing by which we can determine *what the connection was, only* in 1 Chron. xi. 50 (meaning 1 Chron. ii. 50) *he is called Caleb, the son of Hur*, the first-born of Ephratah!" To be sure, I always thought there was a sort of *connexion* between a son and his father! But do I understand this passage, or has "*my weird*" blinded my eyes, that I cannot see some unapparent drift in this curious conclusion? His Lordship says also: "That the connexion of this same Caleb with Salma, the father of Bethlehem, is not either more obvious;" although there also he is called the "*father of Salma.*" Again, that the patronymic of "the son of Jephunneh must be solely applied to Caleb the Spy." In my letter I had indeed supposed that that patronymic might have been older than the first Caleb, and been borne by both the two Calebs; but how the question can be taken to make in any way for his Lordship's argument, I cannot discover. Lord H. refers under the requisition of it to 1 Chron. iv. 15, where only the question can any how be raised; which states simply and unconnectedly, that "*the sons of Caleb the son of Jephunneh* were Iru, Elah, and Naam, and the sons of Elah, even Kenaz." But let it be granted that this Kenaz is not the Kenaz from whom the younger branch of the Calebs took the title of Kenazite, but is a descendant from that younger Caleb, how does that conclusion

serve to negative or do away with the accounts of the elder Caleb, which are given in the second chapter? I will grant at once then that it is, as Lord Hervey supposes, that the spy only bore that appellation; and all that is to be deduced from that concession is, that Caleb, who is called the son of Hezron and the brother of Jerahmeel, did not bear the name of "the son of Jephunneh." But if we may not apply the title of the son of Jephunneh to the son of Hezron, or he who was the father of Hur, Uri, and Bezaleel; it seems to me equally clear that neither can we apply the title of the son of Hezron and brother of Jerahmeel to him who was companion with Joshua in the wilderness; who says of himself, that he was forty years old on that occasion, and eighty-five when Joshua gave him Hebron as the reward of his fidelity; and who gave Achsa his daughter, to Othniel (Josh. xiv. 6 and 10). Hezron was one of those who went with Jacob into Egypt; his son could hardly be with Moses in the wilderness, and forty years of age, 215 years afterwards? And then, allowing all this, we must ask Lord Hervey if Hur, Uri, and Bezaleel were not the descendants of Caleb the son of Hezron, as stated 1 Chron. ii. 20, where will he find the pedigree of these eminent men? And again, if the son of Jephunneh, the spy, is of the house of Judah, as stated Numb. xiii. 6, and from the sons of Hezron, where will Lord H. find an account of his descent, if he rejects that from Hur the grandson of Hezron, through Ephratah, as stated in 1 Chron. ii. 50.

I come now to the second subject of "*the obscure inferences*;" namely, whether "*Salmon*," who was the father of "*Boaz*," can be the same person as "*Salmon*" the son of Nahshon, the captain of the host of Judah under Moses, and whose sister was married to Aaron, as shewn in my letter of January. On this point Lord Hervey refers to St. Matthew's genealogy of our Lord, as an authority in support of his position. He says, "St. Matthew's testimony is one from which there is no escape; that Boaz was the son of Salmon, and that his mother was Rahab, who, *we know*, from the Book of Joshua, lived at the time of the entrance into Canaan." For though St. Matthew's testimony, that "Boaz was the son of Salmon by Rachab," may indeed be granted as conclusive, it by no means follows that "*we know*" from the Book of Joshua "that this Rachab lived at the time of the entrance into Canaan." And I would ask his Lordship to produce a single authority of any kind or sort, by which it is shewn that such was the case. I cannot, indeed, but express a little surprise at Lord Hervey's resting a question, on which so much depends to the credit or discredit of the Church, upon a fact, which it is not too much to say, has not a shadow of foundation. Since even the Rabbinical Jews, from whose manufacture it proceeds, do not agree in their pretended traditions upon the subject,—some even holding that it was Joshua himself who took that forlorn flower to his bosom, and others, that the marriage with the households of Israel was by a granddaughter of Rahab, who bore her name,—and was she, whom the genealogies shew as the wife of Salmon, the father of Boaz? The testimonies of Scripture are wholly silent on the subject of any such marriage; and both the Book of Joshua, to whose authority Lord Hervey refers, and the later historian of the Jews, Josephus, give an account of the settlement of Rahab in Israel, which is absolutely incompatible with

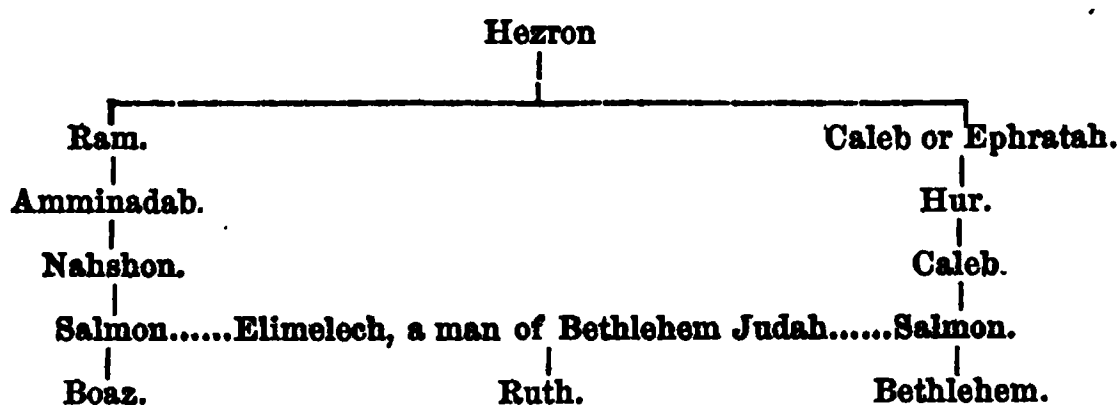
any marriage at all; and, least of all, with a marriage into one of the chief families of the land. The former, says that "Joshua saved Rahab the harlot alive, and her father's household and all that she had, and she dwelleth in Israel even unto this day" (Josh. vi. 25). Josephus says, that Joshua owed to her, that he owed her thanks for her preservation of the spies, and gave her certain lands immediately, and had her in great esteem ever afterwards" (*Antiq.*, v., 1, 7). This is absolutely all that is anywhere recorded of her. But of the fact itself, of her marriage with Salmon, the prohibition of the Jewish Law (Deut. vii. 3), which forbade any of the congregation from intermarrying with the seven nations of Canaan, may be taken as conclusively against it. I have said, there must be an interval between *the Salmon* of this period and the father of Boaz: but Lord Hervey disputes this. Now it is not necessary, in refutation of that denial, to enter into a discussion upon the nature of the Jewish laws on the subject, to shew that their legal genealogies could by possibility omit one or more successions in the traductions of their families; because this very table of St. Matthew affords an instance of such an omission in the second section of it. This occurs in the name of Ozias, who is called by St. Matthew the son of Joram, and the father of Joatham; whereas the son of Joram was *Ahasiah*, and the father of Joatham *Azariah*, three descents lower down. These two names the legal genealogy has associated in one; as, I think, the older genealogists did with the two remote names of Salmon. But surely this instance should have made Lord Hervey less confident in the authority of this genealogy of St. Matthew, as a chronological authority.

As this point is rather important, I shall again transgress the limits of a letter by recapitulating this succession; to which your readers may refer for their better satisfaction. St. Matthew's account runs thus—(1) Josaphat begat (2) Joram, and Joram begat (3) Ozias, and Ozias begat (4) Joatham. The first Book of Kings (which coincides with the genealogy of 1 Chron. iii.), has the account of this descent thus—(1) Jehoshaphat reigned 25 years, 1 Kings xxii. 42; (2) Jehoram, his son, reigned 8 years, 2 Kings viii. 17; (3) Ahaziah, son of Joram, reigned one year, *Ib.* viii. 24 and 26; (4) Joash, his son (who was saved by his aunt from Athaliah), reigned, in connexion with the usurped reign, 46 years, *Ib.* xi. 3, and xii. 1; (5) Amaziah, son of Joash, reigned 29 years, *Ib.* xii. 21, and xiv. 2 and 19; (6) Azariah, his son, reigned 52 years, *Ib.* xiv. 21, and xv. 2; and references, at verse 7, Jotham's father is called "*Azariah*;" at verse 32 (7) Jotham, his son, reigned 16 years, *Ib.* xv. 7 and 32. In these last he is called Uziah, answering to St. Matthew's "*Ozias*," who begat Jotham. The legal pedigree therefore in this section, as given by St. Matthew, omits three generations, Nos. 3, 4, and 5, and 76 years in this one period and family. Whatever was the cause of these omissions, your readers must perceive that it fully justifies the supposition I have ventured to make, that a similar hiatus might exist in the older genealogy, between the "*Salmon*" of the Exodus, and "the Salmon who begat Boaz of Rachab;" by which designation St. Matthew hands down the name of the great great grandfather of David, as it seems to me, to distinguish him from some other Salmon. On this point arises also the question, whether

Bethlehem Judah ought to be regarded as an old town in the time of Boaz, or his predecessor Elimelech (Ruth i. 2). Lord H. says, "he does not see, beyond H. M. G.'s assertion, the faintest indication of the settlements (of the Jewish villages) being old in the time of Boaz." His Lordship argues also that the description in Ruth, "a certain man of Bethlehem Judah," does not necessarily imply that it spoke of his abode, for it might refer to his family stock. "In many places," he says, "it might be doubtful, as in the case of the Ephrathites, whether it (the name) were derived from the town where they dwelt, or the head of a house." His Lordship overlooks, I think, that the historian precedes this account with the words, "It came to pass in the days when the judges ruled;" and that Josephus states, that Elimelech's resort to Moab on account of the famine, occurred in the days of Eli. But the supposition, that the expression, "a man of Bethlehem-Judah" can in this history refer to the family head, and not to the town, is completely negatived by a passage in the Book of Judges of the same period, or a yet earlier date; in which the *city of Bethlehem Judah* is expressly named, in a way which leaves no doubt that it was then a well known and established town. This occurs in Judges xvii. 7 and 8, to which I must refer your readers.

I think, then, the common understanding of the passage in Ruth will be against Lord Hervey's perception about it; for it appears to me to be plainly used in the same manner that sacred writers speak of "*Elisha the Tishbite*;" or the Greeks of "*Aristotle the Stagyrite*."

The town of Bethlehem undoubtedly took its name from a *Descendant of Hezron*, through Caleb, Hur, Caleb, and Salma; and if Boaz was the son of that Salma, who came also from Hezron through Ram, Amminadab, and Nahshon (parallel generations), and Boaz was the contemporary of Ruth; then Elimelech would be the contemporary of the two Salmons, and one generation above that Bethlehem, from whom he derived his appellation, as "*the man of Bethlehem Judah*." This will appear better in the annexed formula—



or, if we consider Ruth to have been one generation lower in descent than her second husband, which Boaz was, and which may be granted, yet Lord Hervey's theory will then only make Elimelech to be the coeval with Bethlehem; and Elimelech being, as Josephus affirms, the coeval of Eli, also, Bethlehem must have been unsettled and not a city, by the new hypothesis, in the time of Eli; and, consequently, after all the events of the eleven judges, who judged Israel, with their intervening servitudes to the Moabites, Canaanites, Midianites, Ammonites, and Philistines, which occupied what may be called all the heroic age between Joshua and Samuel.

Is not this a "*reductio ad absurdum*," and justly attributable to the new theory? If Salmon, the son of Nahshon, can be the father of Boaz, the story of the Judges must be an ideal history. I have suggested, therefore, that there may be "*a chasm*" between the son of Nahshon and the father of Boaz by omitted generations. The only question, as it appears to me, is, whether such omissions were ever had recourse to in the concoction of the legal genealogies of the Jews. If it could be denied that such was the case, the received chronology of the Church must be wrong: but such denial I have shewn cannot be made; and if it is admitted, Lord Hervey's theory, or rather the present popular theory of the day,—for the theory is not new with his Lordship,—cannot be supported.

I am, dear Sir,

Yours faithfully,

H. M. G.

Hitcham Rectory, 1st November, 1856.

THE REV. ROWLAND WILLIAMS' ACCOUNT OF HIS WORK ON CHRISTIANITY AND HINDUISM.

To the Editor of the Journal of Sacred Literature.

SIR,—I am on the point of publishing a dialogue on *Hindúism and Christianity*, which dramatic propriety requires me to put forth in rather a naked form. Yet some explanation as to the origin and plan of the work may be acceptable to the theological world; and the *Journal of Sacred Literature* may, with your kind permission, be as fit a medium as any for conveying it.

This is the ninth year since a member of the Bengal Civil Service offered, through the University of Cambridge, a prize of £500 for the best refutation of Hindúism, with a comparative vindication of Christianity, to be conveyed in the form of dialogue. He wished the work to be at once simple and profound; to avoid technical terms; yet to be adapted to that educated class of natives, who understood the old philosophical systems of India, and also, in some cases, are familiar with European literature. Thus was proposed a task of no little difficulty.

To Dr. Whewell the university is indebted for the suggestion, that a preliminary essay should be proposed, and that the writer of the best should receive one fifth of the prize fund, and then be permitted to write the main book, with the prospect of afterwards receiving the rest of the prize. Having myself given much attention to the subject of Christian evidences, and looked at the elements of Sanscrit with a view to comparative philology, I embraced the opportunity thus opened; and having had the preliminary prize awarded to me, was directed by the rare compliment of a special *grace* of the senate, to proceed with the main work. Change of residence, and pressure of employments and anxieties, subsequently interposed delay: and, although the subject has been so constantly before my

mind, that *nearly all my studies and speculations have been subsidiary to it*, the execution of the whole has proceeded only by fragments in vacation time, and that of the last six chapters has been compressed within the past year.

It is not wonderful, that the difficulties of the subject opened more before me, the more I dwelt upon it. The utmost care, in procuring the best authorities available, must still leave a writer in this country at the mercy, in some measure, of conjecture; obliged, perhaps, to supply what seems wanting to the coherence of the systems he describes, by what appears to him logical inference, while yet it has something of imagination. When however we have framed to ourselves such a picture of Hindú conceptions as seems likely to correspond with the mode in which the natives themselves view things, the result is not quite so palpably absurd, or so easily refutable, as may be generally supposed. The genius of their system on the whole is Pantheistic; yet, with their many varieties of thought, it is difficult to say how far this is so. Nor does there seem, even among Englishmen, an entire agreement as to the definitions of pure Theism and of Pantheism, and the precise boundary which separates the two. Some apply the term Pantheism to any sense of the vast and the infinite in things spiritual; almost, perhaps, ascribing it to Bishop Berkeley for his theory of Idealism; certainly to Sir Isaac Newton^a for regarding the universe as the *sensorium* of Deity—(a phrase, indeed, which has a curious sound). Others, with more propriety, as I conceive, reserve the term Pantheism for such a deification of nature as takes away the clear self-consciousness or personality of a moral Governor of the world. Now, in this last sense, I am not certain that even the Vedántists are, from the force of their principles, necessarily Pantheists, (and I observe that Dr. Ballantyne in India is reported as entertaining a somewhat similar doubt.) For the Vedántists appear not so much to destroy the Divine Personality, as to *diffuse* it indefinitely in what seems to us a vague spiritualism of nature, which yet they contrive to reconcile with the idea of Divine Government. But the Vedánta system has had many stages, which are not necessarily consistent with each other; and again, it has to be balanced against antagonistic systems of thought, with which the fertile womb of Indian speculation seems ever teeming.

Those who are aware in Europe how Thomas Aquinas defended Transubstantiation by saying that the *substance* of a thing is its *virtue*, (thereby turning metaphysics into a juggle,) will understand what sort of relation the more philosophical systems of India bear to the popular idolatry. Nor need they be told, how difficult must be the process of half search and half divination, by which a writer who has never been in India can alone endeavour to trace out so tangled a mass of speculation and practice. Yet even a thoughtful reader may be surprized, if not disappointed, to find as the result of such a process, a more defensible aspect of Hindú thought, than he had before imagined to exist.

To myself, however, it seemed most worthy of the sacred cause I was

^a The saying, "Deus est anima brutorum," quoted by Lord Brougham from the *Principia*, might also seem open to question.

pleading, and of the great University which entrusted me with it, that no sentiment should be put in the mouth of any native speaker, which I had not reason to believe that natives in such circumstances might use. There might be the danger of making them argue better than they would for themselves; yet this is less than would be the evil of caricaturing their opinions intentionally. All my native speakers therefore speak their best; and the Christians answer them as well as they can.

Here then arose another difficulty: whoever applies the tests of historical criticism to the religion of another, must ask himself what would be the result if the same weapons were turned against his own. If such a course be not always a duty, both the sharp intellect of the Hindús, and their acquaintance with the works of our freest-spoken critics, render it in their case a necessity. If we quote Lassen on the Vedas, we must be prepared for Gesenius on Isaiah. Hence many questions, which to good Christians appear hardly to admit of being raised, had to be tossed about in my mind, as it were dramatically, from all sorts of points of view. Could, for instance, the most literally and remotely predictive view of Hebrew prophecy be sustained with Bishop Newton and his follower Keith; or must it be enlarged and spiritualized with Davison; or even transformed almost entirely into moral sentiment with Dr. Arnold? *This was no new question to me:* but both my book and my collegiate duties compelled me to view it over again in all manner of lights. Nor could the views of contemporary critics, even if their learning were accompanied by scepticism, be altogether overlooked by me. It had become my duty, and was not wantonness in me to search patiently, and to report. Truly the results at which I gradually arrived have been partly expounded in a book called *Rational Godliness*. The reception given to that book only deepened my conviction that the most received views of prophecy, as *remote secular prediction*, rest on no ground of Biblical criticism; and the coercive weapons employed in their favour against myself were not in my power to turn against the Hindús.

It only remained, either that I should give up my task, or that I should hurry through it servilely, with mere dramatic, not to say disingenuous, repetition of arguments which I did not believe; or else that I should endeavour to lift the whole argument of prophetic interpretation, and consequently of Christian evidence, into a higher region of generalization than, as far as I know, any Anglican divine has yet distinctly placed it in. This last course is the one I have chosen. It appears to me that our mode of viewing prophecy altogether requires a change analogous to that in observers of nature, when they rise from "*final causes*" as applied in special contrivances for minute ends, into an idea of *general types*, and of thought on the largest scale, expressing itself as *law*. Nor will such a change injure the faith which Christ himself taught, or the *truth* which he bare witness to; but it may make *revelation* appear a more inward and mental process than we generally conceive it to be, and may place our paramount witness in the purified conscience, rather than in outward wonder and logical inference.

But a more immediate question is, How far does my free exegesis, both of prophecy and of texts, by which some ecclesiastical dogmas are

commonly defended, affect the value of my book; if not as an exposition of truth, yet in its relation to the special object, for which it is intended, of refuting Hindúism? Even from this point of view, I do not see that it was my duty to alter the demonstrable facts of the case. Yet I am so far sensible of what Mr. Muir, the donor of the prize, may have expected, that I have offered, if he choose, to give the entire surplus of the £400, after the expense of printing my dialogue, to constitute a fresh prize for the most impartial analysis of Hebrew prophecy in its Messianic or other bearings. This offer, I should hope, may both shew my own sincerity, and tend to elicit truth on an interesting subject. If Mr. Muir does not accept it, I shall give the money ultimately to some charitable use in my own country; though I am not conscious of any shortcoming in the matter of this work which could lay me under obligation of waiving its hire.

In fine, the plan of my dialogue is briefly this:—First, a Buddhist speaker expounds his religious views (as I have been able to gather them from a vast quantity of authorities), and protests against other versions of them, as due to antagonism, or to misunderstanding. A Hindú philosopher of the Sánkhyā school, which supplied Buddhism with its speculative element, follows with an exposition of what seems to be an Indian form of rationalism. The devout Vedāntist, who appeals to the Vedās as his inspired authorities, but who builds upon them a metaphysical system quite at variance with their text, then vindicates his own religion as the most orthodox form of divine revelation. Next, a sceptical materialist throws in objections, partly of Indian, and partly of European growth. The younger of the Christian speakers is made then to refute such parts of the scepticism as bore equally against all religions, and thereby conciliates the more devout of the native disputants. He then proceeds to criticise the native systems, and in this part of the work, he is employed, both in laying bare the weak points of Hindúism, and in laying down such preliminaries of natural theology, or ethics, or piety, as may supply an antecedent probability for revelation. The readers of Hooker and Davison, and of the first half of Butler, will here recognize modes of thought with which they are familiar. Still the apathy and indifferentism of the Hindú disputants are hard to overcome. At length, after some *historical and chronological disquisition, which demonstrates the futility of any claim on part of Hindúism to Divine and immutable infallibility*, the younger Christian expounds Christianity on the basis of our Lord's Prayer. He then sketches rapidly the lives and doctrines of our Lord and his apostles, glances at Old Testament History, and enters on the vexed question of prophetic interpretation. He lies here under an obligation of producing arguments which shall hold good against such analytical criticism as he has himself directed against the system of the Hindús, and thereby taught them to use. In this prospect he had abstained, in the first part, from using some popular arguments. Nor less delicate is the task of answering objections, such as are known to be actually brought by Hindús against the Christian faith, or may be conjectured not to have been overlooked by them. Both as regards criticism and doctrine in this department, the elder of the two strangers is made to state the stricter,

or more formally orthodox, mode of viewing things; while his younger companion is permitted to vindicate the *same truth* in a more apologetic and explanatory style. The difference is nearly what might be between Professor Hey and Dr. Mill. In treating doctrine generally, less stress is laid upon the logical propositions embodying it than upon the Christian feelings, of which it is the moulded expression, though those feelings are considered indicative of spiritual realities. I am not without hopes that this portion of the work may even re-act favourably upon our own popular theology, by suggesting consideration of what our formulas once meant, and of the degree in which that meaning is now preserved. With somewhat greater confidence, I should hope that my book may be useful to Indian *Missionaries*, both as apprizing them of the strength of the system they are about to assail, and as suggesting the arguments, or the spirit with which they may best approach it. Whether the book can also be usefully put into the hands of the most educated class amongst anglicizing natives, must be decided by those who know India better than myself.

Some minor blemishes, which require the indulgence of Sanscrit scholars (such as the imperfect discrimination of long and short and semi-vowels), are due partly to my ignorance, and partly to that frequent separation from my library at the very time of writing the dialogue, or preparing it for the press, which has made reliance upon memory a thing of necessity rather than of indolence. In matters of more gravity, I have done my best; though experience has taught me that any Anglican divine who will write honestly as a scholar in our day, does so with a halter about his neck. But let me take this opportunity of saying, that any theological or literary question, whether arising out of this book or otherwise, will always, I trust, be handled by me with that calmness, and that lively sense of my own liability to error, which are becoming in such discussions. It is only when civil rights are attacked with tyranny, or facts misrepresented with fraud, that the Christian divine should ask of the Almighty to give him arrows that may be sharp. Far more gladly would I speak of things that make for edifying, and for peace.

ROWLAND WILLIAMS.

St. David's College, Lampeter, Nov. 26, 1856.

WHO WAS AHASUERUS OF THE SEED OF THE MEDES,
WHOSE SON DARIUS WAS SET OVER THE REALM OF
THE CHALDEANS, WHEN ABOUT SIXTY-TWO
YEARS OLD? *Dan. v. 31; ix. 1.*

To the Editor of the Journal of Sacred Literature.

SIR,—Before I enter upon the discussion of the above question, allow me to offer a few words in reply to the able letter of your correspondent, G. B., in your Journal of October, p. 138, in which he has made a powerful struggle, probably one of the last which ever will be made, in favour

of that system of dates, upon which our common Bible chronology is founded,—a system, be it observed, irreconcilable with the evidence of contemporary Assyrian monuments, except by tampering unjustifiably with the record of the Hebrew books of Kings and Chronicles,^a—incapable of adjustment with the historical facts contained in the very ancient books of Judith and Tobit,—contradicted by Chaldean historians, who record that Nabopalassar, the father of Nebuchadnezzar, after reigning twenty years on the throne of Nineveh, was followed by Saracus (the Assarac-pal of the monuments), before the accession of his son to the throne of Babylon:—which displaces the events connected by Herodotus with the great eclipse of B.C. 585, one of the most important chronological epochs in ancient history;—which sets at nought the authority of Ctesias concerning Cyrus, the son-in-law of Astyages, and father of Cambyses who conquered Egypt: and the testimony of Xenophon, as regards the accession of Cyrus, the son of Cambyses, king of Persia, to the throne, after the capture of the city of Babylon;—which falsifies the direct evidence of Demetrius, who fixes to a month the important epoch of the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar:—which gives occasion to sceptical critics to discard, as unhistorical, the two canonical books of Esther and Daniel:—which fixes the time of Daniel in the reign of a king bearing the well-known title Darius; yet at a date when no trace of a king, bearing such a title, can be found either in history or on monuments:—which falsifies the great prediction of that inspired seer, by placing the restoration of the city of Jerusalem more than seventy weeks, or 490 years before the coming of the Messiah:—which by placing the fall of Jerusalem in the year B.C. 588, renders unintelligible and untrue the declaration of St. Matthew, that “from the carrying away into Babylon unto Christ are fourteen generations.” And last, not least, which consigns your correspondent to the painful and hopeless task of converting the title Akashverosh into Cambyses, p. 145, of identifying Darius with Cyaxares; Akashverosh a second time with Astyages, p. 143; a third time with Artaxerxes; and Bardes with the Artaxerxes of Ezra. He will, I am sure, be the first to rejoice that this system of contradictions and anachronisms is about to be set aside for ever, by an important and decisive discovery lately made among the tombs of the sacred bulls at Memphis, namely, that Tirhakah, who led an army from Ethiopia against Sennacherib in the fourteenth year of Hezekiah, began his reign of not less than twenty-six years in Egypt, as the immediate predecessor of Psammetichus I., not earlier, as Dr. Hincks admits, than B.C. 688 (I suggest B.C. 680), and from which fact Sir Gardner Wilkinson has pronounced that, “The accession of Tirhakah (in Ethiopia) cannot be placed earlier than B.C. 700 *which would bring the expedition of Sennacherib much later than in the Bible chronology.*”^b I need hardly add, that if the date of the expedition of Sennacherib in the 14th of Hezekiah is lowered, the date of the fall of Jerusalem, and the return of the Jews from captivity in the first year of Cyrus, must be

^a See *J. S. L.*, July, 1854, p. 393; *Athenæum*, February, 1856; *Monthly Review*, November, 1856.

^b *Monthly Review*, October, p. 664.

lowered to the same extent ; all which must be subversive of the common system of Bible chronology.

Nevertheless, your correspondent has based his argument in favour of this system upon a solid and indisputable foundation, viz., the inscription on the rock at Behistun. He begins by quoting an important passage from this inscription, from which he proposes to prove two leading points in the discussion. 1st. That the usurpation and death of Smerdis or Bardes, the Magian, in Persia, took place *before* Darius the son of Hystaspes came to the throne. 2nd. That Cyrus died *before* the accession of Cambyses to the throne and empire. He has, however, unfortunately omitted to quote the expression connected with the passage (I am sure without any unfair intention) which is of most importance with regard to the inquiry, in which Darius affirms, both before and after the account of the death of Bardes : " This is what I did *after* I became king." ^c The word "*uphi*" is translated *after* throughout the inscription : thus proving, as far as the authority of the inscription is concerned, the very reverse of what it is wished to prove, viz., that Darius had already become a king before the usurpation of Bardes, and, therefore, before the death of Cambyses. This fatal passage,—this stumble at the threshold of his argument, sets aside a great portion of the reasoning of your correspondent's letter. ^d Let us consider how the remainder of his argument is supported.

I perfectly agree with him in the proof that Cyrus (the father of Cambyses) died about the year B.C. 530, and before the accession of Cambyses to the throne and empire of Persia. " That the Coresh of Ezra is the Cyrus (son of Cambyses and grandson of Astyages) of Herodotus and Xenophon." " That Xenophon's account of the death of Cyrus is manifestly a fiction." " That Coresh, when he published his decree in favour of the Jews, appears to have been the sovereign of Persia, Media, Babylon, Elam with Shushan, Syria with Damascus, Samaria, Judæa, Lydia and the Asiatic States." That the Ahasuerus of Esther began to reign *after* the Persians had become supreme over the Medes ;" that is to say, after the conquest of Astyages by Cyrus. And I am inclined to believe with him, that Belshazzar was possessed of Elam, and the palace at Shushan, provided the history of Belshazzar and the history of Darius in the book of Daniel are not coupled together as in the English version, unsupported by the Hebrew. But as I have repeatedly asserted my conviction for many years past, that Cyrus or Khosrû, the founder of the Persian empire, was distinct from Cyrus or Coresh the grandson of Astyages, and that both Herodotus and Xenophon have confounded the histories of these two kings together, I cannot concur in the truth of the assertion, that Cyrus or Coresh died about B.C. 530 ; and that, therefore, " we must reject a chronological system, according to which Cyrus was living and reigning in B.C. 511.—Darius, the Mede, in B.C. 493, took possession of the realm of the Chaldeans, being about sixty-two years of age,—and

^c *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol xiv., part i., p. 55.

^d Your correspondent has quoted from the Persian transcript of the inscription in which the word *pariwa*, *before*, is read doubtingly. This has been subsequently corrected to *pasawa*, *after*, which is confirmed by the Babylonian copy.

Nabopalassar ceased to reign, and his son Nebuchadnezzar began to reign alone in B.C. 579-8" (p. 161).

Let me ask your correspondent whether, in arriving at this supposed unavoidable conclusion, he has sufficiently weighed that passage in Herodotus (li., 111), quoted apparently from some history extant in his time, which affirms that Cyrus or Coresh was the son of Mandane and Cambyses; and that Cambyses his father was the son of an earlier king called also Cyrus, which raises the possibility, considering that error must lie somewhere in his history of this period, that in narrating the actions of Cambyses son of Cyrus and Cassandane, Herodotus was repeating what related to the father of Coresh, not to the son. Has he allowed due weight to the fact which bears directly on his argument, that Ctesias, with better means of information at command than Herodotus, has deliberately charged that historian with error concerning the founder of the Persian empire; stating that Cyrus, who, when on the throne of Persia, conquered Astyages and Cræsus, was neither grandson nor any other relative of Astyages, and therefore, not Cyrus or Coresh son of Mandane; making no mention also of the taking of Babylon by this prince? Has he allowed due weight to the declaration of Xenophon, after careful inquiry, that Cyrus or Coresh, son of Mandane, who lived peaceably with his grandfather Astyages, was a young man, not yet a king, when Babylon was taken by him in the reign of Cyaxares; after which notable event, Cambyses, being still king of Persia, Cyaxares, and Cyrus we are told continued to reign concurrently in different parts of the Perso-Median empire; still strengthening the opinion that Cambyses, king of Persia, was the father, not the son of Coresh? Is he aware that Sir Henry Rawlinson has deciphered an inscription on a brick found by Mr. Loftus at Senkereh, which runs thus: "Cyrus (the king?) who has taken care of the temples of Bit Saggath and Bit Zida, *the son of Cambyses the powerful* (king?), I am he;" which, if the title "king" is correctly supplied after the name Cambyses in the partly obliterated inscription, again attests that Cambyses, the powerful king of Persia, supposed by Herodotus to have died childless, had a son called Cyrus? And lastly, is he aware that Ferdousi and all native Persian authors attest, that Khosrû who founded the empire of Persia, was distinct from Coresh who released the Jews from captivity? If he has not taken these facts into consideration, his conclusion is formed upon too narrow a view of the history of the period. If these facts have been before him, by what mental process or aberration, it may be asked, has he arrived at a conclusion so at variance with the premises, viz., that one Cyrus only could have ruled in Persia? The following words of the illustrious oriental scholar, Sir William Jones, should alone have been sufficient to have suspended so rash an assertion. They will probably be read with deeper interest in these days, when they are supported by collateral evidence derived from many different sources, than in the day in which they were written.

"The Great Cyrus," writes Sir William Jones, "I call, without fear of contradiction, Cai-Khosrau: for I shall then only doubt that the Khosrau of Ferdousi was the Cyrus of the first Greek historians, and the hero of the oldest political and moral romance, when I doubt that Louis Quatorze

and Louis XIV. were one and the same French king. It is utterly incredible that two different princes of Persia should each have been born in foreign and hostile territory,—should each have been doomed to death in his infancy, by his maternal grandfather in consequence of portentous dreams, real or invented;—should each have been saved by the remorse of his intended murderer; and should each, after a similar education amongst herdsmen, have found means to revisit his paternal kingdom, and, having delivered it after a long and triumphant war, from the tyrant who had invaded it, should have restored it to the summit of power and magnificence. Whether so romantic a story, which is the subject of an epic poem, as majestic and entire as the *Iliad*, be historically true, we may feel perhaps an inclination to doubt. But it cannot with reason be denied, that the outline of it relates to a single hero, whom the Asiatics, conversing with the father of history, described according to their popular traditions by his true name, which the Greek alphabet could not express.

“Whatever our chronologers say, it is not easy to conceive that the Jews were delivered by this Cyrus. The name Coresh used by Isaiah, has no affinity with the Persian word Khosrû, and we cannot suppose any corruption in the sacred text; whereas all the Persian writers agree that a prince named Coresh, who was sent by Bahaman, son of Asfundier,^f to govern Babylon in the room of Baltasar, actually protected the captive Jews, and permitted them to rebuild their temple. Our historians, perhaps, deceived by the name Cyrus, which the Greeks gave both to Khosrû and to Coresh, have fixed the return of the Jews much earlier than the truth.”^e

Here, then, is the deliberate and matured opinion of one deeply versed in ancient Persian literature, distinctly and eloquently stated, that Coresh, who released the Jews from captivity, was of a later date than Cyrus who founded the Persian empire. Whether, therefore, we consult the most ancient Persian or Greek authorities concerning this period of Persian history, or whether we collect the scattered fragments of contemporaneous Persian inscriptions, we are led to one and the same conclusion, viz., that Coresh lived after, not before the reign of the great Persian king Cambyzes. But there is another witness on this subject to whom we have not yet referred, whose testimony is of paramount weight and authority, before whom the writings of Herodotus, Xenophon, and Ferdousi seem but as the records of vague and uncertain traditions, I mean the prophet Daniel. No heathen testimony whatever, excepting only the contemporaneous inscriptions of the period, can approach in value that of Daniel who lived in the courts of Babylon and Persia;—who held high office in both those kingdoms;—who had been engaged on the king’s affairs at Babylon, Susa, and Ecbatana;—and who must have been acquainted with the persons, titles, and public acts of Cyrus, Ahasuerus and Darius. Now this eye-witness of, and actor in, the great public events of his day, has informed us that he lived and prospered in the reign of Darius, and in the reign of Coresh the Persian; and that the Darius of whom he speaks,

^e *Sir W. Jones’s Works*, vol. iii., p. 106, and vol. xii., p. 411.

^f The Aspados of Ctesias, Aspanda of Megasthenes.

was he, who at sixty-two years of age (the age of Darius, the son of Hystaspes about B.C. 493, and prophetically 490 years before the birth of Christ), reigned over the realm of the Chaldeans and the whole Persian empire. I will not add one word to weaken the testimony of this divinely favoured Hebrew prophet and historian. Whether looked upon merely with the eye of an historian, or with the eye of faith, it ought to be decisive of the whole question.

Granting, then, that Cyrus died about the year B.C. 530, there is every proof that Coresh began to reign some years later than that date. Such must have been the belief of learned Jews in the time of Demetrius,^f the historian of the kings of Judah, in the year B.C. 222, and such is the tendency of each fresh discovery from the monuments of Egypt and Assyria to establish. I rejoice, therefore, in the expectation, that the pernicious system of heathen chronology so long attached to our Bibles, marring the consistency, and throwing doubt upon the truth of some of the most valuable books, will ere long be substituted by one more in harmony with the sacred text.

We now come to consider who was "Ahasuerus of the seed of the Medes." This question we shall find surrounded with extreme difficulty on all sides, as long as we uphold the vicious scheme of chronology which we have been examining; but involving little difficulty when that scheme is set aside. Volney, with little critical sagacity and less faith, looks upon the history of Esther and Ahasuerus as a fiction founded on the story of Semiramis and Ninus, and observes, "Jamais les commentateurs n'ont pu prouver en quel tems vécut cet Assuerus, ni ou il fût roi, ni qui fut cette Esther dont les critiques placent l'histoire au rang des livres apochryphes. Nous avons ici deux écrivains juifs qui ont défiguré la vérité pour amuser leurs lecteurs."^g Niebuhr, whose critical justice compels him to pronounce nearly the same opinion, contrary, it would seem, to his inclination, also observes, "There is a remarkable coincidence between the Magophonia, the massacre which the Persians instituted among the Magi, and the account in the book of Esther, according to which the Jews received permission to take vengeance on their enemies. I am convinced that this book cannot be regarded as historical; and I have not the least hesitation in stating it here publicly. Many entertain the same opinion. Even the early fathers have tormented themselves with it; and St. Jerome, as he himself clearly intimates, was in the greatest perplexity through his desire to regard it as an historical document. At present no one looks upon the statements in the book of Judith as historical, and neither Origen nor St. Jerome did so. The same is the case with Esther: it is nothing more than a poem on those occurrences. But that coincidence in the account of the vengeance of the Jews with the Magophonia is surprising: they are outbursts of national hatred."^h The redeeming pas-

^f The attempt of your correspondent to shake the authority of Demetrius by an argument founded upon the supposed death of Coresh in B.C. 530, requires no further confutation.

^g *Recherches Nouvelles, etc.*, vol. i., p. 99.

^h Niebuhr's *Lectures on Ancient History*, vol. i., p. 131.

sage in this quotation concerning the Magophonia, as illustrative of the book of Esther, counterbalances in some degree the discredit here attempted to be thrown upon that book by this illustrious writer. The kings which bear this title, Ahasuerus, in the Hebrew Scriptures are so frequently mentioned, and their actions are so interwoven with the history of the Jews, that to allow any doubt in our minds as to their real existence, is seriously to damage the credibility of the sacred writers. For my own part, I feel no doubt that the Jews have given a faithful account both of the titles and acts of these kings; and if we will let the Hebrew writers speak for themselves, without distorting their narrative, we shall find that those kings are well known to us almost by the same identical titles in secular history.

The first mention of Ahasuerus is found in the book of Tobit, where he is spoken of as the king who destroyed Nineveh. Here he is undoubtedly recognized as Cyaxares I. of Herodotus. We next read of Ahasuerus in the book of Esther, who in his seventh year married the cousin or niece of Mordecai, a Jewish captive, who had been carried away to Babylon with Jechoniah, eleven years before the destruction of Jerusalem, and whose pedigree is traced in the tribe of Benjamin to the regal stock of Saul the son of Kish, through Shimei the son of Saul; with the view, we may infer, of shewing how worthy in point of birth was Esther of her regal honours, and well accounting for the high spirit of her uncle Mordecai in refusing to bow to the haughty Haman. This king, we are told, reigned not less than fourteen years. He must have reigned, taking the life of Mordecai as a measure, during the interval between the taking and restoration of the city of Jerusalem, during which time the whole Jewish nation was in danger of extermination, but was saved by the death of their persecutor Haman, the reversal of the policy of the court of Susa, and the permission granted them to slaughter their enemies; which so forcibly reminds Niebuhr of the slaughter of the Magi, which took place somewhere about the same period. We are informed by Ctesias that it was during a festival in commemoration of this event, called the Magophonia, that Smerdis or Bardis, the Magian usurper, was slain by Darius, the son of Hystaspes; proving that the slaughter of the Magi was not later than the Jewish captivity; and, if there is any connexion between this event and the massacre of the enemies of the Jews, not earlier than the time when the Jews were carried eastward from Jerusalem into captivity. But where shall we find a king who could have reigned at Susa for upwards of fourteen years, during the interval of about sixty years from the release of the Jews by Cyrus and the capture of Jechoniah? Astyages and Cyrus, according to the common reckoning, occupy the whole of this interval within two or three years. Astyages, then, it may be supposed, was the Ahasuerus of Esther, being the same as Ahasuerus, the father of Darius the Mede, supposed also to be Astyages. It is plain, however, from the narrative that this cannot be the case, because the Ahasuerus of Esther, as your correspondent observes, reigned after the conquest of the Medes by the Persians. It is true that Astyages had a son called Cyaxares, which is the very title we are looking for, and which we have already identified with Ahasuerus.

But Cyaxares, in the common reckoning, is fixedly identified with Darius the Mede of Scripture, and he cannot represent both Darius the son of Ahasuerus, and Ahasuerus himself. Volney, therefore, has truly pointed out that no place can be found for this king consistent with his history. Some therefore have identified him with Artaxerxes-Longimanus, following the opinion of Josephus ; some with Darius, the son of Hystaspes, among whom are Bossuet, Spanheim, and Ussher ; others, again, with Xerxes, which is the prevalent opinion in the present day. Daniel, again, speaks of Ahasuerus of the seed of the Medes, who, we have already seen, is identified with Astyages. And lastly, Ezra speaks of king Ahasuerus, to whom a letter of accusation against the Jews was written no long time previous to the rebuilding of the second temple in the reign of Darius, the son of Hystaspes. This king is identified with Cambyses. Thus this one title Ahasuerus, which, at least as regards the husband of Esther, must have been well known to the Jews, and therefore correctly preserved, has been considered by some of the most eminent scholars and chronologists to represent no less than six different kings, viz.,—

Cyaxares.
Astyages.
Cambyses.
Darius.
Xerxes.
Artaxerxes.

And by all of them must be made to represent either three or four of these kings at the same time.

How long shall we tolerate such extreme nonsense, calling itself explanation of the Holy Scriptures ? Let the Hebrew historians tell their own story ; that is to say, when they speak of a king whom they call Darius, let us consider that they really intended to designate a king named Darius, and when they speak of Ahasuerus, that they intended to name a king really bearing that title ; and we shall find, that the four kings mentioned by them under the title Ahasuerus resolve themselves into two well-known kings of profane history, viz., Cyaxares the father, and Cyaxares the son of Astyages. The book of Tobit closes with these words, speaking of the death of Tobias :—"And before he died, he heard of the destruction of Nineveh, which was taken by Nabuchodonosor and Ahasuerus." Now we know from Herodotus that Nineveh was finally destroyed by Cyaxares, king of Media, the father of Astyages ; so that if Tobit speaks true, and Herodotus does not err, Cyaxares and Ahasuerus are one and the same king. The identity of the titles is indeed apparent at first sight. They are not two different titles borne by the same king, but one and the same title, written somewhat differently in Hebrew and Greek. Who can doubt for an instant that Cyaxares, or Cyax(u)ares, in Greek, is the same as Aksverosh, or A-chas-u-erosh, in the Hebrew ? The date of the reign of this king is marked distinctly enough in history ; for he took Nineveh soon after the eclipse of B.C. 585, and then divided the empire of Asia with the king of Babylon. He could not have died much earlier than B.C. 580, and according to the views I entertain, he died in

B.C. 574. But this Ahasuerus, who took Nineveh, and died about B.C. 574, cannot be the Ahasuerus of the canonical books of Daniel, Esther, and Ezra, who reigned after the fall of Jerusalem, and after the union of the kingdoms of the Medes and Persians as federal states. We have, therefore, to seek for another king bearing the title Cyaxares in profane history. Xenophon informs us that there was a second king bearing this title, viz., Cyaxares, the son of Astyages, and though Herodotus makes no mention of this prince in his history, we may be satisfied that Xenophon is correct, from a distinct reference which is made to him in the rock inscription at Behistan, as living not many years before the reign of Darius Hystaspes. Let us quote the words of the inscription. After speaking of the revolt of Atrines in Susiana, of Niditabirus at Babylon, and of Martins again in Susiana, the inscription proceeds thus:—"Says Darius the king: a certain man named Phraortes, a Median, he rose up. To the state of Media he thus said, I am Xathrites, of the race of Cyaxares." "He became king of Media." Let it be observed, that this pretender Xathrites here claims the throne of Media, not as descended from Astyages, the last king of Media, according to Herodotus, but as of the race of Cyaxares, the last king of Media, according to Xenophon. The expression also, "of the race of Cyaxares," is remarkable. Xathrites does not set himself up as ~~son~~ of the last king of the country the throne of which he usurps, as most of the pretenders mentioned in the inscription describe themselves, but as of the race or family of Cyaxares. This is in strict accordance with the words of Xenophon, who tells us that Cyaxares left no son, and is again therefore confirmatory of the truth of his account. The same observations are applicable to the description of a pretender to the throne of Sagartia, which runs thus:—"Says Darius the king: A certain man named Sitratachmes, a Sagartian, he rebelled against me. To the state he thus said, I am the king of Sagartia, of the race of Cyaxares."

These citations, coupled with the testimony of Xenophon, prove not only that a second Cyaxares or Ahasuerus reigned, but also that the thrones of Media and Sagartia even in the time of Darius, the son of Hystaspes, were considered to be vested in the race or family of Ahasuerus in the female line; and as the successor of whom, probably by marriage, I conceive that Darius, the son of Hystaspes, was also called son of Ahasuerus.

Cyaxares, the son of Astyages, then, I believe to have been the king whose name was written Ahasuerus by the Jews in the books of Esther, Daniel, and Ezra, for there is no third king bearing that title to be found in history. If so, let us consider at what time he must have reigned. Xenophon tells us that he reigned over the Medes on the death of Astyages, and during the time when Cambyses was on the throne of Persia; and from the book of Esther we know that he reigned not less than fourteen years. Now if Ahasuerus the first, as we have observed, died in B.C. 574, his son Astyages, who reigned thirty-five years, will have died in B.C. 539, which is the traditional date of his death, as seen in the astronomical and ecclesiastical canons. Ahasuerus, therefore, began to reign in B.C. 538, concurrently with Khosru or Cyrus, father of Cambyses,

and continued to reign, as Xenophon attests, till at least about the year B.C. 524, in the reign of Cambyses: and I suggest, that on the death of Ahasuerus (say in B.C. 523), Coresh, his nephew, first became king of Media jointly with his father Cambyses in Persia; for "Persia and Media and the dependent provinces" was still the title of the federal Perso-Median empire in the time of Darius, as we learn from the inscription at Behistan. This date would appear to be confirmed by the Tyrian annals, which fix the beginning of the reign of Cyrus about fifty years after the seventh year of Nebuchadnezzar. The seventh year of Nebuchadnezzar, according to Demetrius, was the year B.C. 572. The beginning of the reign of Cyrus or Coresh would, therefore, fall in the year B.C. 523. Coresh, on the death of Cambyses in B.C. 511, proclaimed himself sovereign of all the kingdoms of the earth; and if he reigned thirty years, as is generally supposed, he would have died about B.C. 492, and Darius, the son of Hystaspes, would have taken the kingdom in the following year B.C. 493, when about sixty-two years of age. I see no reason also for repudiating the testimony of Megasthenes, though coming through the doubtful medium of Annius Viterbensis, that Cyrus or Coresh reigned concurrently with Darius, the son of Hystaspes, for many years, considering that the statement is corroborated by Daniel himself. It is not however an essential part of my scheme to assign thirty years to the reign of Coresh. Xenophon appears to make it not more than seven years.

In conclusion, if we will follow the hint given by Josephus, that Zerubbabel and Mordecai came up from Babylon with the captivity in the second year of Darius Hystaspes, and, with the key afforded by Daniel, place this second year in the year B.C. 492, we shall find much less difficulty in expounding the few first chapters of the book of Ezra, without violently changing Ahasuerus into Cambyses, or Artaxerxes into Bardes. After studying this intricate subject for many years, and after carefully examining every variety of opinion which has been advanced concerning it, I submit that little discrepancy will be found between the records of the sacred Hebrew writers and the records of the early Greek historians, if we identify Ahasuerus who destroyed Nineveh, with Cyaxares the father of Astyages; the conqueror of Astyages and Croesus, with Cyrus the father of Cambyses; the Ahasuerus of Daniel, Esther, and Ezra, with Cyaxares the son of Astyages; the taker of Babylon, and releaser of the Jews from captivity, with Cyrus the son of Cambyses; and Darius the son of Ahasuerus, with Darius the son of Hystaspes.

Let me direct attention to four leading facts.

1. The seventy years' "desolation of Jerusalem" (Dan. ix. 2), coming towards an end in the first Darius, and seventy fasts in commemoration of the desolation (Zech. vii. b), which were completed in the fourth Darius, must terminate in the reign of the same Darius, *i. e.*, the son of Hystaspes.

2. The fourth year of Darius counted from the time he took the kingdom, when about sixty-two years of age, was B.C. 490, which added to seventy years' desolation, makes the date of the fall of Jerusalem B.C. 560.

3. St. Matthew tells us, that "from the carrying away into Babylon unto Christ are fourteen generations;" i. e., $14 \times 40 = 560$.

4. Demetrius tells us, that the last captivity of Judah was 338 years, three months before the reign of Ptolemy Philopator; i. e., B.C. Novr. 222 + 338. 3 = B.C. Augt. 560.

I. W. BOSANQUET.

Claymore, Enfield, Nov. 4th, 1856.

ON MR. BOSANQUET'S CHRONOLOGICAL SYSTEM.

SIR,—You have inserted in different numbers of the *Journal* letters of Mr. Bosanquet in defence of his chronological views, and of others in opposition to them. Enough has, I believe, been said on the objections brought against his system. They are such as have not been, and I am persuaded, cannot be removed. On these, therefore, I will not now speak. There are two points, however, on which he relies very confidently, as in favour of his system; and I admit that if either of the statements which he puts forward could be substantiated, it would render it difficult, if not impossible, to maintain the received system. It seems, therefore, of importance that these two statements should be examined; and I purpose to examine them in the present letter.

I. It is alleged by Mr. Bosanquet that Herodotus, although he states the reigns of the four Median kings to be such that their sum would be 150 years, says that they reigned in all only 128 years. From the accession of Dejoces to the conquest of Astyages by Cyrus was, according to Herodotus, *as cited by Mr. Bosanquet*, only 128 years. From this he infers that the reign of Astyages which Herodotus states to have been 35 years, was in reality only 13 years; and that for 22 years after his conquest he was allowed to retain the title of king. According to this view, Cyaxares, the father of Astyages, must have died in 573 B. C., and not in 595 B. C., as Herodotus has been generally understood as stating. On the general merits of the system of which this is a branch, I do not, as I said, intend to speak. I confine myself to the one point of denying that Herodotus said what Mr. Bosanquet attributes to him. *Beloe's* Herodotus certainly contains such a statement, but not the original Greek.

The passage occurs in the First Book, chap. 130. *Beloe's* translation is this; and, by the way, the first sentence strikes at the root of Mr. Bosanquet's argument from the passage, as it clearly makes the 35 years attributed to Astyages terminate at his deposition, and not at his death:—"After a reign of 35 years, Astyages was thus deposed. To his cruelty of temper the Medes owed the loss of their power, after possessing for the space of 128 years all that part of Asia which lies beyond the Halys, *deducting from this period* the short interval of the Scythian dominion." The words which I have italicized appear to me a mistranslation. I would substitute "*exclusive of.*" The Greek is *παρὲξ ἢ ὅσον οἱ Σκύθαι ἤρχον.*

The force of *παρὲκ* is well known to be "outside of, *extra*." We have the derivative *παρεκτὸς* in 2 Cor. xi. 28: "Besides these things which are *without*," i. e. "besides *extra* work," as contrasted with *daily* occupation. So in Acts xxvi. 29, "exclusive of these bonds." I believe that no instance can be produced in which *παρὲξ* is so used as to justify Beloe's translation of this passage.

How then, it may be asked, is the difference in the statements of Herodotus to be accounted for? According to my view, the interval from the accession of Deioces to the dethronement of Astyages is the sum of the four reigns 53 (chap. 102) + 22 (chap. 102) + 40 (chap. 106) + 35 (chap. 130) = 150. He gives it the sum of 128 (chap. 130) + 28 (chap. 106) which would be 156. It appears to me evident that this last number is a mistake for 22, the true duration of the Scythian dominion. Whether Astyages reigned 35 years only, as stated by Herodotus, or 38, as stated by later writers, who were possibly better informed, I will not now discuss. I content myself with saying that the *latest possible* date of the death of Cyaxares is 595 B. C.

II. Mr. Bosanquet relies on an alleged astronomical proof of his theory. He says that Mr. Airy has *proved* that the eclipse which terminated the Lydian war occurred on the 28th May, 585 B. C.; and that as Cyaxares was king of Media at the time of that eclipse, the received chronology, by which he was at least ten years dead, must be false. If Mr. Airy had really *proved* what Mr. Bosanquet says that he has proved, it would, I grant, be impossible to maintain the received chronology; but I deny the fact. Mr. Airy has *asserted* it, but he has given no *proof* of his assertion. I say this with the full knowledge of the paper on this eclipse that Mr. Airy has published in the *Philosophical Transactions*, the most inconclusive paper on a mathematical subject which I have ever perused. Mr. Airy sets out with an hypothesis, which is not only arbitrary, but in the highest degree improbable, not to say absurd; and on this hypothesis his entire argument rests. Deny the hypothesis, and the whole of what he says in support of his position comes to nought.

To make this plain, it will be necessary that I should introduce some mathematical statements; but I will take care that they be of the most simple kind.

In order to find the place of the moon in latitude and longitude at any particular time, it is necessary to know its mean longitude, and also four other elements. By variously combining these, we obtain the arguments of a number of tables, from which we take out equations or corrections, to be applied to the mean longitude, and also the latitude and its equations. The tables are so constructed that this process, though laborious, presents no real difficulty; and, the five elements being known, the moon's place as derived from them may be confidently relied on.

Before the series of tables by which the longitude, latitude, motion, etc., are computed from the five elements, there are tables given by which the five elements are to be found for any instant. That these tables give the elements with sufficient accuracy for any time within the last hundred years is not to be doubted; but whether or not they can be depended on for giving the elements at remote periods is another matter.

The case stands thus. Let us consider the mean elongation of the moon, that is, the excess of her mean longitude over that of the sun. It is certain from physical astronomy that this may be expressed as follows: t denoting the time.

$$A + Bt + g(\frac{1}{2}xt^2 + \frac{1}{2}yt^2 + \text{etc.})$$

A and B are known from observation with very great accuracy; and the sum of the terms $A + Bt$ can be computed from the tables with great facility, whether t be positive or negative;—that is, whether the time for which the moon's place is required be before or after the epoch of the tables. Another table is given, from which the supplementary terms involving the squares and cubes of the time may be taken. As the coefficients of these are extremely small, it has been thought best to consider t in these terms as having for its unit a century. The first of these small terms for one century is considerably less than half what the term Bt is for one minute. From this it will be evident that an error might exist in the estimated value of the coefficient ($\frac{1}{2}gx$), which would be very sensible when multiplied by the square of a large number of centuries, but which might escape notice when multiplied by the square of a fraction of a century. Four seconds in the value of $\frac{1}{2}gx$ would be one second only for fifty years, but would amount to forty minutes for 2450 years. It is not then by *recent* observations that the value of this coefficient can be known. We must depend on theory, aided by *remote* observations.

Now the coefficient contains as factors two quantities, g and x . The value of g depends on the lunar theory. Laplace considered only one term of it, and made it about $\frac{1}{110}$. M. Plana pursued the investigation of its value much further, making it to consist of several terms; the first and principal of which he made $\frac{1}{117}$. Mr. Adams has published a paper in which he shews that his predecessors had overlooked quantities which ought to have been taken into account, and which would diminish the term, which accordingly he made to be about $\frac{1}{115}$. Mr. Adams has not yet calculated the other terms of g ; nor has he calculated the value of k and h , which will presently be mentioned. He has not, at any rate, published the result of his calculations. M. Plana does not, I believe, accept Mr. Adams's calculations, but I am not aware that he has attempted to disprove them; and it is said that he has admitted the existence of error in his own calculation.

So much for one of the factors in the co-efficient of the square of the time. As to the other there is at least equal uncertainty. The quantity which I have called x is in fact the sum of five quantities, originating in the action of the five planets on the earth's orbit, and of course proportional to the masses of these planets. But the masses of Venus and Mars are only known approximately, and that of Mercury can only be conjectured. The last named planet has been assumed to have a very great density, more than two and a half times that of the Earth, while the density of Venus is supposed to be something less than that of the Earth. It seems probable that the density of Venus should be a little increased, and that of Mercury greatly diminished. Both these changes would diminish the value of x . The mean anomaly of the moon and the argument of her latitude are expressed by time similar to that above given. We

may express the former by $C + Dt + h(\frac{1}{2}xt^2 + \frac{1}{2}yt^2)$ and the latter by $E + Ft + k(\frac{1}{2}xt^2 + \frac{1}{2}yt^2)$.

The quantities C, D, E and F, are discoverable from modern observations, and may be considered as accurately known, or at least very nearly so. Mr. Airy thinks that the Greenwich observations from which F was computed are not to be altogether depended on, and that a small error may exist in it. The quantities h and k depend on the lunar theory, consist of a number of terms, and have been computed by M. Plana. M. Damoiseau, whose lunar tables are in use, has also computed these quantities, and I believe he makes k considerably greater than M. Plana does. He differs from him less as to g and h .

I have thought it necessary to give this explanation before I proceeded to shew the fallacy—I may say, the sophistry—of Mr. Airy's paper. I will begin with stating the points in which Mr. Airy agrees with his opponents. On the 15th of August 310 B.C. (civil reckoning) in the morning, the fleet of Agattocles was passed by the Moon's shadow, causing a total eclipse of the Sun which made the stars visible. The fleet must have been in or about E. Long. $15^{\circ}.30'$ and N. Lat. (geometric) about $37^{\circ}.45'$. According to Damoiseau's lunar tables, the Moon's shadow would not have passed over this spot. A correction must, therefore, be applied to the Moon's place as given by the tables; and a similar correction, but of increased magnitude, must be applied to the moon's tabular place in any ancient eclipse, such as that of the Lydian war.

So far all persons would agree; but now comes the difference. The Moon's place as given by the tables may be corrected, so as to make the shadow pass over the required spot, *in an unlimited number of different ways*; and Mr. Airy has selected that particular way, though *a priori* the most improbable of all, which would suit the eclipse of 28th May, 585;—an eclipse which, in defiance of chronology, he was *predetermined* to make the eclipse of the Lydian war. The Moon's shadow might be made to pass over the fleet by giving a certain increase to the Moon's latitude, leaving her longitude unchanged; by diminishing her longitude to a certain extent, leaving her latitude unchanged; by diminishing her longitude to a less extent than this and increasing her latitude; and again by diminishing her longitude to a greater extent, and diminishing her latitude also. The first of these corrections, which Mr. Airy has adopted, supposes that the secular equations (that is, the terms expressed by small letters in the above values, which involve the squares and higher power of the time) are laid down with perfect accuracy in Damoiseau's tables, and must not be called in question, but that the quantity F, on which the latitude depends, may be altered. Accordingly, he assumes an error in this quantity, which is quite inconsistent with modern observations. Surely, it is infinitely more probable to suppose that the value of F, as deduced from modern observations, is correct, and that the error exists in the secular equations, as to the amount of which there is every reason to expect material error; seeing that, so far as they depend on calculation at all, the best mathematicians of the day are disagreed about them, and that there are data used in the calculation which are admitted to be uncertain and even conjectural.

Supposing, however, that we corrected the Moon's place in the Eclipse of Agattocles by means of the *secular equations*, which would require that these equations should be diminished according to Mr. Adams's view (and also, perhaps, by correcting the masses of Mercury and Venus) we should have to diminish these equations also in the eclipses of 585 B.C., 603 B.C., and 610 B.C. The diminution would be greater than in the eclipse of Agattocles nearly in the ratio of 64 to 49. The effect of this would be to destroy all pretensions that the first named of these there would have to be the eclipse of the Lydian war. If we admitted this correction, it would not be visible at all in any part of Asia Minor where we can suppose that the battle could have been fought. *Therefore*, I may venture to say, Mr. Airy will not admit this most probable supposition. On the contrary, the effect of the correction of the secular equations, such as would suit the eclipse of Agattocles, might bring the shadow of the Moon over a possible field of battle in either 603 or 610. If the value of g , h and k were *settled* by the consent of astronomers, we might be able to tell to which of these two the eclipse of Agattocles would point us. At present we cannot do so. I myself, however, entertain no doubt that the eclipse of 18th May 603 was that which terminated the Lydian war. It occurred in the morning, when the two armies would be commencing their battle, and its occurrence at this time might naturally be considered as an intimation from heaven that they ought not to fight. Besides, this date best suits the chronology, as has been shewn by your correspondent J. F. in your last number.

I am, etc.,

EDW. HINCKS.

Killyleagh, County Down, 6th Dec., 1856.

P.S. According to the estimate given by Mr. Adams in his paper, the Moon's mean longitude at the time of the eclipse of Agattocles would be, in virtue of the correction made by him, about twelve minutes and a quarter less than the tables make it. This correction *alone* would throw the Moon's shadow about six degrees and a half of longitude to the west of its course, as given by the tables; and would thus bring its northern part over the fleet. It seems to me probable that the other corrections suggested would greatly increase this effect, bringing the central or southern part of the shadow over the fleet.

MOSAIC ACCOUNT OF THE CREATION.

To the Editor of the "Journal of Sacred Literature."

SIR,—In your number for October last, there is an article on the "Mosaic Account of the Creation" by "R. F." on which I should like to make a few observations. The writer points out how, in his opinion, a wrong method of procedure has hitherto led astray all those who have endeavoured to solve the difficult but interesting problem, regarding

geology and Genesis. But his scheme is not merely destructive—he points out how, according to his view, the true solution is to be reached. His principle has the great merit of simplicity, but I could have wished that it had been applied somewhat in detail to the special difficulties of the case. His theory, as briefly enounced by himself, is that “whenever we find in Scripture anything which lies within the province of the sciences, that thing may be either true or false, but Scripture never says that it is either the one or the other.” Now we are met at the outset with a difficulty which we think R. F. ought to have explained, for it is said distinctly in the statement of the fourth commandment, that in six days God made the heavens and the earth, etc. Though it had been true that the form of the revelation made by Moses was determined by existing views on cosmogony held by the Hebrews, yet this passage in the fourth commandment *appears*, at least, so entirely to homologate these views, that we naturally look for an explanation, at this point, from any theory which proceeds on the principle that revelation does not commit itself to the truth or falsehood of any facts of science.

We have felt some difficulty also in admitting the justice of R. F.’s statement of the position occupied by geology with reference to the first chapter of Genesis. He says that, as a statement of scientific facts, the Hebrews *necessarily misapprehended* that chapter. Now, so far as the great leading object of Providence was concerned, in the truths referred to in the first chapter of Genesis, the Jews were at no loss whatever; for they understood, as well as we do, that the six days described in Genesis, and referred to in the fourth commandment, formed the solid basis on which the sabbatic institution rested. That we now can see other relations of these six days; that we now can get a glimpse farther back into the plan on which this planet has been constructed, is no more wonderful than that we now also can understand much better than the Jews did, the whole of their complicated typology, though they were more closely connected with it than we are. According to R. F. himself, the design of everything in Scripture is primarily spiritual, and according to that rule we can easily give the six days a place of the very utmost significance, so that it makes but little matter that the Hebrews never suspected Genesis of bearing an aspect which would ever be confronted by scientific discovery. In its primary and most important relation, they understood the bearing of the first chapter of Genesis just as we do.

While speaking of geology, we have to state another desideratum which we felt in R. F.’s article, and that is that he thoroughly ignores the difficulties which have arisen from the geological side of the question. By means of his axiom he cuts the knot, he does not solve it. He speaks of the worldly extravagant theory of periods, and here we agree with him to some extent. We allow that the theory which extends the days of Genesis into the vast periods of geology, is, in its present form, utterly untenable, and in the face of the merest elements of philology; yet when we look at those who have held the period theory, from Cuvier to Miller, we meet with names entitled to some respect. Though they have not shone in fields of philology, yet was there no great fact, or body of facts, which urged on these men to adopt the period theory, even in the very

face of philological obstacles? When the crust of the earth is examined, it is found to be no sudden result, but an aggregate of gradual and progressive changes that have been going on according to definite laws for millions of years. So marked have been these laws, that they can be traced in their origin, development, and prevalence. But the first chapter of Genesis, in like manner, is found to be no mere heterogeneous assemblage of disconnected facts. The brief summary given by R. F.—the matter of the earth, the sea, the sun, moon and stars, reptiles and fishes, birds, beasts and man—differs slightly from the order of genesis, and at the very same point it differs from geology. Everything is arranged according to law and order, any infringement of which can be easily detected, and the startling result of a comparison between Genesis and a synoptic table of geological history, is, that the order of the one is identical with the order of the other. I do not say that the entire scale of the one has been applied, point to point, to the entire scale of the other, yet the application has been made successfully at so many points, that it can no longer be ignored. Of all this, R. F.'s theory takes no account whatever.

Thus we have found R. F.'s axiom impracticable. Yet that there is a basis of truth in it we may readily admit. Is there a consistent plan of reference maintained throughout Scripture in regard to scientific facts? We think there is, but that R. F.'s axiom does not fully embody a statement of that plan. Facts, truths, we allow, are never scientifically taught in the Bible; yet we believe that many important facts, many deep truths, besides those primarily spiritual, are mentioned and homologated in Scripture, but always *popularly*, and this distinction of *popular* and *scientific* fully explains the nature of the scriptural references to facts and truths, whether geological, physical, astronomical, or of whatever kind. The sun is said to rise and set—and this is true popularly, though not scientifically; in the first chapter of Genesis the sun and moon are called two great lights, and are grouped together, which may be done popularly but not scientifically; the creation of reptiles, quadrupeds and man, are mentioned popularly, but there is no scientific enunciation of the great law which regulates the graduation of the vertebrate scale of the comparative anatomist; six days are described on which something is done, whether creation, restoration, or merely consecration, but the account is perfectly popular, and if we find by science that these six days thus popularly described may have a retrospective aspect to the gradual work of six great cycles of time, still Genesis gives no scientific account of the matter. It gives a *popularly true account*, and that must substantially coincide with the scientific account. From this, indeed, it follows that science enlarges our knowledge of Scripture, and developes aspects of truth which we should not otherwise have known, but this holds independently of geology. The Bible was written in Hebrew and Greek, and scientific philology comes in to give precision to our knowledge of these Scriptures. Astronomy comes in with its retrospective calculation of eclipses to determine important chronological epochs in Biblical history, as may be seen in almost every number of the Journal for many numbers past. Yet the Bible teaches no scientific astronomy, and gives no scientific rules for rendering eclipses available for determining doubtful chronology. When the

passage in 2 Peter was written, that the heavens should pass away *with great noise* at the time of the final conflagration, there was certainly no intention of teaching chemistry: yet, according to modern knowledge of gases, this passage from Peter is considered as describing accurately a result that will take place in the circumstances which the inspired writer refers to.

Edinburgh, Oct. 16th, 1856.

M.

THE VATICAN MANUSCRIPT.

To the Editor of the "Journal of Sacred Literature."

Sir,—Dr. Tregelles, in his admirable volume belonging to the new edition of Horne's Introduction, but which the publishers (the Messrs. Longman), with extreme consideration for students, allow to be purchased separately, has a paragraph to the following effect:—

"It has long been wished that there should be a fac-simile edition of this MS. [the Vatican Codex B], and much has been said about such a publication prepared by Cardinal Mai. There can be no doubt that an edition has been printed, containing both the LXX. and the New Testament from this MS.; but it does not appear to be what is commonly understood as a fac-simile edition. It seems rather to be a text closely following the MS. Various reasons have been assigned for its not having yet received the approbation of the Roman censors of the press. The death of the learned editor *may* prevent further steps being taken to publish his labours though printed. When Rome was in the hands of the Republican Government, and the authority of the Pope could no longer hinder the appearance of useful works, Cardinal Mai offered the impression for sale to Mr. Asher, the publisher at Berlin. The terms named by the Cardinal were deemed too high by Mr. Asher, and thus the negotiation was broken off. It was curious to find a Roman Cardinal endeavouring to enjoy a measure of liberty of publication when the Pope had fled from Rome, which he could not have when this ruler of the Romish Church was in the full exercise of his power. The French occupation of Rome, and the restoration of Papal authority soon prevented Cardinal Mai from publishing his edition; and thus the boon so ardently desired by the biblical students of Europe and America was withheld."—p. 163.

Now this seems to say expressly enough, that an edition of the Greek Testament, after the Vatican MS., has been actually printed, not published at Rome. There can be no reasonable doubt, that a scholar so accurate in his facts as Dr. Tregelles, in stating this, speaks by the book. I hope, nevertheless, I shall not be charged with an unreasonable amount of scepticism, if I say how very desirable it would be to ease the doubts which many entertain on this point, if Mr. Asher would print the letter or letters of Cardinal Mai on the subject, which would enable us at once to ascertain whether the Italian scholar desired to circulate, through a German house, *a work already in existence*, or wished for their pecuniary

help, and professional advice in carrying through the press *a work about to be undertaken*. There need be no delicacy about printing this correspondence, as the poor Cardinal has gone to his last account; and the subject in question is one of universal literary, not private, interest. But it seems remarkable, that if such a work exists in print—which must have taken years to carry through the press,—we should be left to mere hearsay as the only evidence of the fact at the present day. With no better evidence before us, I must still pronounce the imprint incredible.

In the printing office of the Propaganda, if it were there printed, ample evidence of the transaction might be obtained without violating any secrecy or being guilty of unchristian duplicity. Greek scholars must have been compositors, readers, and pressmen,—persons able in some sort to appreciate the kind of work they were employed on, and very likely to furnish trustworthy intelligence *extra fores*. How this information never leaked out into those literary channels in Rome which are accessible to foreigners resident there; and again, how a Greek volume of great biblical interest, assuming it to have had existence in a large impression (an edition), was never smuggled into circulation in the shape of a single stray copy, with or without Cardinal Mai's privity, is, to us, irreconcilable with the fact of its existence at all. This statement of ours is not meant to question Dr. Tregelles's accuracy, but to get out of the worthy biblio-pole of Berlin, the evidence on which Dr. T. grounds his assertion; and any other confirmatory facts which may be within reach.

O. T. D.

To the Editor of "The Journal of Sacred Literature."

SIR,

I. In the April number of your *Journal of Sacred Literature*, in p. 222, mention is made of a Hebrew translation of *St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans*, and a letter is given from the eminent Hebraist Dr. Julius Fürst, in which Dr. F. speaks contemptuously of the version published by the Jewish Society, and very highly of its rival.

Can any of your correspondents furnish a short notice (with a few extracts) of Mr. Talkinson's version.

II. About ten years ago, there appeared in Murray's *Quarterly Review* an article (from the pen of Mr. Cureton) on the subject of the Syriac MSS. brought to England by Archdeacon Tattam, in which it is stated that among them are important, and probably original and independent, documents connected with the celebrated Council of Nice. Can the writer of the paper on "Clemens Romanus" (B. H. C.), in your last number oblige your readers with any satisfactory information on this interesting subject.

CLERICUS.

PHOTOGRAPHIC COPIES OF MSS.

To the Editor of "The Journal of Sacred Literature."

MY Dear Sir,—From some remarks in your last number, I infer that you will be glad to know what has been doing lately at the British Museum in the way of taking photographic copies of MSS.

At the request of the Divinity Professors of Oxford and Cambridge, the trustees gave leave for the Alexandrian MS. of "Clemens Romanus," the only one known to exist, to be taken by photography, under the care of Sir Frederick Maddon, Keeper of MSS. The work has been executed by Mr. Fenton (of the Crimea), and forms one volume in 4to. The leaves are only printed on one side, in order that in difficult places they may be held up to the light. The size of each page is very nearly that of the original; and the impression is very good and legible. The copies are not yet offered for sale, but a complete copy was laid before the Trustees about a month ago. It is supposed that they will be sold for £5 each.

I hope this may lead to the preservation and multiplication of similar treasures elsewhere.

Ever yours very sincerely,

Cambridge, Dec. 15, 1856.

WILLIAM SELWYN.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

The New Testament of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ in the original Greek ; with Notes. By CHR. WORDSWORTH, D.D., Canon of Westminster. Part I. *The Four Gospels.* London : Rivingtons. 1856. Small folio, pp. 340.

THIS work will be hailed as a boon of no ordinary value by many students of the New Testament, and be thought highly of by all who prefer a conservative theology to one which is free-thinking and progressive. As we adopt, in these matters, the motto *In medio tutissimus ibis*, we value the volume before us, without either rating old divinity so highly, or so much depreciating the moderns as Dr. Wordsworth does. Earnest, sincere, and learned, that gentleman has all his religious sympathies engrossed by the *past*, and this necessarily makes him exaggerate the imperfections and dangers of the present schools of criticism and exegesis. We can scarcely convey the author's view, on these subjects, in a single extract, and yet the following will be sufficient for our present purpose :—

“We may observe a gradual decline in the science of sacred interpretation ever since the middle of the last century. We find its origin in a sceptical unbelief of what is mysterious and supernatural, and in a cold and heartless attempt to account for the miraculous phenomena of the New Testament by natural causes. And when Rationalism had done its work, and had revolted the minds of reasonable men by its own irrational hypotheses, then the Evil Spirit, who is ever on the alert to assail the foundations of Holy Writ, changed his mode of attack, and drew off his forces in a different direction ; and having endeavoured to subvert men's faith by rationalizing what is spiritual in Scripture, would next endeavour to destroy them by spiritualizing what is rational, and by dissolving the facts of sacred history in a haze and mist of mythology.”

This is a partially true utterance, but it is rather one-sided. If we patiently separate the precious from the vile, the chaff from the wheat, we shall find a residuum of what is really valuable large enough to compensate for the evils which Dr. Wordsworth well points out. It has become the fashion in our day to indulge and express too much apprehension in relation to free research and even an unhealthy latitudinarianism. Everything which endangers scriptural orthodoxy should be exposed and refuted ; but this may be done without any fears being entertained either for the present influence of the truth, or its ultimate triumph. As far as we are able to judge, all the efforts of the critical faculty, put forth on the Bible by both friends and foes, have done far more good than harm ; and the efforts of enemies have served the cause they hoped to injure. We wish Dr. Wordsworth could entertain this opinion, as it would give more expansion to his own admirable plan, and combine better the light of the present with that of the past.

The text adopted is Dr. Wordsworth's own, concerning which we will let him speak for himself:—

“The text of the present edition is not a reprint of that hitherto received in any impression of the New Testament. The editor has endeavoured to avail himself of the collations of MSS. which have been supplied by others, and to offer to the reader the result at which he has arrived after an examination of these collations. He has not thought it requisite or desirable to lay before the eye a full apparatus of various readings. It would have swollen the volume to too great a bulk, and have occupied the place reserved for exposition. Besides, that important work has been done, or is in course of being done, by others. And to their labours he would refer those who are desirous of ascertaining the process by which the text of the present edition has been formed. At the same time he feels it his duty to state that (whether rightly or wrongly is left to the judgment of others) he has not deviated so far from the text commonly received as has been done in some recent editions. And he cannot forbear adverting with satisfaction to important evidence which has come to light since the commencement of the printing of this volume, and which has confirmed him in the principles he had adopted of caution in deviating from the received text. A seventh edition of the New Testament is now in course of publication under the editorship of a learned person, to whom the present age is deeply indebted for his labours in collating MSS. and publishing transcripts of early copies of the New Testament, Constantine Tischendorf. It will be found, on examination of the prospectus of that seventh edition, that he frankly confesses that he had been led to follow too implicitly the lead of certain favourite MSS., in his earlier editions. And the fact is, that in his new seventh edition he abandons his former readings, and generally returns to those of the received text in *more than a hundred places in the Gospel of St. Matthew alone.*”

The Notes constitute an amount of learned matter, drawn from all sources, ancient and modern, such as must be seen to be appreciated. But, as we before said, the editor gives a preference to the ancient fathers of the Church, for reasons among which we find the following:

“While it is freely allowed that modern expositors enjoy some advantages which were not possessed by the ancient, and that the works of the ancient writers cannot be read profitably without sobriety of judgment, yet it is also certain that the ancient interpreters are never chargeable with some errors which impair the value, and mar the use, of some modern expositions. They are never flippant and familiar. They are not self-conceited and vain-glorious. They are never scornful and profane. They handle Scripture with reverence. Their tone is high and holy; produced by careful study of Scripture, with humble prayer for light to the Divine Author of Scripture. They reflect some of that light, and spiritualize the thoughts of the reader, and raise them to a serener atmosphere, and do not depress them into the lower and more obscure region of clouds, which hang over the minds of those who approach Scripture with presumption and irreverence, and which disable them from seeing its light, and, much more, from unfolding it to others.

As a specimen of Dr. Wordsworth's manner, and of the use he makes of the older expositors, we copy the following from Luke vii. 36:—

“This narrative, not found in any other evangelist, is full of tenderness and encouragement to the Gentile world, which might see a beautiful picture of itself in the woman that was a sinner, and despised by Simon the Pharisee, but blessed on her repentance by Christ, and might thus be taught to love much, and to present those members of the body (Rom. xii. 1), and faculties of the soul and estate, which had been before abused to the service of sin and Satan, as living sacrifices to Christ. Her eyes, which once longed after earthly joys, she now consumes in penitential tears; her hair, which she once displayed for idle ornament, she now uses to wipe the feet of Jesus; with her lips, which once uttered vain things, she kisses those holy feet; the costly oint-

ment she now offers to God. See Romans vi. 19; 'As ye have yielded your members,' etc. Compare *St. Amphiloeh.*, pp. 67—85. *Gregor.*, Hom. xxxiii. in *Evangelia*. St. Ambrose applies this history thus: 'Expande capillos, sterne ante Christum corporis has dignitates. . . . Accurre ad pedes. Ubicumque audieris Christi nomen, accurre. Lacrymis confitere delicta . . . si desideras gratiam, caritatem auge, mitte in corpus Jesu fidem resurrectionis, odorem ecclesie, Caritatis unguentum. Non unguentum mulieris Dominus, sed caritatem probavit. Pecuniam conferas pauperi, ut deferas Christo. Corpus ejus Ecclesia est.' "

The work is a fine specimen of beautiful printing, and the size, a small folio, is very convenient for use. We may probably examine the critical and exegetical principles more at length, when another part appears, and will take leave of it at present with a quotation from Dr. Wordsworth's remarks on inspiration:—

"Much has been written in modern times on what is commonly called, though perhaps not very correctly, *verbal inspiration*. Words are symbols of things. The words of Scripture are the instrument used for the conveyance of a knowledge of the things of God to the mind of man. And in order that the things of God may be rightly conveyed to the human mind, it is necessary that the verbal symbols should correctly represent, as far as human language can represent, what is in the Divine mind. And if we say that the writers of the New Testament were not under the control and direction of the Holy Spirit in their use of words, we do in fact deny their inspiration. How far this control and direction extended, it would be presumptuous to attempt to define. St. Paul wrote the Epistle to the Romans, and Tertius wrote the same thing, but not in the same way. Tertius was not inspired—St. Paul was. Tertius wrote as a mechanical instrument in the hand of a man; St. Paul wrote as a free agent in the hand of the Holy Ghost. And St. Paul affirms that the words which he writes in his Epistles are 'not words which man's wisdom teacheth, but which the Holy Ghost teacheth.' St. Paul, therefore, we are sure, was under the guidance of the Holy Spirit in his words as well as thoughts, in the letter as well as in the substance of what he wrote for the teaching of the Church of Christ, and in that which was received as Canonical Scripture by her, to whom Christ promised his own presence, and that of the Holy Ghost. . . . The mind of Christ is Divine. The Holy Spirit, and the Holy Spirit alone, knew what was in the mind of Christ. And Holy Scripture was not to tell us merely that which Christ taught by means of words, which are human coinage, but what was in the inner treasury of wisdom of him who is Divine. If the Holy Spirit had given us but one verbal account of Christ's sayings, he would have given a far less clear view of Christ's mind than we now possess. This arises, not from any imperfection in the working of the Spirit, but from *our* imperfection, and from that of the instrument to be used by the Spirit for the conveyance of a knowledge of Christ's mind to us,—namely, human language. He has given to us a fuller knowledge of that mind, by presenting its sense to us in different points of view; just as a painter gives us a clearer idea of a human countenance or a landscape, by representing it to us from different sides. . . . For example, if we had but one account of the institution of the Lord's Supper, we should have a far less complete notion of what was in the Divine mind of him who instituted it, than we have now by reason of the varieties of expression, by which the Holy Spirit represents in the several gospels the divine thoughts which were in the mind of Christ at its institution."

St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians. The text revised, and illustrated by a Commentary, intended principally for the use of Ministers and Students of Theology. By HENRY T. J. BAGGE, B.A. London: Nisbet. 1857. 8vo. pp. xxxiii., 234.

THE labours of one whose literary qualifications are like those of Mr. Bagge, and who entertains his general views and feelings as to the

sacred writings and on the subject of divine truth, cannot fail of contributing something in aid of scripture studies. His conviction that the Scriptures are stamped with divine authority, is, in proportion as it is genuine and duly felt, the best possible safeguard against the misleading influence of subjective prejudices. Its tendency is to repress extravagancies of all kinds; to deter a man from utterances, on the one hand, dictated rather by a sceptical philosophy than by the sacred text, and on the other hand, from imposing a peculiar system of dogmatic theology on the divine word; while it would moderate the outpourings of devout speculation suggested by loose and superficial notions as to the meaning of Scripture. The sentiments of Mr. Ellicott on this subject (whose labours have received our warm approbation in this Journal), which are cited by Mr. Bagge, are excellent and well expressed. If we would train our younger students to be reverential thinkers, earnest Christians, and sound divines, we must habituate them to a patient and thoughtful study of the words and language of Scripture, before we allow them to indulge in an exegesis for which they are immature and incompetent. If the Scriptures are divinely inspired, then surely it is a young man's noblest occupation, patiently and lovingly to note every change of expression, every turn of language, every variety of inflexion; to analyze and to investigate; to contrast and to compare, until he has obtained some accurate knowledge of those outward elements which are permeated by the inward influence and power of the Holy Spirit of God. In short, if in any enquiry a man's results should flow from a rigid *induction*, it is in the investigation of the Scripture.

It appears, however, from the title of this work, and from the importance Mr. Bagge has connected with his labours as to the text, that an important object in this work is a purely critical one. It would seem as though the revision of the text had been a very important, if not the chief object of his labours, and that Mr. Bagge has constructed and published an original text. We, of course, are far enough from saying that a commentator is to adhere for ever to any sort of *mumpsimus*, however venerable by long use. But we confess to great *caution* of feeling on this subject, which feeling is not diminished by having traced *ἀνωθεν* the course of biblical criticism, and for many years. To us it appears that the present state of biblical criticism would seem to intimate that it is a matter of some courage, not to say with Mr. Ellicott, 'hazardous, if not presumptuous,' for one of less than gigantic advantages in this way, to come out with an original text of so important a portion of Scripture as the Epistle to the Galatians. It is quite true, as Mr. Bagge says, that there are many reasons why a critic should not be able unreservedly to follow either of the great representatives of this principle (*viz.*, that the text is to be sought for in ancient authorities only), Lachmann and Tischendorf. This is true; but one important reason why the labours of the latter incomparable critic are not to be implicitly followed, is, that with the candour of a great man he is himself modifying his former views as to what is

really ancient, and retracting some of his former conclusions in obedience to increasing evidence ; so that the very principles of forming such a judgment as can be safely presented to the public are not yet sufficiently determined, and we think it likely that Mr. Bagge may see reasons for wishing that the publication of his critical results had been deferred. In all important cases indeed a commentator must *satisfy himself* as to the reading of particular passages, and ought to give the evidence on which he has done so ; which, in fact, it is commonly less difficult to do in important cases than in smaller and more frequent variations. In perusing the greater part of this work, however, we find few cases in which his criticism has an important bearing on his exegesis.

With regard to the Commentary, we are able to say that it is in general conducted on sound exegetical principles. Sometimes the author has condescended to remarks which a minister and a duly qualified student of the Scripture would not require, as being familiar to every scholar ; but to one who is studying the Epistle for the first time, Mr. Bagge's help will often be very acceptable. We cannot but think, however, that on what may be called the great points of this Epistle, his dogmatical theology has considerably outrun his exegesis. We will refer to one out of many cases by which this remark might be illustrated. On the passage, Gal. iii. 6, *ἐλογίσθη αὐτῷ εἰς δικαιοσύνην*, he comments thus :—

“ ‘ It was imputed to him for righteousness,’ or justification, which as is plain from Rom. iv. 1, seqq., is the principal notion in this *δικαιοσύνη*. For since through one man sin entered into the world of created beings then in the loins of that one man ; and since universal death became the consequence of the universality of sin ; and since by one man's offence judgment came upon all men to condemnation ; then manifestly Abraham, inheriting condemnation and death, needed justification and life. And, moreover, as there have been but two covenants, one of works, the other of grace, made with, and effectual in Christ, and as in this latter alone justification and life are to be obtained, it is plain that in Christ alone could Abraham obtain that which he needed. And as in the covenant of grace justification and life accrue to the sinner through the imputed righteousness of Christ, as condemnation and death did accrue to him through the imputed disobedience of Adam, it is evident that if Abraham were justified at all, he must have been justified through the imputed righteousness of Christ.”

This, now, is Mr. Bagge's theology, and perhaps will make his work acceptable to some. We doubt much whether it is deducible from this and similar texts. The righteousness which was reckoned as belonging to Abraham was that confiding love of God for which he was so eminent, which is the main element of *faith*, which is the mother of all the virtues, which it has been God's *good pleasure* to promote in every dispensation, but of which his inestimable love in Christ, the culmination of his grace, supplied the *constraining motives*. We believe that this latter view is sustained by the most rigid interpretation of all the Scriptures which relate to this subject.

Biblical Researches in Palestine and the adjacent Regions: a Journal of Travels in the years 1830 and 1852. By EDWARD ROBINSON, ELI SMITH, and Others. Drawn up from the original Diaries, with Historical Illustrations, by EDWARD ROBINSON, DD., LL.D. In Three Volumes. Second Edition, with New Maps and Plans. London: JOHN MURRAY. 1856.

ROBINSON'S *Biblical Researches* is a work which, on its first appearance in 1841, attracted a large measure of attention, and led to much discussion respecting some of the opinions advanced therein. Its marked superiority as a book, over a great majority of those relating to the Holy Land—and their name is Legion, for they are many—excited the admiration of scholars and men of science, and won for it a foremost position. The author of it, already favourably known for his many biblical labours, by the publication of this work became much more distinguished, and received the highest compliments which could be awarded to a literary man. Stimulated by his successes, and anxious to render his labours upon the geography of Palestine as complete as possible, Dr. Robinson undertook a second journey thither, not only to explore new fields, but to re-investigate some which he had already traversed. He now republishes, with some modifications, the original work, and adds to it an entirely new volume as the fruit of his second voyage. The present, therefore, must be regarded as the completed work, and containing the ultimate published results of his investigations and studies. It is undoubtedly a remarkable monument of the zeal and learning of its author, and will long remain as a most valuable authority in matters pertaining to the geography and topography of the most interesting of all lands.

There is no country which has such scenes as Palestine, and around which cluster so many hallowed associations. A knowledge of it furnishes us with the most valuable illustrations and elucidations of the Scriptures both of the Old and New Testaments, whose statements are continually verified by the facts which have been brought to light respecting it. We have no sympathy with those narrow-minded persons who can remain indifferent to that land whose history goes back to a period so remote, which has been the theatre of such wonderful events, and where patriarchs, prophets, apostles, and even the Redeemer of men, were born, and lived and died. Its "blessed acres" are holy ground, and everywhere awaken thoughts and memories, such as no other land can awaken. We therefore turn to volumes like these before us with peculiar feelings of pleasure, and follow their author with an interest which never flags. To a certain extent, the countries adjacent to Palestine claim the same honour, because they too are more or less allied to the persons and events which distinguished it, and are referred to continually in the sacred volume. Of course the lapse of time, and the succession of events, have blotted out many of the memorials of the past, and changed much of that which yet remains, but notwithstanding this, and to a certain extent because of this, the diligent labours of

holy apostles, of St. Stephen, and of others of that early age, has never mentioned those of the Virgin!" Such is the foundation of sand on which old superstitions are compelled to build; and what is true of dogmas, even the most cherished, is true of other matters. The investigations of Dr. Robinson in Jerusalem, and his subsequent studies, have convinced him that some of the most 'holy places' are nothing but common ground, if indeed they be not worse, as the seats of imposture and fraud in the name of truth and goodness.

For ourselves, we would much rather remain in ignorance of the holy places for ever, than have palmed upon us an invention of lying priests; just as we would rather receive nothing, than have a serpent given us instead of a fish. Even in regard to that most famous of all sacred places, the holy sepulchre, about which so much blood has been shed during so many ages, very strong reasons are adduced by Dr. Robinson for believing that what is now exhibited is not the grave of Christ at all, and never was thought of as such for three hundred years after his burial. We are quite inclined to believe this, and to think that 'no man knoweth of his sepulchre unto this day.' The conclusion of our author himself is given in the last volume in these words: "Thus we are brought at last to the conclusion, that the genuineness of the present site of the holy sepulchre is neither supported by well authenticated historical facts, nor by prior tradition, nor by archæological features. The question, therefore, after all, 'must principally be determined by topographical considerations.' The fact that an unbroken tradition of fifteen centuries now testifies to the alleged discovery of the holy sepulchre, has no bearing to shew the genuineness of the spot thus fixed upon. The tradition may have had its origin in error, and in that case, the only effect of its long continuance has been to fasten that error the more firmly upon the world. The similar tradition in respect to the place of Stephen's martyrdom, which sprung up a century later, is too instructive on these points to be wholly passed over." Of this latter discovery, which took place in December, A. D. 415, he proceeds to give an account, and institutes a comparison between it and the recovery of the sepulchre. The truth of the one is certainly as well established as that of the other; and the relics of Stephen have been always held in peculiar veneration. At Toulouse they still profess to have the stone which caused his death.

It is not our purpose to give any detailed account of the researches of Dr. Robinson in Egypt and Idumea, or Palestine and Syria; but we may remark that we are deeply indebted to him for his descriptions. We have brought together a mass of facts and observations which will well repay the most careful study; and we obtain from the whole a lucid and accurate view of the present state of the localities visited. We have read the work with the greatest pleasure, and have obtained from it a more correct view of the scenes it describes than we had before. It is, therefore, with peculiar satisfaction that we call attention to one of the most important contributions of biblical geography and topography which it has ever been our lot to meet with.

We shall draw our remarks on this interesting work to a close, with a few observations.

There can be no doubt that Dr. Robinson has succeeded in fixing many important localities mentioned in Scripture and other ancient writings, and has shewn long current opinions to have been in many cases wrong. And even if subsequent research should prove him to be in error on some points, and we think it very possible, yet notwithstanding, he will deserve our gratitude for having directed attention to questions of such importance, and for having led the way to a correct knowledge of places around which so many hallowed associations cluster. We do not always admire the style in which the book is written, and we frequently think a less positive tone would have become the author on not a few occasions. But when we think of the multifarious particulars to be enumerated, and the importance which attaches, in the eyes of most men, to the questions discussed, we can readily pardon minor blemishes. And then, to adopt the language of the Roman poet,—

“ Ubi plura nitent—non ego paucis
Offendar maculis, quas aut incuria fudit
Aut humana parum cavit natura.”

We have no doubt that many will be stimulated by the perusal of this work, to make themselves better acquainted with the geography and present condition of the Holy Land.

The Early Reformers of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries. First half, John Wycliffe; by FREDERICK BÖHRINGER. (Die Vorreformatoren, etc.) Zurich: Meyer and Zeller. 1856. 8vo. pp. 643. London: Nutt.

THE English public have lately not been without the means of knowing a good deal about Wycliffe, especially since Dr. Vaughan has directed his well-known historic learning to this favourite subject. In 1829 Dr. Vaughan had published a work in three volumes, called *The Life and Times of Wycliffe*, a second edition of which appeared in 1831. This work was entirely recast and published in 1853 under the title *John de Wycliffe, a Monograph*. A work by Lewis had appeared in 1720, called *The Life and Sufferings of Wycliffe*, an edition of which was printed at Oxford in 1820. Dr. Vaughan's work, especially in its last form, is reckoned by Böhringer of considerable value from the copious extracts which it contains from the most popular and unedited writings of Wycliffe. Yet he believes that there is still much new light to be thrown, from similar authentic sources, on the character and opinions of Wycliffe, which is essential to a true estimate of him, even on the part of his own countrymen, but especially on the part of those to whom English sources of information are not accessible. His general estimate of Wycliffe as a man, a Christian and a reformer, is very high. He reckons him to have been incomparably more important in his influence than any of the early reformers, and, mainly on this ac-

count, has given great proportionate space to this part of his large work, *The Church of Christ in its Witnesses*. But as he writes in the interest of no particular confession, he feels bound to exhibit his hero *on all sides*, and this he thinks has never yet been done. He considers, for instance, with regard to Dr. Vaughan's work, that in its most valuable part, the historic matter, the extracts from Wykliffe's popular writings, are too much selected, given out of their connexion, and even modified for controversial purposes, that neither Vaughan nor Lewis have given anything like an adequate view of Wykliffe's theology. Neither of them have duly noticed Wykliffe's most important theological work, the *Triologus*, which Böhringer considers as embodying the theology of all Wykliffe's writings.

"This work," says he, "the most extensive of Wykliffe's works, especially in his riper years, comprehends the result of all his previous writings, . . . it comprehends all the subjects which belonged to a body of divinity in his time. It is besides decidedly a systematic work, the only work of Wykliffe, perhaps, which can be so called, and is the chief source from which a knowledge of his system can be drawn, especially as almost all the purely scientific writings of this great thinker are still unedited."

The author states that it was in fact in Wykliffe's time and afterwards, when his views were called in question, the work to which on all sides appeal was made for a statement of his views as a theologian. It seems, however, that no tolerable edition of this important work is in existence. It was badly printed and edited at Basle from 1521 to 1525, and still worse at Leipzig and Frankfort in 1753. The importance of this document, in the opinion of our author, has led him to exhibit and discuss it at considerable length, more than a hundred pages of this work being devoted to it.

Böhringer, as we have intimated, has not taken a side, at least so as to disparage the reformer. He appears to admire the views and objects of Wykliffe more than any conservative religionists in this country and abroad would be inclined to do. He does justice to the Christian sincerity and the greatness of his character; and he views his extravagances in relation to his times. But he has given the reader a fair opportunity of viewing the reformer and his conduct, as he says, "on all sides"; and while on the whole he extols his hero, he does not regard him as a model for all times, but rather as one of the many forms in which Christianity has developed itself, to be viewed in relation to other and very different forms in which the same essential principles have manifested themselves.

An Introduction to the Critical Study and Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures. The Tenth Edition, revised, corrected, and brought down to the present time. Edited by the Rev. T. HARTWELL HORNE, B.D. (the Author); the Rev. S. DAVIDSON, D.D., of the University of Halle, and LL.D.; and S. P. TREGELLES, LL.D. London: Longman and Co. 1856. 4 vols. 8vo. The two volumes by Mr.

Horne, pp. 648, 764; Vol. III. by Dr. Davidson, pp. 1132; Vol. IV. by Mr. Horne and Dr. Tregelles, pp. 796.

Few works of modern times have contributed more to the advancement of biblical knowledge than Mr. Horne's *Introduction*. We remember it with reverence, as having supplied our early studies with the solution of numerous questions, and stimulated us to make further advancement. Viewed in relation to the time when its earlier editions appeared, it supplied a want the urgency of which is far less felt in the present day, owing to the abundance of similar productions. We believe we shall state the opinion of by far the larger class of our readers when we say that no ordinary honour is due to the revered author, who, for about half a century, has thus given a right direction to the studies of the rising ministry of the Church, and aided them in their after career.

For these reasons we rejoiced when we saw the announcement that a new edition of this work was preparing. We felt doubtful indeed how two co-editors, Drs. Davidson and Tregelles, could so co-operate with Mr. Horne as to produce a harmonious whole, yet we hoped for the best, and were prepared to give the result a kind reception. We expected that Mr. Horne's plan and materials would have been retained, but corrected, enlarged, and supplemented with all the recent information furnished upon the various topics, in a manner which Mr. Horne, at his advanced age, could not be expected to supply it. We thought, in our *à priori* conception of the new edition, that it would have a oneness of plan, and that we should be able to recognize all the features of an old favourite, although with more of youth and vigour from the infusion of the new elements. But, whether our expectation was reasonable or not, it was doomed to disappointment. We found the new work to be "a thing of shreds and patches," a body whose *disjecta membra* were partly thrown into confusion, and partly not to be found. Volumes I. and III. retain their former shape and substance, but volumes II. and IV. are altogether new and heterogeneous in reference to Mr. Horne's former edition. Dr. Davidson has discussed his subjects *more suo*, with perfect independence and almost a supercilious disdain of his co-adjutors, and his volume has no connexion whatever with what precedes and follows. Dr. Tregelles has done all that he has accomplished in concert with Mr. Horne, and with an urbanity contrasted with the surliness of Dr. Davidson. Yet even his part does not cohere with the original work, and it would be far better as a separate treatise. In short, there has been in the whole arrangement a neglect of our Lord's aphoristic teaching, "No man seweth a piece of new cloth on an old garment, etc."

But more than this want of homogeneity has to be told. Dr. Davidson has been charged by Mr. Horne and Dr. Tregelles, with using the "Introduction" as a vehicle for heterodox opinions, against which both these gentlemen protest. Dr. Tregelles has expressed his own views at length in the present number of the Journal, but we are bound to say that he has but little sympathy with ourselves in the

line of argument he has pursued. We wish to do justice to Dr. Davidson, notwithstanding his coarse treatment of ourselves, as pointed out in our last number; indeed, we feel that it behoves us to be more careful in estimating his views rightly, because of that treatment. We cannot allow great principles to be sacrificed because of party prejudices or novel theories, and we think both these have been made too much of in the objections started against Dr. Davidson. As part of Horne's "Introduction" we think his volume quite misplaced; but on its own grounds, it is a valuable contribution to Biblical literature. We object to many of his views, but they may be held, most of them we think, without the holder being otherwise than a firm believer in Divine Revelation, or in the Scriptures as given by inspiration of God. We think it hard indeed if a man is to be called heterodox because he cannot think the eighth chapter of Proverbs refers to our Lord, and we consider the long passage quoted from Dr. Mc Caul by Dr. Tregelles as a piece of special pleading, to say the least. We cannot now enter on the subject further, but simply protest against biblical science being thrown back three centuries by a sort of papal intolerance. The way in which the *Record* has treated Dr. Davidson, and is treating all who cannot indorse its ignorant and bigoted views is *barbarous*;—not only unworthy of a Christian, but disgraceful to a free country. One thing, however, we must add, that until Dr. Davidson publicly qualifies or explains his approval of Mr. Macnaught's dangerous book, he must expect to have his orthodoxy suspected.

Travels of Rabbi Petachia of Ratisbon. Translated from the Hebrew and published, together with the original, on opposite pages, by Dr. A. BENISCH. With Explanatory Notes by the Translator and WILLIAM F. AINSWORTH, Esq., F.S.A., F.G.S., etc. London: Trübner and Co., 1856. 12mo.

THIS is, on many accounts, a very curious work. The travels of a Rabbi of the twelfth century, written in Hebrew, will be acceptable to students of that language; while the opinions of such an enquirer into the nature of men and things, must be interesting to all thoughtful readers. The Rabbi travelled through Poland, Russia, Tartary, the Crimea, Armenia, Assyria, Syria, the Holy Land and Greece. His object in these distant excursions does not appear; probably he only did what men have alway been found doing, travelling for adventure. His observations are acute, and an extract or two from them will sufficiently introduce the work to our readers. The following is the account given of the "head of the Jewish Academy at Babel:"—

"The head of the academy has about two thousand disciples simultaneously, and more than five hundred surround him, and they are all well informed. But before they are ripe for the academy they study in the city under other teachers, and when ripe they are brought before the head of the academy. The head of the captivity is Rabbi Elieser, and under him is the head of the academy. The head of the academy occupies a large house, which is covered with tapestry; he himself is clothed in

garments adorned with gold. He sits above, while the disciples are sitting on the ground. He discourses to the interpreter, and the interpreter to the disciples. The disciples address their queries to the interpreter, and if the interpreter does not know anything he addresses himself to the head of the academy. An interpreter expounds a treatise on one side, and another interpreter expounds another treatise on another side. The whole study is with an intonation, and after the delivery he expounds it to them."

Near Bagdad prophets are interred; and this is the description of the coffin of Daniel:—

"Originally he was buried on one side of the river, and there was there great plenty, prosperity, and blessing. Then these on the other side of the river said, 'Because the righteous man is not buried in our portion, therefore our district is not blessed.' And there were constantly great wars between the two districts, during which the coffin was violently transferred from bank to bank. At last some elders came, who, having brought about a settlement between them, they took the coffin and suspended it by iron chains, on high iron pillars, erected in the middle of the river. The coffin is made of polished copper, conspicuous in the middle of the river, ten cubits above the water. At the distance it looks lustrous like glass. The Jews told him that any vessel passing underneath the coffin will proceed in safety if those in it be pious, but will founder if this be not the case. He was further told that underneath the coffin there are fish with golden pendants in their ears. He, however, did not pass underneath the coffin, but stood on the brink of the river, looking at the coffin."

Then, as now, the East had its marvellous things to impose on travellers:—

"Among the oaks of Mamre dwelt an old man, who was near death when Rabbi Petachia arrived there, and he told his son to shew Rabbi Petachia the tree under which the angels rested. He also shewed him a fine olive tree cleft into three parts with a stone in the middle. They have a tradition that when the angels sat down the tree was cleft into three parts, each resting under one tree whilst sitting on the stone. The fruits of the tree are very sweet. By the tree is the well of Sarah; its waters are clear and sweet. . . . They also shewed him a stone of twenty-eight cubits, upon which Abraham, our father, was circumcised. The old man affirmed, with an oath, that now he was quitting the world and would not say a falsehood, that one day, on the fast of the Day of Atonement, he saw a fiery angel and a fiery horse by the well of Sarah, who was offering up his devotion."

Jewish School and Family Bible. Vol. III. Containing the Books of Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the Twelve minor Prophets. Newly translated under the supervision of the Rev. the Chief Rabbi of the united congregations of the British Empire, by Dr. A. BENISCH. London: Trübner and Co., 1856. 8vo. pp. 360.

THIS volume completes Dr. Benisch's labours, which have been before spoken well of in this Journal. In the preface to the whole work the translator enters pretty fully into the character of the Authorized Version, and points out instances in which a want of the knowledge possessed by Hebrews, led the translators astray. All persons who take an interest on the subject of versions of the Bible, should see and study the present one; for while all the readings are not, we think, sustainable, many of them are decided improvements on our own. We will give Dr. Benisch's renderings of two celebrated Messianic texts

in Isaiah, from which we conclude that he has not discharged his task without the bias which our labours generally take from our previous opinions.

Isaiah vii. 14, etc. "Therefore the Lord himself shall give you a sign: Behold the young woman is pregnant, and is bearing a son, and thou shalt call his name Immanuel."

Isaiah ix. 5, etc. "For unto us a child was born, unto us a son was given; and the government was upon his shoulder: and they called his name Wonder, Counsellor of a god-like hero, Father perpetual, Officer of peace. Of the increase of the government and peace *there is no end, etc.*"

A Commentary on the Discourse of the Lord Jesus, called the Sermon on the Mount. By the Rev. J. F. TODD, M.A., of Trinity College, Cambridge, Vicar of Liskeard. London: Longmans. 1856. 12mo. pp. 394.

FROM the examination we have been able to give to this volume, we have formed a high opinion of its merits. The author comes to his task with much learning, extensive reading, and a grasp of mind in relation to biblical subjects not always possessed by the commentator, though so indispensable to make his labours successful. One object kept in view by Mr. Todd is stated in the following passage, which is all we can now lay before our readers:—

"But *now* as a man, in the form of a servant himself, and as one 'made under the law,' with reverence be it spoken, in referring to that law He could only speak as a Teacher and Expositor, not as a Lawgiver; and we shall presently see how emphatically he corrects any false impression which might possibly have arisen in the minds of his hearers, that He was come to dissolve existing laws, or to extend them, as if they were deficient in breadth and spirituality.

"It certainly is a very grievous error to contrast the standard of morality inculcated in various parts of the one Holy Bible, which is all given by like inspiration from God, and which everywhere unfolds the same sublime and comprehensive rule of supreme love to God, and of equal law to every man. The apostle declared, that even in those parts which alone were familiar from childhood to Timothy, it was all 'profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness;' because its details, when rightly expounded, warn us to abstain from all evil, and tend to perfect the man of God, and to render him complete in every good work. Now true religion must always have been the same spiritual thing, a powerful principle influencing the whole man; since happiness is invariably connected with holiness, or the restoration of the divine image to the soul; and an unchangeable God necessarily requires the same meetness, at all times, for the enjoyment of his presence, because all evil is infinitely abhorrent from his perfections. Coleridge, therefore, rightly denied that there is a single moral precept of the Gospel which is not to be found in the Old Testament; but he considered the proof of this a grand desideratum, and this, too, as a thing calculated to open the eyes of Socinians, if anything can, to their false estimate of the object of the Messiah's Advent. It is hoped that such proof may be found given in detail in this 'Commentary.'"

But like most theories, this is carried too far. There is, no doubt, identity as to *principle* in the morality required under every dispensation. But then allowance must be made for a rudimentary state, and for the principle of development.

New Translation and Exposition of the Book of Ecclesiastes : with Critical Notes on the Hebrew Text. By the Rev. BENJAMIN WEISS, Missionary to the Jews; Author of "A Christian Jew on the Old Testament Scriptures," etc. London: Nisbet. 1856. 24mo. pp. 340.

So little has been done in England in the way of exposition of the Book of Ecclesiastes, that we welcome any judicious labours in so neglected a field. The present author is a Hebrew, converted to Christianity, and he has produced a volume which really elucidates the sacred text. The work may be profitably read by the learned and the ordinary student of the Bible.

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1. *Inspiration a Reality ; or, a Vindication of the Plenary Inspiration and Infallible Authority of Holy Scriptures : in reply to the Rev. J. Macnaught.* By the Rev. J. B. LOWE, A.B., Incumbent of St. Jude's, Liverpool. London: Longmans. 1856. 24mo. pp. 256.
 2. *Inspiration a Reality and Infallibility a Delusion ; or, a Letter, concerning the Rev. Josiah B. Lowe's "Inspiration a Reality," addressed to the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Chester.* By the Rev. JOHN MACNAUGHT, M.A., Oxon, Incumbent of St. Chrysostom's, Everton, Liverpool. London: Longmans. 1856. 8vo. pp. 16.
 3. *Criticism Criticised, and Misrepresentations Corrected : being a Reply to the Rev J. Macnaught's Letter to the Bishop of Chester.* By the Rev. J. B. LOWE, A.B., Ex. S.T.C.D. London: Longmans. 1856. 8vo. pp. 18.

WE noticed Mr. Macnaught's volume in our last number, and we feel an increased conviction of its utter unworthiness as the production of a minister of the Church of England, and its destructive tendency as regards the divine authority of the Bible. On this account we should have been glad if its statements had been well met; but we cannot say this is done in Mr. Lowe's volume. He merely reiterates the commonplaces about plenary inspiration, and by claiming entire infallibility for the sacred writers, gives his adversary an advantage over him. The two pamphlets shew how dangerous it is to substitute subjective notions for sufficient proofs of anything.

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1. *The Four Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles ; with Short Notes for the Use of Schools and Young persons.* By HENRY COTTON, D.C.L., Archdeacon of Cashel. London: J. H. and J. Parker, 1856. 18mo. pp. 384.
 2. *A Large-print Paragraph Bible, with Marginal Renderings, Introductions, Alphabetical Indexes, and numerous Maps.* Each Book of Holy Scripture being published separately. London: Samuel Bagster and Sons. 1856. Part I. Genesis. 12mo. pp. 125.

THESE are some of the fruits of the recent agitation respecting our Authorized Version. It is presumed that our system of chapters and

verses disguises or alters the meaning of the text ; that by arranging it in paragraphs light will be thrown upon the sacred volume. No doubt this is the case in some instances, but we think the benefit is greatly exaggerated. However, the Messrs. Bagster confer a benefit on many readers, by the portable form in which they are now furnishing the separate books of Scripture, and the large type in which they are printed. The work of Archdeacon Cotton is very meagre. The Notes are not worthy of the name.

The Commentary, wholly Biblical, in the very words of Scripture. London : Bagsters. 4to. Part I and II.

THIS will prove a really valuable acquisition to students of the Bible. Besides saving the trouble of searching all the marginal references, it allows the mind to consider, in their collected form, the bearing and weight of the parallel passages.

Parting Counsels : an Exposition of the First Chapter of the Second Epistle of the Apostle Peter ; with Four additional Discourses. By JOHN BROWN, D.D., Senior Minister of the United Presbyterian Congregation, Broughton-place, Edinburgh, and Professor of Exegetical Theology to the United Presbyterian Church, Edinburgh : Oliphant and Sons. 1856. 8vo. pp. 342.

DR. BROWN has confined himself to the first chapter of this Epistle, because, while believing in its divine authority, he feels there are difficulties surrounding the other portion which his leisure did not enable him to grapple with. There is in this acknowledgment a proper tribute paid to the arduous character of sound criticism, which is altogether ignored by less learned and flippant writers on biblical subjects. He acknowledges a completeness in the first chapter, which renders its separate consideration more easy ; and he has treated it in the complete and masterly way in which his previous exegetical tasks have been performed.

A Vindication of the Authorised Version of the English Bible. Part III., containing remarks on Mr. Sharpe's "Critical Notes on the Authorised English Version of the New Testament" as far as St. Matthew i.—v., and St. John i.—v. By the Rev. S. C. MALAN, M.A. London : Bell and Daldy. 1856. 12mo. pp. 38.

MR. MALAN continues, in his small work, what he has done so well in the portions which have been brought before our readers. The summing up of the argument is worthy of consideration.

"At the same time, attempts at revisions or at retranslations do great good. They shew plainly how superior to them all the AUTHORIZED VERSION is on the whole. We have ample proofs of the way in which the American Bible Union was got up ; and the recent disclosures have brought to light facts which one could have deduced from the doubtful scholarship of the revisers. Dr. Turnbull also, in his

efforts 'to *adapt* his translation to the present state of the English language,' shews plainly that he has no correct knowledge of it himself; and Mr. Sharpe, who is a much better scholar, and known as a recent translator of the New Testament, often disappoints one, in his very superficial criticism of the sacred text. Nay, even such a trustworthy critic and earnest student as Mr. Stanley, is not always right; simply because none of us ever is. Here is, then, sufficient cause for humility and self-diffidence when we handle the WORD OF GOD; lest we should mistake it as regards ourselves, and misinterpret it to others,

"At all events, it is evident that however desirable a revision of the AUTHORIZED VERSION may be, the time for it does not seem to have yet come; since the right men to do the work do not yet appear to exist. It is easy to find fault; but very difficult to correct. So men will go on talking and discussing, proposing this and suggesting that, and go no further: because fifty men cannot now be found as they once were, willing to pledge themselves by earnest prayer to sacrifice 'self' to the cause of truth; and thus to labour to promote not their own object, but the glory of God, and that only.

"This may be owing, perhaps, less to the men themselves, than to the circumstances in which they live. Be that as it may, the great work of revising the ENGLISH BIBLE will not be done in a manner worthy of it and of the nation, until it pleases GOD to pour forth a spirit of greater union among the members of His Church in this land, than there is at present."

The Christian Cosmos. The Son of God the revealed Creator. By EDWARD WILLIAM GRINFIELD, M.A. London: Seeley and Co. 1856. 12mo. pp. 358.

MR. GRINFIELD thinks that the fact that all things were created by the Son as stated in the Scriptures and the creeds of Christendom, has fallen too much into abeyance, and that Christians need to have it more prominently brought before them. He has performed his labour with his usual research and perseverance, and added a valuable contribution to our dogmatic divinity.

The Treasury Harmony, and Practical Expositions of the Four Gospels, exhibiting our Lord's Life and Ministry in one hundred sections; with Analytical Introductions, Scripture Illustrations, Notes selected from the most approved Commentators, Practical Reflections, Geographical Notices, copious Addenda and Indices. Also, seven graduated Charts, geographically and chronologically localising every Event in the Gospel History. Compiled by ROBERT MIMPRISS. London: Wertheim and Macintosh. 1856. 4to. pp. 1092.

THIS work has long been before the public, and has done good service to a very large class of Bible readers. The present edition is a very handsome one, and will form an acceptable present to a Sunday-school teacher, or to other persons who have not access to more learned works. It supplies almost everything which could be laid before an English reader, on the Four Gospels.

The Book of Job, illustrated with Fifty Engravings from Drawings by JOHN GILBERT, and with Explanatory Notes and Poetical Parallels. London: Nisbet. 1857. Imperial 8vo. pp. 218.

As a Christmas present, this volume possesses all the necessary qualities of attractiveness, in the engravings, the printing and paper, and the external decorations. But it has higher claims to notice, for the author has illustrated the Book of Job in a very pleasing manner, and compressed in a small compass the substance of many learned volumes.

Lectures on St. Paul, illustrative of the leading events of his life. By WEEVER WALTER, M.A., Vicar of Bonby, and Prebendary of Empingham, in the Cathedral of Lincoln. London: Seeley and Co. 1856. 18mo. pp. 242.

THE aim of Mr. Walter is not a high one. He states that "if the lectures pretend to anything, it is to furnish an instructive, and he hopes, not unattractive addition to the too scanty stock of books for Sunday reading." This object he has well accomplished; but his own description by no means exhibits all the claims of his work. The incidents of the life of St. Paul are very skilfully brought together and made to afford profitable instruction to the reader. It is evident that the subject is thoroughly understood, and that the author has modestly given the results of learning and research which are yet kept in the back ground.

Ladies of the Reformation: Memoirs of Distinguished Female Characters, belonging to the period of the Reformation in the Sixteenth Century. By the Rev. JAMES ANDERSON, Author of "Ladies of the Covenant," etc., etc. Illustrated by JAMES GODWIN, GEORGE THOMAS, etc. London: Blackie and Son. 1856. Small 8vo. pp. 683.

THE first series of these Female Memoirs appeared two years ago, and met with a large measure of public favour. This continuation of the design is well carried out, and the author and the artist have together produced a very attractive volume. The former work described celebrated women of England, Scotland, and the Netherlands; the present relates to those of Germany, Switzerland, France, Italy and Spain, among whom are the wives of Luther, Calvin, and Zwingli, with several ladies of high degree. Mr. Anderson seems to have used great diligence in collecting his materials.

1. *Allgemeine Geschichte der christlichen Religion und Kirche.* Von Dr. AUGUST NEANDER. Dritte Auflage. Gotha: Friedrich Andreas Perthes. 1856. ("Neander's General History of the Christian

Religion and Church." 2 vols. imp. 8vo, pp. 860, 956. London : Dulau and Co.)

2. *Memoirs of Frederick Perthes : or Literary, Religious, and Political Life in Germany, from 1789 to 1843.* In two volumes. Edinburgh : Constable and Co. 1856. pp. 980.

WE have joined these two works together because Perthes, the celebrated German bookseller, was the intimate friend of Neander, and the originator and publisher of his great *Church History*. The *Memoirs* supply most interesting information upon the origin and progress of that celebrated production—the result of labours which occupied the whole life of the author. To those who like to consider the beginnings of great undertakings, the following will be acceptable:—

"Perthes had known Neander from his early years, and had published his 'Julian.' In December 1822 he had written to him: 'Your 'Julian' is but a fragment; will you not extend the fragment into a whole? I heartily wish that you would give us a connected history of Christianity under Constantine and Julian, this period appearing to my own mind even more and more important the more I read respecting it.' These words, as Neander often declared, gave the first impetus to his 'Universal History of the Christian Religion and Church.' As early as January 1823, he wrote to Perthes in reply: 'Your challenge will not have been in vain. The whole period from Constantine to Julian is closely connected, and affords scope for many practically important reflections. The book on Julian, which I have not seen for years, and of which I do not possess a copy, must be written over again, for which I hope I shall have time and strength.' In the autumn of 1824 Neander visited Gotha, and stated that he had attempted to recast his 'Julian,' but had given it up, as he had now determined to write a detailed Church History. 'God give Neander health and strength to finish his work,' said Perthes to a friend; 'perhaps there is no one who, at the present time, can do so much as he for Christianity. Neander, in his character of faithful historian, will most probably refute himself better than any one else could do, and prove the necessity of a visible Church.'"

The volumes, from which this is an extract, are full of information of the most instructive kind. The edition of Neander is the last, carefully edited by Ullmann, who has supplied an interesting preface. The whole arrangement of the volumes, and copious indexes, make them all that could be wished for a work of reference.

Ezekiel's Temple ; its Design unfolded, its Architecture displayed, and the Subjects connected with it discussed. By the Rev. H. S. WARLEIGH, Chaplain of Parkhurst Prison, Isle of Wight. London : Shaw. 1856. 8vo, pp. 256.

It is well known how many schemes of prophetic and millennial interpretation are based upon, or illustrated by, the remarkable description of a temple given by Ezekiel. Mr. Warleigh endeavours to refute these, by shewing that the vision had its accomplishment in the return of the Jews from Babylon, and the building of the second temple. Subsidiary to this main design, there is much useful discussion on kindred topics, and the whole work is worthy an attentive perusal.

The Song of Songs shewn to be constructed on Architectural Principles.
By PETER MACPHERSON, A.M., Edinburgh. Edinburgh: Shepherd and Elliot. 1856. 8vo, pp. 32, with a Plan.

THE author states in a prefatory note that "the object of the pamphlet is to draw attention to the applicability of architectural principles for explaining the way in which the contents of several of the poetical books of the Old Testament have been arranged. As an example, the Song of Solomon has been printed upon a single sheet, in such a way that by a little attention to the explanation given, the reader will find no difficulty in apprehending the nature of the plan according to which the poem has been constructed. It is not pretended that the architectural arrangement actually given is the only one admissible in the case; yet it explains many peculiarities totally unaccounted for by the usual principles applied to solve the problem regarding the structure of the Song of Solomon."

The Hexaglott Bible; containing the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments in the Original Tongues; together with the Greek Septuagint, the Hebrew New Testament, the Latin Vulgate, the Authorised English Version, the French and German, Versions. Edited and revised with great care and diligence, by several Clergymen. London: Henry Cohn, 111, Strand. Part I. Genesis I.—XXXIII. 4to. pp. 96.

WE have received this first portion of a great work too late to make it the subject of criticism, and we can only introduce it to our readers. Its appearance is all that could be wished, and, provided its literary execution corresponds, it will deserve general support. We shall fully describe it in our next number.

The English Harmony of the Four Gospels in Paragraphs and Parallelisms, with the Variations of the Ancient Manuscripts and Versions, Marginal References, and Critical Explanatory Notes. London: Allen, 1856. 4to. pp. 210.

THIS is a part of the Bible in Paragraphs which we have so often recommended, complete as far as the Gospels are concerned. It forms a very neat and commodious volume, giving the results of a vast amount of learned reading.

Assyrian Texts Translated. By F. H. Talbot. No. 1. *Bellino's Cylinder.* 2. *The Cylinder of Esarhaddon.* 3. *A portion of the Annals of ASHURAKBAL.* Printed for private distribution. London: Harrison and Sons. 1856. 8vo. pp. 32.

THIS learned tract may be obtained of the Author by anyone interested in the study it illustrates, on application to Messrs. Harrison, St. Mar-

tin's Lane, London. It will be found a useful auxiliary in the present state of the Assyrian language.

Contributions to the Cause of Education. By JAMES PILLANS, Esq., Professor of Humanity in the University of Edinburgh. London: Longmans. 1856. 8vo, pp. 604.

ALTHOUGH this work is a little *extra limites* in reference to this Journal, we feel we shall be doing service to our readers by bringing it under their notice. Professor Pillans has spent a long life as an educator, and thoroughly understands his profession; and the volume before us contains reprints of tracts and treatises published by him during a long course of years.

1. *Reflections on Church Music, for the consideration of Church-goers in general.* By CARL ENGEL. London: Scheurmann. 1856. 8vo, pp. 112.
2. *Hand-Book for the Oratorios.* Part I. The Messiah; Part II. The Creation. Arranged with an Accompaniment for the Piano-forte or Organ. By JOHN BISHOP, of Cheltenham. London: Cocks and Co. 1856. Large 8vo.

THE first of these is a well-written treatise, the perusal of which would do much to reform our congregational psalmody. The oratorios are worthy of notice, because, while well printed, they are issued at only two shillings each!

NEW WORKS PUBLISHED DURING THE LAST QUARTER.

F O R E I G N.

- Anaker (F.)—Brief a. d. Galater in Bibelstunden. Leipz. 8vo.
- Al Makkari, *Analectes sur l'histoire et la littérature des Arabes d'Espagne*, publiés par R. Dozy, G. Dugat, L. Krehi, et W. Wright. Leyden. Vol. i., part i. 4to.
- Bechor-Schor (J.)—Commentar zum Pentateuch (Hebrew), hrsg. v. A. Jellinek. 1. Abth. "Genesis u. Exodus." Leipz. 8vo.
- Bibel, die Heilige Schrift. Luthers Uebersetzung, nesh v. Meyer berichtigt v. Dr. Rud. Stier, Bielef. 3 parts 8vo.
- Bible. Traduction de la Bible par S. Cahen. Pentateuque. Nouv. ed. Paris. Vols. 1 to 5. 8vo.
- Bungener (F.)—Christ et le siècle. Quatre discours. Geneva. 12mo.
- Bunsen (C. C. J.)—Gott in der Geschichte, oder der Fortschritt des Glaubens an eine sittliche Weltordnung. 3 vols. 8vo.
- Die Bibel. Für die Gemeinde übersetzt und erklärt. 5 vols. 8vo.
- Eisenlohr (Dr.)—Das Volk Israel unter der Herrschaft der Könige. II. Theil. Leipzig: Brandstetter. 8vo.
- Guérin.—De ora Palæstinæ a promontorio Carmelo usque ad urbem Joppen pertinenti. 8vo.
- Hengel (W. A.)—Interpretatio Epist. ad Romanos. Fasc. 3. Sylv. Duc. 8vo.
- Hermæ Pastor Græce ediderunt interpret. vet. Latin. add. R. Anger et G. Dindorf. Lips. 2 parts, 8vo.
- Hofmann (R.)—Symbolik od. systematische Darstellung d. symbolischen Lehrbegriffs der verschiedenen christlichen Kirchen. Leipz. 8vo.
- Monumenta Sacra Inedita. Nova Collectio. Vol. II. Fragmenta Evangelii Lucæ et Libri Genesis ex tribus codicibus Græcis Quinti Sexti Octavi Sæculi, in palimpsesto, ex Libya in Museum Britannicum advecto, altero celeberrimo Cottoniano ex Flammis erepto, tertio ex Oriente Nuperrime Oxonium perlato. Addita sunt et novi et Veteris Testamenti fragmenta similia Nuperrime in codicum sex antiquissimorum reliquiis inventa. Nunc primum eruit atque edidi A. F. C. Tischendorf, Lips.
- Patrum Apostolicorum Opera. Textum ad. fid. cod. et graec. et lat. ined. recens. atque emend. notis illustr. vers. lat. passim correcta, prolegomena indic. instr. A. R. M. Dressel, accedit Hermæ Pastor ex fragmentis Græcis Lipsiensibus, instituta questione de vero eius textus fonte, auctore C. Tischendorf. Lips. 1856. Royal 8vo.
- Salzmann (Aug.)—Jérusalem. Etude de reproduction photographique des monuments de la ville sainte, depuis l'époque judaïque jusqu'à nos jours. Paris. Liv. i. à iv. (12 fotogr. plates.) Folio.
- Testamentum Novum, Græce. Ad antiquos testes denuo recensuit, apparatus criticum omni studio perfectum apposuit commentationem isagogicam prætexuit C. Tischendorf. Lips. Editio vii. Fasc. 1, 2. 8vo.
- Weber (G.)—Geschichte der Kirchenreformation in Grossbritannien. Die Lollarden u. der destructive Theil der Reformation—Der constructive Theil der Reformation u. die puritan. Sectenbildung. Leipzig. 2 vols 8vo.

Wright W.)—The Travels of Ibn Jubair. Edited from a MS. in the University Library of Leyden. Leyden. 8vo.

Zeitschrift der Deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft. Zehnter Band. IV. Heft, Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus.

E N G L I S H.

Anselm (St.)—Meditations and Prayers to the Holy Trinity and our Lord Jesus Christ. Oxford: J. H. and J. Parker. 18mo pp, 298.

Burgess (Rev. Henry, LL.D.)—The Bible and Lord Shaftesbury; an Examination of the positions of his Lordship respecting the Holy Scriptures, delivered at a Public Meeting of the Bible Society at Oxford: in a Letter to J. D. Macbride, Esq., D.C.L., Principal of Magdalen Hall, Oxford. London: J. H. and J. Parker. 8vo, pp. 48.

Chamberlain (Rev. T., M.A.)—The Seven Ages of the Church, as indicated in the messages to the Seven Churches of Asia. London: Masters. 12mo, pp. 84.

Davison (John, B.D.)—Discourses on Prophecy, new edition. London: J. H. and J. Parker. 8vo, pp. 390.

Goodwin (Rev. Harvey, M.A.)—The Glory of the only-begotten of the Father seen in the Manhood of Christ. Being the Hulsean Lectures for 1856. Cambridge: Deighton. 8vo, pp. 230.

Green (Rev. T. Sheldon, M.A.)—A course of developed Criticism on passages of the New Testament materially affected by various readings. London: Bagsters. 8vo, pp. 204.

Greenwood (Thomas, M.A.)—Cathedra Petri; A Political History of the Great Latin Patriarchate. Books 1 and 2 from the first to the close of the fifth century. London: Stewart. 8vo, pp. 510.

Hardwick (Rev. Charles, M.A.)—Christ and other Masters, an historical inquiry into some of the chief parallelisms and contrasts between Christianity and the religious systems of the Ancient World. Part II. Religions of India. Cambridge: Macmillans. 8vo, pp. 220.

Howard (the Hon. and Very Rev. Henry E. J., D.D., Dean of Lichfield)—The Books of Exodus and Leviticus, according to the Version of the LXX. Translated into English, with Notices of its omissions and insertions, and with Notes on the Passages in which it differs from our Authorised Translation. Cambridge: Macmillan and Co. 8vo.

Johnstone (Rev. W. H., M.A.)—The Image of the Invisible; and the Life of Christ viewed in relation to St. Peter's promise, that we are to be partakers of the Divine Nature. London: Oakey. pp. 94.

Maurice (Rev. F. D., M.A.)—The Gospel of St. John, a series of Discourses. Cambridge: Macmillan. 8vo.

Moore (Rev. Daniel, M.A.)—Daily Devotion; or, Prayers framed on the successive Chapters of the New Testament. London: Kerby and Son. 12mo, pp. 444.

Reichel (Rev. C. P., B.D.)—The Nature and Offices of the Church, The Donnellan Lecture for 1854. London: J. H. and J. Parker. 8vo, pp. 190.

Selwyn Gulielmus (S. T. B.)—Notæ Criticæ in Versionem Septuaginta-viralem. Exodus chap. i.—xxiv. Cambridge: Deighton. 8vo, pp. 80.

Swainson (Rev. C. A., M.A.)—An Essay on the History of Article XXIX., and on the Statute of 13th Elizabeth. Cambridge: Macmillans. 8vo, pp. 56.

Tagart (Edward).—Two Discourses on the History of the Authorized Version of the Bible, and of the expediency of its revision by Public Authority. London: Whitfield. Fcap. 8vo, pp. 44.

Wayland (Francis).—Notes on the Principles and Practices of Baptist Churches. London: Trübner. 12mo, pp. 340.

Williams (Rev. Rowland, B.D.)—A Dialogue on the Supreme Lord, in which are compared the claims of Christianity and Hinduism and various questions of Indian Literature and Religion fairly discussed. Cambridge: Deightons. 8vo, pp. 578.

Wright (W.) Professor of Oriental Languages at T. C. Dublin.—The Book of Jonah in Chaldee, Ethiopic, Syriac, and Arabic, with Glossaries. London.

[The length of our Correspondence department compels us to defer the Intelligence until our next number.]

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